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Journal of the Institute of Pacific Relations

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PACIFIC AFFAIRS

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AUSTRALIA'S TRADE IN THE PACIFIC

By F. C. BENHAM

Lecturer in Economics, University of Sydney; Author of "The Prosperity of Australia"

Australia contains little more than six million people, out of a total world population of some eighteen hundred million and yet she engages in about three per cent of the world's foreign trade. This is accounted for partly by her high per capita national income, of well over £100 per year, and partly by her specialization in "primary" production. She has not the range of natural resources which the United States, for example, possesses, and she is therefore less nearly "self-supporting." Her manufacturing industries, assisted by protection, have made considerable progress during recent years, but they by no means supply all her requirements. Hence most of the imports consist of manufactured goods, whilst 95 per cent of her exports consist of "primary" products. Her two great exports are wool and wheat. Of these, wool is the more important. She produces only about 3 per cent of the world's wheat, but she grows about a quarter of its wool, and attracts buyers for it from almost every important country. Unless substitutes which displace wool are discovered, Australia seems likely to remain a chief source of supply for at least one important commodity. There is, moreover, quite a possibility that she may become a more important producer of wheat than at present. Her wheat acreage could be trebled without resorting to land appreciably worse than that now under cultivation. A rise in the price of wheat, or a fall in the costs of growing and marketing it would soon call forth a greater supply. Already Australia spends about £25 per head each year upon imports, as against £8 per head spent by the United States and £4 per head by Japan. An expansion of her export industries would make her a still larger purchaser.

It is with the Pacific trade of Australia, however, that we are primarily concerned. I do not propose to give an exhaustive, or even a detailed, account of this. The student will find statistics readily available in the **"Commonwealth Year Books,"** or, more fully, in the **"Overseas Trade Bulletins,"** both published by the Commonwealth Bureau of Census and Statistics. I propose to show only two things. In the first place, I want to show that Australia's Pacific trade has grown rapidly during the last fifteen or twenty years, and to explain why this has happened. In the second place, I want to show with what countries and in what commodities the bulk of this trade is carried on. This course will bring out more boldly the leading facts, but it will also suppress others of interest to the curious. The fact, for example, that Australia spends nearly £30,000 a year upon cocoa beans from Ecuador, whilst Ecuador takes nothing in return, should arouse distress in the minds of those who insist upon trying to strike a "balance of trade" between two countries. Others might find a strange perverseness in the fact that sandalwood, a name which breathes the romance of ancient civilizations, should go from Australia to

China, whilst fireworks, those short-lived symbols of an age of jazz, move in the opposite direction. Again, some might find significance in the fact that the American consumer sometimes buys his sausages in Australian casings. But we must concentrate upon the more important aspects of our subject.

THE GROWTH OF AUSTRALIA'S TRADE IN THE PACIFIC

The following table shows the growth in Australia's Pacific trade since 1905, the first year for which adequate statistics are available. The annual averages of two five-year periods have been taken, because seasonal influences produce wide variations in the quantities of wool and wheat available for export, so that a comparison between two individual years might be misleading. The statistics relate only to merchandise. Movements of gold and silver are not included, as the exports and imports about balance in the long run and the movements have only a temporary significance in restoring depleted balances or making similar adjustments. It should be noted that imports into Australia are valued as at the port of shipment plus 10 per cent, the 10 per cent being intended to cover charges for freight, insurance and handling, whilst exports do not include ships' stores. The sign £M will be used throughout for £millions.

AUSTRALIA'S PACIFIC TRADE

	Annual Average			
	1905-9		1923-7	
Groups of Countries	Imports £M	Exports £M	Imports £M	Exports £M
America	6.5	2.7	38.9	9.8
Asia	1.1	1.6	6.1	13.9
Islands	2.3	3.3	9.9	8.5
Total	9.9	7.6	54.9	32.2

All the countries in the Pacific fall naturally into these three groups. Asia includes Japan, and less obviously until one remembers Vladivostock, Russia. "Islands" include New Zealand. The great increase in the value of this trade, which has occurred during the eighteen years covered by the table, can be resolved into three elements. In the first place, prices were considerably higher in the later period, so that a given quantity or volume of trade commanded a higher value than in the earlier years. This fact, however, explains only part of the increase. Prices less than doubled, on the average, so that the growth from £17.5M to £87.1M represented more than a doubling, and possibly a trebling, in volume.

In the second place, the total quantity of Australian trade considerably increased during this period. This was due partly to greater prosperity, but mainly to the growth of population, which rose from four millions in 1905 to six millions in 1926.

In the third place, a greater proportion of Australian trade was carried on with Pacific countries in the later period. In the years 1905-9 about 14 per cent of all her exports went to Pacific countries and about 22 per cent of her imports came from them. The corresponding percentages for the years 1923-7 are 24 and 37. The war was partly responsible for this change, as the consequent decline in imports into Australia from the United Kingdom gave American and Japanese manufacturers an

opportunity of extending their markets. Another factor has been the great increase, since the war, of Australian purchases of motor cars and consequently of petrol. Possibly the closer relationship established between the United States and Australia, through the Australian investments made by Americans and through the more frequent interchange of visits, has contributed. But it seems probable that in any case Australia would have turned more to the Pacific, owing to the shorter distances (the quicker deliveries, the lower freights, and the more rapid communication by letter), compared with those between Australia and European countries. The United Kingdom still supplies over 40 per cent of her imports and takes over 40 per cent of her exports, but these percentages have been declining for some years.

The Direction and Nature of Australia's Trade in the Pacific

The nature and direction of Australia's trade in the Pacific will best be shown by considering the latest available figures, those for the year ended June 30, 1927. The chief countries and commodities were as follows:

1. **UNITED STATES:**
   - **Imports £41.4M**—Motor cars, £10.3M; machinery, £6.4M; oils, £5.7M; timber (undressed), £2.4M; apparel, £2.1M; tobacco (unmanufactured), £1.9M; boots and shoes, £1.2M.
   - **Exports £ 8.6M**—(excluding £10M gold) Wool, £4.1M; hides and skins, £3.3M.
2. **JAPAN:**
   - **Imports £ 5.2M**—Silk piece goods, £3.2M; cotton and linen piece goods, £.6M.
   - **Exports £10.4M**—Wool, £7.8M; wheat, £1.3M.
3. **NETHERLANDS EAST INDIES:**
   - **Imports £6.5M**—Petroleum, £3.5M; tea, £1.6M.
   - **Exports £2.1M**—Flour, £.9M; butter, £.5M.
4. **CANADA:**
   - **Imports £4.3M**—Motor cars, £1.1M; printing paper, £.7M; agricultural machinery, £.4M.
   - **Exports £1.2M**—Sugar, £.9M.
5. **NEW ZEALAND:**
   - **Imports £3.1M**—Butter, £.5M; timber, £.5M.
   - **Exports £4.2M**—Timber, £.3M.
6. **BRITISH MALAYA:**
   - **Imports £2.0M**—Rubber, £1.7M.
   - **Exports £1.9M**—Milk and cream, £.7M; flour, £.6M.

These six countries account for the bulk of the trade. Mention should also be made of the phosphate imported from the Phosphate Islands, the copra from the various Pacific islands, and a varied collection of goods (mainly nuts, tea and rice) from China. Each of these three items is in the neighborhood of £1M. Russia used to purchase her Australian wool through England, but since the Russian trading organization has left London she buys it directly. In 1927-8 her purchases amounted to nearly £1.3M. Australia used to export coal to South America, but ceased to do so some years ago. In 1926-7 she exported about £1M of coal to the East Indies, New Zealand, the Philippines and other Pacific islands. It seems that this export also has now ceased. The reason is partly the rise of new producing centers, partly delays in delivery caused by mining and shipping strikes in Australia and partly the high Australian costs of production, to be mentioned later.

There seems no need for much comment upon the summary given above. The United States supplies nearly two-thirds of Australia's Pacific imports. In 1905-9 she sent Australia, on the average, £6M imports a year, and in 1926-7 £41.4M. The United States and Japan each takes about a third of Australia's Pacific exports. Australia serves New Zealand to some extent as an entrepôt. £.8M of the £4.2M exported there was not of Australian origin, whilst New Zealand sent wool and hides and skins to Australia.

PROTECTION

Protection is the settled policy of Australia. After the war, partly in order to protect her manufacturing industries (some of which were only recently established or extended) against "dumping," and partly because she shared in the general outbreak of economic nationalism, Australia raised her tariff. A comparison of the 1920 tariff with that of 1908 shows that the former reduced the percentage of "free goods" from 43 to 29 and increased the equivalent ad valorem rates of duty upon all merchandise from 17 to nearly 23 per cent, and upon all dutiable merchandise (excluding alcoholic liquors and tobacco) from 21 to 26 per cent. The general effect of subsequent amendments has been to raise the tariff still higher. In addition to this, Australian governments in their purchases generally give a preference up to 15 per cent to home-produced goods, bounties are paid upon various iron and steel products and other items, and the Navigation Act prohibits ships registered outside Australian ports from engaging in coastal trade.

Obviously, one broad result of all this is that the volume of oversea trade is less than it otherwise would be. Some trade has simply been killed. The export of bananas from Fiji to Australia is an obvious example. Other trade holds its own, but the Australian consumer pays heavily for the protection of home industries. Apparel may be cited as an example.

But if protection raises prices, it also raises wages. One consequence of this is increased costs in the export industries and high charges for inland and coastal transport. This partly accounts for the recent stoppage of Australia's coal export, which has already been mentioned. Indeed, coal has actually been imported from England into South Australia.

The Australian consumer pays more for some of his primary products, as well as for manufactured goods. Under the Butter scheme, he pays an extra 3d. per pound for butter consumed at home, and a duty of 6d. per pound is imposed to keep out butter from New Zealand. Similarly with sugar, which is 1½d. per pound more than in New Zealand. Any surplus of sugar must therefore be "dumped" overseas. This accounts for the £.9M of sugar exported to Canada in 1926-7.

The preference given to Great Britain has been described as giving two whacks on the head to other people and only one whack to her. It does appear, however, to have some effect upon the direction of trade. Recent changes in rates of duty have shown, for example, that a removal of the preference given to British iron and steel products would cause a considerable diminution in their Australian sales. Again, take the example of machinery. In 1925 the United States produced 57.6 per cent of the machinery of the world, whilst Great Britain produced only 13.6 per cent. Yet in 1926-7 Australia imported well over £7M of machinery from Great Britain as against £6.4M from the United States.

At this stage we may mention another effect of protection. During recent years it has encouraged oversea manufacturers to come within the tariff barrier and set up factories in Australia. Henry Ford's factory at Geelong (Victoria) is not an isolated example: millions of pounds have been invested in this way, mainly by the United States, during the last few years. On the whole, this movement is viewed quite favorably in Australia. It is thought that the extra factories "give employment." Yet the unemployment percentage continues to be high, the customs revenue gains nothing from goods made within the country, the dividends go overseas, and the wages paid are no higher than in similar Australian factories. However, it doubtless pleases those who like (with Monsieur Thiers) "to see the tall chimneys smoke."

External Indebtedness

The term "trade" may well be taken to cover movements of capital and interest as well as of goods. A few remarks upon Australia's position as a debtor nation will, therefore, be relevant.

The Commonwealth and States Governments together owe well over £500M floated abroad. In addition Australia has a private External Debt, still mainly British, consisting of investments such as those just described and approaching £200M in amount. Against this should be set the balances held by Australian banks in London and the shares held by Australians in the tin mines of Malaya, but these items are relatively so small that they may be neglected. The result is an annual interest charge, payable oversea, of from £35M to £40M.

Of late, Australia has been raising about this sum oversea every year in new loans. It is sometimes alleged that these new loans are borrowed to meet the interest bill. This is misleading: there is merely a bookkeeping transfer. The new money raised, say, in London, is indeed used to pay interest due in London, but an equivalent amount of revenue is treated as loan money and expended upon public works.

The immediate effect of the raising of loans oversea is to swell imports into Australia. If Australia ceased to borrow abroad, therefore, some check upon her importation would result. This, however, is not likely to happen in the near future. On the other hand, if and when the external debt is reduced exports now used (in effect) to meet overseas interest charges would be used instead to purchase imports.

Up till a few years ago the whole of Australia's Public Debt raised abroad had been raised in London. Since then some £35M has been borrowed by the Commonwealth and State Governments in New York. The reasons for this are fairly clear. On the one hand, England has a smaller flow of savings coming forward each year for investment than in the past, whilst economists are urging her to invest a larger proportion of them at home. On the other hand, the United States has a larger flow of savings seeking investment than any country has ever had before. The fact that the bonds of Australian governments have been treated as trustee securities under the British Act has enabled those governments to borrow more cheaply in Britain than they could otherwise have done. Today, however, the net cost of borrowing may be lower in New York than in London. In that case, we must expect Australia to turn to New York.

It must not be supposed, however, that borrowing from New York

implies greater imports from the United States. The probability is that American imports would be no greater than if the loan had been raised in London. For no trade conditions are usually attached to such loans, whilst money borrowed in New York is a rule transferred at once to London.

The Balance of Trade

From time to time, the Australian press makes hostile comments upon the fact that Australia buys every year about four times as much from the United States as that country buys from Australia. In 1926-27, for example, Australian imports from the United States were valued at £41.4M, whilst Australian exports to the United States (excluding gold) were valued at only £8.6M. It is implied that this one-sided trade is disadvantageous to Australia.

This mercantilist fallacy perhaps gains strength in Australia from the fact that the value of Australia's imports from her most important customer and supplier, the United Kingdom, tends to correspond very closely with the value of Australian exports to the United Kingdom. The one figure is usually from 95 to 105 per cent of the other. It is often not realized that this close balance is quite unusual, and that as a rule trade between any two countries is "one-sided" rather than "balanced." I do not propose to explain that trade is often "triangular" or, rather, many-sided. Readers are probably well aware of the fact. It may be worth while, however, to illustrate its application to the case of Australia and to the United States.

Before doing so, however, we may note that the "one-sideness" is due to fundamental conditions rather than to any disinclination on the part of the United States to buy Australian products or to any artificial barriers against Australian goods. This is shown by the fact that Australia's trade with Canada is still more "unbalanced." In 1926-7 Australia spent £4.3M upon Canadian products, but Canada spent only £1.2M upon Australian goods, and three-quarters of this consisted of the sugar mentioned previously. Another point is that Americans buy a considerable amount of Australian wool in the form of high class fabrics and apparel purchased from European countries. We may now proceed to our illustration. This is to be found in the Far Eastern trade of both countries. We have seen that the annual average for 1923-7 of Australia's trade with Pacific Asia was: Imports, £6.1M; exports, £13.9M.

In the year 1925-6 the United States imports from those countries were valued at 1244 million dollars and her exports at 480 million dollars. Thus it might well be claimed that the purchasing power of these countries for their "excess of imports" from Australia is provided by the United States. As a single example, we may take the case of Japan. In 1925-26 43 per cent of her exports went to the United States. Her "excess of exports" to that country amounted to 331 million yen. In the same year her "excess of imports" from Australia amounted to 102 million yen.

The conclusion seems clear. Nevertheless, mention should be made of another reason why Australians may dislike an "excess of imports." Such an excess, unless balanced by loans raised abroad or by similar items, tends to deplete the balances held overseas by Australian banks and to lessen the margin by which deposits (in Australia) exceed advances (in Australia). If an Australian importer pays by reducing

his deposit, deposits in Australia are reduced, advances remaining the same; if he pays by obtaining an advance, advances in Australia are increased, deposits remaining the same. In the early part of 1926, for example, advances were 94 per cent of deposits as against the normal figure of 80 per cent, and the overseas balances of Australian banks were low. This was due largely to a previous "excess of imports." The result was that "money became tight" in Australia, and rates of interest rose. The banks wanted to increase their deposits and reduce their advances. The whole of the business community tended to suffer in consequence.

The Future

Will the Pacific trade of Australia increase or diminish in the future? This will depend partly upon the trade policy pursued. The Labour Party are advocating an increase in tariff. They point out that a tariff which yields £40M—£6 per head—in customs revenue, as Australia's did last year, cannot be said to "protect"; and they therefore propose to make it more effective. It seems probable, however, that the Nationalist, not the Labour Party, will be successful at the forthcoming elections, and it is unlikely that the Nationalist Party will make much alteration in the prevailing rates of duty. The Prime Minister, Mr. Bruce, does indeed propose to repeal the coastal clauses of the Navigation Act. But as he also proposes to levy a poll tax on the passengers, and impose a duty on all goods, carried in non-Australian ships between Australian ports, the stimulus given to trade by this would be small. Of course, if the tariff is increased the result will be a check not only upon imports but also, through higher labour and other costs, upon the expansion of the export industries. Australia would become more nearly self-supporting. The establishment in Australia of British and American factories, already mentioned, naturally tends to lessen oversea trade.

Nevertheless the factors working in the opposite direction seem much more powerful. The chief of these is the steady growth in the population of Australia, which is increasing at the rate of 2 per cent per annum. It has been largely due to this factor that Australia's share in the world's trade has increased from 2.6 per cent in 1913 to 3.3 per cent in 1925. There is, moreover, plenty of room for a larger population. Professor Griffith Taylor has estimated that Australia can hold 60 millions before she is as "saturated" as Europe is today.

Another factor is the general tendency of trade to move towards the Pacific. We have seen that Australia shares in this tendency. In the last eighteen years her Pacific exports have increased from 14 to 24 per cent, and her Pacific imports from 22 to 37 per cent, of the whole. This, again, is a reflection of the growth in population and prosperity which seems to be taking place more rapidly in Pacific countries than elsewhere.

Again, the Eastern nations seem to be slowly acquiring the habit of eating wheat, as against rice. Greater prosperity in Japan or settled conditions in China may thus mean a bigger demand for Australian wheat.

One seems justified, therefore, in concluding that the Pacific trade of Australia may be expected to grow in the future. May it promote good will and friendly relations among all the countries which share in it.

THE CHINESE WOMAN IN A MODERN WORLD

Studied in the Light of Her Heritage and Her Potentialities

By SOPHIA CHEN ZEN

To a casual observer, the Chinese woman in the olden days was a purely domestic person, and her only interest in life was the care of her family. But upon closer examination, and as a result of a more intimate relationship with the inner life of Chinese people, the observer may find it necessary to change his opinion and become convinced of the fact that the Chinese woman, even in the olden days, did not confine her interest and ambition to the small family circle, but had now and then distinguished herself, with deeds and thoughts, in the realms of literature and art and in services both social and national. She had shown the world what a woman could be and could do at a crucial moment either in her own life or in the life of her family or her country. Of course this type of woman was not to be found at all times and in all places, but was not a Jeanne d'Arc or a Jane Addams also a rare specimen in her own country? Let a nation produce just one extraordinary woman, and the great potentialities of all her sisters are proved. And in the long history of China such proofs are certainly far from lacking.

But before we examine the extraordinary women in past China, let us first get acquainted with their more ordinary sisters, since not only are they more numerous than the former type, but also it was in them that the embryo of all the traits of the more extraordinary type was to be found.

In order to present a more vivid picture of the Chinese woman to my western readers, I shall use the concrete form instead of the abstract one, and shall tell about her in the person of a lady whom we shall call Mrs. Chang, and who shall represent the middle class women of China. (The middle class in China was represented by the literati rather than the merchants in the olden days.)

THE TYPE

Let us suppose that this Mrs. Chang is now in her early fifties. She was born of a literati family, and being the favorite of her father who was a scholar, she was taught by him the books of poems and classics, like her brothers. Her mother also showed her how to sew and embroider, though she found her to be more awkward than her elder sister, who did not quite like books, but could embroider and cook like an expert.

Her father took great pride in her literary gifts, and never failed to show her amateur poems to his friends. "Why, this is an extraordinary girl!" exclaimed one of his friends one day, after having read one of her poems, "why don't you teach her the Four Arts and make her a **Tsai Nue"** (which means "a woman of great talent"). But a more prosaic friend interfered, saying, "But most of the **Tsai Nues** have unfortunate lives. I think it would be wiser for you to let her learn the woman's household duties, and she will be happier for that."

Let me first explain what the term "Four Arts" means. They are, firstly, music, particularly with reference to the art of playing the Chinese seven-stringed harp, called the **Ching;** secondly, the art of playing the difficult chess; and thirdly and lastly, the arts of caligraphy and painting. These four arts were considered the essential achievements of a perfect

Chinese lady, though the additional gift of scholarship or literary ability or both would make that lady even more admirable in the eyes of her intellectual male friends.

Now, Mrs. Chang's father was a practical man, and he preferred to see his daughter happy to seeing her famous, so he did not take the advice of his more romantic friend very seriously. However, he would not have an ignorant daughter either, so he taught her some caligraphy himself, and invited a painter to come to his home to teach her the art of painting. She did not, however, promise anything beyond the mediocre in these two branches of art.

She was by this time sixteen years old, and whether it was because of the discouragement of her practical father and mother, or because her literary gift was only skin-deep, she did not make any progress even in this field. Then very soon she was engaged to a distant cousin on her mother's side, and from that time on all her attention and time were occupied with the preparation of her trousseau. The trousseau of a Chinese bride, be it remembered, was to be filled with things not only for her own use, but also as presents to her elders in her husband's family, and all the embroideries contained therein were to be the handwork of the bride herself.

Two years later she was married to the Chang family. I say to the Chang family instead of saying to Mr. Chang, because her husband was not the only person that she had to serve and take care of, but there was also the mother-in-law, who was still mistress of the home, and whose word was law; there was the father-in-law, whose appetite demanded that his daughters-in-law cook special dishes for him at each meal; there were the married brothers-in-law, with their wives and children, living under the same expansive roof (some of the wives were kind and sympathetic, while others would try to outwit the newcomer in the family in order to gain more favor with the mother-in-law); and finally, there were the unmarried brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law, whose care the bride must share with the other elder members in the family. Was not then our young lady married to a whole family instead of to a single man? But this was still a simple family in one sense, for it was composed of the branches from a single tree, so to speak. There might be added a concubine of the father-in-law, or one of his father's; there might be the mother of one of the daughters-in-law, and what might there not be, living in a semi-dependent state in this big clan-like house of Chang?

Under such circumstances do we wonder that Mrs. Chang soon forgot all the extraneous things that her father and teacher had taught her? Now she felt only gratitude towards her mother, who had not only taught her some of the practical duties of a married woman, but had also initiated her into the knowledge and tact of meeting the intrigues and difficulties of a big family. And how vastly more useful this knowledge and tact proved to be in her life than the delicate art of painting or poetry! If she had been a more poetic or artistic type of woman, I am afraid she would have rebelled at this situation and would have felt most unhappy now that her ambitions were thwarted by the petty ordinary duties of a housewife minus authority; but in the bottom of her heart she was, being like her mother, a very practical lady and so she was glad to forget even what little art and literature she had learned in her girlhood. And her father was right, for she was happier now, and found her home life more congenial than it would be if he had tried to make her a **Tsai Nue.**

With the training in personal character that such a big and complicated family life afforded her, and with the inborn practical nature that became manifest only after her marriage, Mrs. Chang now became a woman who commanded great admiration and respect both in her family and in her society. She was, in the first place, a dutiful daughter-in-law and pleased both her mother-in-law and father-in-law without incurring the jealousy of the other members of the family. This was a great gift, and it made her one of the most popular members in the little circle of society in which she moved. In the second place, she was a very helpful companion to her husband, she was his comforter and sustainer whenever he was discouraged or lost spirit over his work. In the third place, her great gift of forbearance and self-sacrifice had made her a very good friend to the unmarried members of the family, listening to their confidential talk, and giving them advice about conduct in life. Finally, she was a wise mother to her children. She taught them the elementary knowledge of reading and writing, she told them stories from books, and made them memorize many poems which were to prove very useful in their later lives. She also took great pains in educating them morally, and when their intellectual education was taken up by the family tutor—later on by the then new system of schools—she did not relax in her effort to correct whatever might be wrong in their moral ideas and behavior.

So Mrs. Chang is now in her early fifties, and is enjoying the fruit of her early labors. Her children are all grown up and some of them are already married and have children. She is now herself the mistress and mother-in-law of her big family. She is a perfect woman in the eyes of the old-fashioned Chinese, since she fully possesses the Four Great Virtues of moral excellence, refined speech, good manners, and practical ability, virtues which, though old-fashioned, even an ultra-modern man could not afford to despise.

Mrs. Chang, as I have already suggested, is representative of the more ordinary type of Chinese womanhood. By this I mean two things. One is that she is not an extraordinary woman, since none of the talents that were manifest in her early girlhood were developed, and since she never did anything that was unusual or wonderful either in the artistic and literary realm, or in the affairs of the world at large. Her interest was confined to her immediate family, and her vision did not get beyond the horizon of the family wall. And the second point is that, as my readers can easily see, I mean nothing but compliments to Mrs. Chang by the term "ordinary." If being ordinary is the equivalent of the perfection of common sense and of the wonderful ability to meet every practical problem wisely, why, I think all the world would be happily contented with ordinary women!

But not every ordinary woman is the perfection of common sense. Many ordinary women are unfortunately only embodiments of ignorance, cheap taste and superficial valuation of things at large. They possess the mediocrity without the compensating element of common sense. So the world turns its eyes towards the extraordinary type, for it needs their stimulation as well as their service, and so did the Chinese world with regard to its feminine inhabitants. Let me try to make vivid this type of Chinese woman to my readers.

The Extraordinary Example

First is the poet and scholar, Madame Chao Ming-cheng, who is better known by her maiden name, Li Yi-an. She lived in the latter part of the Sung Dynasty (1081-1141? A. D.). She was one of the greatest poets in China's history, and in my opinion the greatest woman poet, still unsurpassed by her sisters in this realm of literary gift. Her husband, Chao Ming-cheng, was a well-known scholar, and he also wrote poetry. How far superior a poet she was to him could be illustrated from the following anecdote: It was said that Chao was rather anxious to equal his wife's gift of poem-composing, and whenever she wrote some poem and asked him to do the same, a mixed feeling of pride and anxiety took hold of his whole mind. He wanted to be her equal! One day, when he was away from home, she sent him a poem. "For three days and nights he forgot about his sleep and food, and refused to see visitors," said one of her biographers, "until he had written fifty pieces of poetry, each of them in the same style as his wife's. Then he mixed these with the one that she had sent him, and showed them to one of his friends (who was a critical reader), and he picked out the one that she wrote as the best piece!"

But Li Yi-an's genius was not exhausted in poetry writing, she was, like her husband, also a scholar. Together they compiled a book on Chinese archaeology known as **Chin Shih Lu.** In the preface which she wrote for this book, we get a glimpse of the family life of this happy couple. She said, "I happened to have the capacity of a good memory, After lunch or supper, we generally sat in Kwei Lai Tang (name of a hall), and having prepared some tea, we tried to see which of us could tell in which line, which page, and which volume, in the pile of our books, was the record of a certain event to be found. Whoever had it right was to drink the tea first. (When I won) I laughed so hard that the tea cup fell on my lap, thus forfeiting my right to drink first! We were contented to pass our old age in that place then."

But fate would not have them pass their old age in that place, nor as happily. As I have already referred to above, this illustrious Chinese lady lived in the latter part of the Sung Dynasty, which was a period of great disorder and war, for the northern barbarians were invading China. And when the Sung emperor was carried off a captive by the invaders, all the officials moved down to south, where a new emperor was holding court to continue the line of the Sung Dynasty, thus changing the center of culture from northern to central China. Our poet also moved with her husband, but in the course of moving amidst great disorder, they lost almost all their rare collections. Then, to top the misfortune, Chao died, leaving Li Yi-an a helpless widow, who wandered here and there in the province of Chekiang, losing whatever was left to her in the course of her wandering. Our knowledge of her life ended in her sixtieth year, when a poem written by her was mentioned. We do not know how old she was when she died, but evidently she lived over the sixty-year mark.

I have related the life of this woman poet and scholar rather at length, because I think she represented the finest that there was in a woman in any age or country. That she was indeed a great genius is proved by the fact that not only the quality of her achievements was unsurpassed, but also the range of her knowledge and ability was unlimited. Besides being a first-rate poet, and as good a scholar, she was also a

critic, a connoisseur of books and arts, a painter, and a fine caligrapher. Indeed, nothing in the realm of art and literature, nothing in the world of scholarship, failed to interest her and all found in her a great spokesman and a promoter.

Neither was her life free from the struggle against poverty and misfortune which befall most gifted persons. We have already had a glimpse of the hardships that she encountered in her old age. Early in her married days, when her husband was still a student at the "National Academy of Learning" of the Sung Dynasty, their financial condition was far from comfortable. "At the beginning and middle of each month," thus wrote Li Yi-an in the first preface to **Chin Shih Lu,** "after he had obtained his due leave of absence, he pawned clothing in order to get the few hundred cash with which he walked into Shing Kou Shih and bought some rubbings, and also some fruits. Returning, we shared with each other the enjoyment of the artistic works as well as the fruits. We felt very happy and contented." Such an unworldly attitude towards life and learning certainly deserves our admiration.

Heritage of the Past

But Li Yi-an was not the only woman that has enriched the life of the Chinese nation. In the realm of scholarship, she was preceded by our first woman historian, Madame Tsao, who finished the famous **Annals of Han,** which both her father and brother had written but did not finish before death took them away. In the realm of literature and poesy, she was only one of the many stars that have shone before and after her; though everything considered, she was still the biggest star in this particular sphere. In the realm of art, she was only a forerunner of the many woman artists who flourished after her. In the realm of action, an equally great number of illustrious names might be mentioned; but suffice for me to say here that China could boast of women who were either political geniuses such as the Empress Wu of the Tang Dynasty, or heroines either to their own family or to the nation, such as Hwa Mo Lang, who served in the army for twelve years disguised as a man, in order to save her aged father the ordeal of battlefield, and Madame Han, who helped her husband to drive back the invaders from the city wall. Again, in the history of China, we find countless examples of wonderful mothers who had done deeds compared with which the hardships of the battlefield were nothing.

Such then is the spiritual heritage of the modern Chinese woman who is to show to the world that the new culture and achievements that she is to attain are by no means like a mushroom, but are like an age-old tree whose root extends far deep into the soil, and whose growth has been steady and gradual for hundreds of years. Now what does this signify?

Modern Potentialities

First of all, it means that the modern Chinese woman is not going to be merely a westernized person, but is to be a woman with the stamp of individuality that she has inherited from her predecessors, in addition to the opportunity that the modern world is offering her for the broadening of her personality. Such a combination of the old virtues of China with the new culture of the modern western world will not be a medley, nor merely a compromise, but will be an harmonious product of elements which are fundamentally congenial to each other. To put it

more concretely, what is that sense of independence which is so highly valued by the modern woman but the same moral courage and strength that have distinguished many a Chinese woman in the past? Indeed, to many of us, the spirit of independence seems to be one of the leading traits of the Chinese woman, though it is not a common virtue with women in other oriental countries. As for the virtues of self-sacrifice, forbearance, single-mindedness, devotion to ideals, noble ambition, and other qualities which a modern woman is obliged to possess, did not the Chinese woman in the past give us enough proof of their attainment?

Nevertheless, however great the potentiality of a Chinese woman may be, yet it is evident that something is needed in order that this potential strength might be developed and transferred into action. And what is this something but the modern western culture and the opportunities that it brings along with it? This is the second point which I had in mind when I said that the new culture and achievements of a Chinese woman are like an age-old tree. The tree has been growing for hundreds of years, but it has been confined to a narrow courtyard whose share of sunshine and moisture is limited, and whose soil has been impoverished through lack of care and attention. Though the potential strength for growth in that tree is still unimpaired, yet the tree is facing a great crisis in its life: either the courtyard must be widened, and the soil enriched, so that the tree might receive enough sunshine and rain and nourishment from the earth for an unlimited growth, or it must stop growing at all. This is just exactly what is facing the Chinese woman at present.

As we have already seen, the Chinese woman has had culture in rather a wide sense, including all forms of art, literature, and scholarship. She has also had training in practical affairs; and the moral strength and heroic spirit that were sometimes required of her have been as great as could be demanded from any human being. Yet the culture was only one-sided, since it gave her no training along vocational or professional lines, and her practical ability was confined to the small circle of her family. The modern world is demanding more of her. It needs not merely ladies of leisure, but women who could share the burden of reconstructing the world with the men. It needs women with a vision that extends beyond their family courtyard. And above all, it needs a society whose average woman members are intelligent, capable, broad-minded, and independent; instead of a society where only the most fortunate few could enjoy the privilege of culture, while the vast majority of their sisters must remain in ignorance and in pitiably dependent conditions.

Demands of a Changing Age

These then are the very demands that are facing the modern Chinese woman just as the demand for an extensive field of growth is facing our age-old tree, and they should be met promptly and earnestly if the life of Chinese womanhood is to keep on growing. And in my opinion, these demands are being met as promptly and as earnestly as one could wish.

We have seen, for example, that the education of the Chinese woman is now no longer confined to the narrow field of art, literature, and scholarship, though these are still highly desirable objects for mental pursuit; but there are women who have, through the influence of western culture, become lawyers, medical doctors, nurses, educators, industrial and social workers, and even athletes and magistrates. These women are nearly all

graduates either from western universities and colleges or from similar institutions in China. They have proved that their average ability and talent are not a whit smaller than the average ability and talent of their male colleagues. Even in the field of pure culture, where the Chinese women have been privileged to ramble from ages past, both an extensive enlargement and an intensive improvement are taking place at present.

In the extensive field, for example, art is no longer confined to the time-honored four elements of harp, chess, painting and caligraphy, but dramatics, other forms of music, dancing, and many similar means of emotional expressions are added to the list for those who are inclined to take up this line of work. Neither is scholarship limited to the pursuit of Chinese classics alone, but the vast archives of foreign libraries must be visited before one can claim a humble seat in the hall of scholars. Intensively, the study of art and literature and other branches of intellectual subjects is to be made more thorough-going; and with the help of the modern scientific method and the equipment of the modern library, a Chinese woman will find that if she is to be a genuine artist, poet, or scholar, she will have to dig much deeper and climb much higher than her predecessors, because both the ocean and mountains of the modern intellectual world are much bigger, deeper, and higher than those of the old world in China. In short, the Chinese woman is now being transformed from the cultured lady of the home to a world citizen; and where there was only one cultured woman to perhaps a thousand ignorant ones, now the light of knowledge and opportunity for developing one's talent is casting its rays on an ever-widening area; and the time may soon come when the other thousand inhabitants in that dark region will also be enveloped in those illuminating rays.

In one field alone, however, is the change for the Chinese woman more radical than gradual, and that is marriage. Chinese marriage in former days was purely a family matter, and the girl was supposed to be kept in entire ignorance concerning her future husband and his family until she was married, though as a matter of fact her consent was sometimes obtained by her mother in the strictest secrecy. But now, the pendulum is swinging back from this extreme position; in fact, it is swinging so violently that the pessimistic person is already beginning to fear that it may reach the other extreme. However that may be, it is a fact that the Chinese woman is now choosing her own husband, just as the Chinese man is now choosing his own wife. With the more moderate type of woman, she generally tries to get the consent of her parents after she herself has made the choice; but with the more radical type, she just goes off marrying the man without more ado about the opinion of her family. It is still too early for us to say which of these two procedures is more wise, but common sense suggests that the former type of woman may have a greater chance in the way of happiness than her more radical sister.

As a logical consequence of this changing attitude towards marriage, the construction of the family is now also changing. In almost every one of the so-called "modern families," that is to say, families which are built upon the foundation of individual love instead of family alliance, the members are composed simply of the couple and their children; though the aged mother and father are generally also taken in and given their due share of honor—though minus authority! So we can say now that the modern Chinese woman no longer marries herself to a big clan, like our friend Mrs. Chang, but only marries the individual man of her own choice.

We all know with what price did our sisters in the western nations buy

their political rights, but do my readers know what the Chinese women have done in this respect? Perhaps they know that in some of the southern and central provinces in China, women are treated as men even in the political world and that besides the right to vote, woman magistrates, lawyers, and judges are now looked upon as a matter of course, and that seats in the high councils under the National government are open to women as well as to men. This of course means that the Chinese women have obtained their political rights at least in some parts of China, if not yet in the whole country. They have cooperated with the men in the many new movements both preceding and following the revolution of 1911, movements some of which are political in nature, others purely intellectual and social, and all of which are still going on at present. These Chinese women were not thinking of what their reward might be, but simply threw in their lot with the men and shared with them the responsibility of China's reconstruction. One can still see them at work if one is willing to pay close observation to the contemporary China.

From the above account, it is evident that the task that is confronting the modern Chinese woman is threefold: first, she must keep a jealous guard on the precious inheritance which she had obtained from her predecessors; secondly, she is to both enrich and enlarge that inheritance so as to enable herself to meet the demands of a modernized world; and lastly, she is to make a wise selection as well as a judicious revaluation of the elements both in the old Chinese virtues and the new western ones, so that she may not fall victim to the chaotic state, chaotic morally, intellectually, and socially, because of the contact of the new with the old.

HIGHLIGHTS IN JAPAN'S EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

With Special Reference to the Introduction of Foreign Languages

By Rokuro Nakaseko

Dr. Nakaseko has been Carnegie Professor of International Relations at the University of Hawaii during the Autumn Quarter

Systematic education in Japan took a definite shape in 701 A. D., when all the branches of administrative organization of the empire were placed under a systematized and coordinated control of the "Code of the Taiho-Ryo" in the reign of Emperor Mon-Bu.

At about this period in the Near East the universities of Odessa and Bagdad, founded three centuries ahead, were just at the height of their growth and influence. The Universities of Cordova and Granada in Mahommedan Spain were founded a little later in the same century.

The founding of the educational system in Japan was not entirely an original idea of the Japanese statesmen of that age. It was rather modeled after the already existing Chinese system—China at that time being under the glorious Tang dynasty (681-906). Indeed the Chinese education can be traced far, far backward to eleven hundred years before Christ.

The object of instruction in the school system of the eighth century in Japan was to bring up the leaders of the nation, to educate the children of the aristocracy in all the branches of learning known at that time, in such a way as to equip them for the duties of serving the country as government officials. In addition to this there were also schools of music, of astronomy

and astrology, of medicine and of textile industry. There was one central university in Kyoto, and each province had its own provincial college, in all of which the Chinese classics and arithmetic constituted the fundamental topics of instruction. After finishing the scheduled course of instruction there was a competitive examination for the civil service appointments.

In this earlier phase of the Japanese educational system, the vehicle of conveyance of knowledge was the Chinese language, which was learned through the eye chiefly and not through the ear, that is to say, pupils were taught to read the Chinese classics not in the Chinese sounds but by translating into Japanese colloquial speech.

WRITERS OF NOTE IN JAPANESE HISTORY

The educational system thus formulated 1200 years ago cannot be said to have been followed without any ups and downs throughout these long years. But the spirit of education of the youth for the country's service remained the same. And there has never lacked a good number of tolerably well-educated men and women, philosophers and statesmen, poets and novelists, as the fruits of this system.

Allow me to mention just two or three of them:

Kobo Daishi (774-835)

Kobo is the noted founder of the Shingon sect of the Japanese Buddhism. He is remembered and adored just as much for his invention of the phonetic alphabet for the Japanese language—the "Iroha" syllabarium. At the age of thirty he went to China for prosecuting studies in Chang-an Fu, the glorious capital of the Tang dynasty. There he is supposed to have come in contact not only with the eminent Chinese scholars of the day, but also with the Buddhist missionaries from India, Mohammedan teachers from Arabia, and Nestorian priests from Syria. When he came home he was thoroughly imbued with the inspiration of all these stimulating experiences, and he was highly respected by the emperors with whom he came into an intimate relation.

Under this happy circumstance he arranged the forty-seven characters of the Japanese phonetic alphabet of his invention into a verse pregnant with profound Buddhistic doctrine of fleetingness of the worldly existence of man. The verse served equally the two purposes of inculcating the Buddha's teaching and popularizing the art of writing the common colloquial Japanese language. Translated into English, this verse will read somewhat like the following:—

Though flowers are fragrant and sweet,
But one day they will fade away.
Who can say "This world is unchanging?"

Upon climbing over the mount of changeables today,
There shall be no more dream,
No more illusion either.

Murasaki Shikibu

The forty-seven characters invented and popularized by the great learned priest are quite sufficient to express in writing all the sounds of the Japanese language. With their help and only by their help the indigenous Japanese literature could attain such a finish of style and composition, beauty of diction and rhetoric, as is found in the epics and novels of Madame Murasaki-Shikibu who flourished in the latter half of the tenth century. She

wrote her epic entitled "Genji-monogatari" (Tales of the Genji House) consisting of fifty-four books. It is unanimously conceded that this epic of the famous authoress is by far the best literary production extant in the history of Japanese literature.

Indeed if there is any other literary production in any measure approaching in merit to this epic, it is again by another female writer of the same century. This latter is Madame Sei-Shonagon's "Makura-no-Soshi." You will kindly remember that these women authors lived four hundred years before Chaucer took up his pen to write the first monumental work in the history of English literature.

The First European Language Contacts

It appears that the Portuguese first came to Japan in 1501, then in 1510, and then again in 1530. But it was on their fourth appearance that they left anything permanent and important to influence the old Japanese culture. It was on this occasion that they brought fire arms and taught how to manufacture them and how to make the necessary gun powder. This was in 1543.

In 1549 the first and greatest Jesuit missionary, Francois Xavier, landed in Kagoshima, introducing in addition to the Gospel the European science of medicine, especially of surgery. When Oda Nobunaga unified the whole country under his military rule and encouraged Christian faith in order to curtail the too arrogant Buddhistic influence upon the people's mind, there were, in 1573, more than thirty provinces under the Christian influence, with three hundred missionaries and teachers and 300,000 followers of the faith. The Spanish missionaries taught the art of constructing castles and fortifications of which the present imperial palaces in Tokyo and Nagoya and the castles of Osaka, and Kumamoto are the good reminders.

Among the first Portuguese or Spanish books that were translated into Japanese there is still extant a version of Aesop's Fables, the oldest European book printed in the Japanese language.

In 1580 the first English ship visited Japan and seventeen years later there came the first Dutch ship. In 1582 the Embassy of the three provincial lords of the Northern Kyushu started for Rome, to be received there with great ceremony by the Pope. This is the first party of Japanese ever to tread the European soil. Thirty years later, a second party of Japanese visited Rome, this time as the envoy of the lord of Sendai, to return home in 1620.

In 1600 an Englishman Adams and a Dutchman Jans visited Tokyo and they stayed to live and die there, Adams being employed as a shipbuilder for the Tokugawa government. English and Dutch merchants were then allowed to trade in two ports of Nagasaki and Sakai.

Closing the Country to European Culture

The friction between Portuguese and Spaniards on the one hand and English and Dutch on the other, entangled in intrigues connected with the rivalry between Tokugawa and Toyotomi, conspired to make the Tokugawa government adopt the strict exclusion policy against Christianity and finally against all the European nations except Holland. Any importation of European books was put under the ban, for the fear that they might perchance contain a teaching of the dreaded doctrine of Jesuitism. This took place in 1629.

The Shogun Yoshimune, at the head of the Tokugawa feudal system, was a man of wider interest, desiring a broader knowledge of things, and

thus he partially raised the ban on European books. Any book so far as it did not touch the Christian religion was made available for importation to Japan in 1719 and thenceforward.

First Translations

In 1771 some Japanese doctors secured two copies of a Dutch book of human anatomy; and on an occasion of anatomical autopsis of an executed criminal, they called together several of their own colleagues, and compared the actual observation of disection with the cuts and drawings in the Dutch book. They were at once astonished at the exactness of the drawings before them. They thereupon unanimously decided to attempt to read the text which was, however, utterly unintelligible to them at first.

Just as M. Champollion deciphered the Egyptian Hieroglyphics in the Rosetta stone, and as General Sir Henry Rawlinson deciphered the Babylonian cuneiform characters on the Behistun Rock, so the eight doctors met together on appointed days for week after week, month after month, and year after year, trying to somehow decipher the intricate meanings in the yet utterly unknown language. Once they spent a whole day over one phrase before they found that it meant that "a brow is the arch of hair growing above the eye."

Finally in 1774, at the end of four years of incessant labors, they had in their hands the first European book completely translated into Japanese. And, in this manner, the first solid way was paved for intelligently deciphering and understanding a European language in its written form. This was exactly 154 years ago.

Pioneers in Foreign Language Study

Among the pioneers in the study of the Dutch language there was Kawamoto Komin. In 1856 he was appointed one of the first professors in the Tokyo Institute of Western Languages which had been established in 1811 and developed finally into the present Tokyo Imperial University. He published many books on subjects related to physics and died in 1871.

It fell, however, to the good fortune of Hori Tatsunosuke to have had the honor of interpreting for Commodore Perry at his first negotiations of the American-Japanese Treaty in 1853. Mr. Hori was later appointed the first professor of English language in the precursor of the Tokyo Imperial University. He was also the author of the first English-Japanese Dictionary compiled in 1862 under the order of the Government.

Early in the history of the Tokyo Institute of Western Languages, courses in French and German were established with Murakami Eishun and Ichikawa Seifu as professors respectively. Murakami who was a chemist had wanted to read a Dutch translation of Berzelius' "Text-Book of Chemistry" and had ordered it from Holland. When the book arrived, he was greatly chagrinned to find it not in Dutch, which he could read, but in French which he could not understand. He was, however, so eager to learn chemistry that he decided to attempt to read the French chemical book, and fortunately was able to secure a Dutch-French dictionary and worked over them day and night, struggling through all the intricate grammatical and other difficulties in addition to the enigmatical chemical formulae. When he thus got through reading this book, he found himself a tolerably good scholar in French.

It was in a different way that Hori came to know the English language. At about eighteen years of age he was suddenly found to have left his home in Nagasaki leaving behind a word to the effect that he was going to visit

Liu-Chiu Islands. However, he had somehow succeeded to secrete himself as a stowaway in a Dutch trading ship. Several years later he made his sudden appearance again in Nagasaki. Among his most intimate friends, it was known that he had been in London during these years, breaking the Nation's law forbidding under capital penalty any Japanese subject from leaving the country for Europe. This was the way in which Hori came to know English and to introduce English knowledge to Japan.

Foreign Languages in the Early Meiji Era

The government and the people of Japan in the early Meiji era were eager to learn any thing foreign. . . . . It did not matter whether the thing was good or bad, anything foreign was good in itself. Institutions of higher learning were filled with professors from America, England, France, Holland, and Gemany. All instuctions in higher branches of study were given in foreign languages, and the students had to study the language not only by the eye but also by the ear. The students of the earlier Meiji era were, therefore, more efficient on the average in their speaking ability than the students of today. It even went to such an extreme that in the twentieth year of Meiji (1887), when a Japanese professor in the Medical Department of the Tokyo University ventured to give his lectures in the vernacular Japanese, a strong resentment was felt among the students, who thought that it was below the dignity of the highest institution of learning in the country to have lectures given in the vernacular language of the common people. Repeated protests were made to the chancellor of the University before the students had finally to acquiesce in the situation.

But time moved and the country advanced and its schools multiplied and the number of Japanese scholars increased at the same pace with the increase of books in the vernacular Japanese. The foreign languages came to be heard comparatively less and less in the school rooms in spite of the fact that the actual number of students grappling with foreign books has increased to an enormous figure. The study of foreign languages has come again to appeal to the eye at the expense of the ear.

Reform of Language Teaching

The study of a foreign language through the eye has certainly a good ground especially in a country such as Japan, where the opportunities to converse in a foreign tongue are still comparatively scanty. But with the prospect of a wider and wider opening of intercourse with merchants, scholars, and travellers from foreign countries, the necessity of reform in the teaching of English in secondary schools began to be felt more and more acutely.

Mr. H. E. Palmer, lecturer in Methods of Language Study, School of Oriental Studies, London, arrived in Tokyo in 1922 at the invitation of the government. He is now studying the situation at the Government's request with a view to elaborating a scheme of reform in instruction of English language in Japanese schools.

Japanese children at the age of twelve to thirteen begin to be taught English in the junior high schools. The hours given to English are usually 6 to 10 a week in these schools, while in the senior high schools (Koto Gakko) the time given to the study of foreign languages may rise as high as 15 or more a week. French and German are usually begun in the senior high schools.

IN THE ORIENT VIEW

From the Periodical Press of Japan and China

Japanese Thought

BROWN MAN'S BURDEN

Editorial in the Osaka Mainichi, English Edition, September 18, 1928

For centuries past the White Man has taken upon himself the task of leading in the work of developing the civilization of the world. In more than one respect he is still working at it, as if it were his exclusive privilege and duty to shoulder the burden. The world has every reason to thank him for the service he has so far rendered, and to expect more from him in the future.

But is it right for the rest of the races of the world to let the White Man alone do the work? Why should not others share the burden in order to show their appreciation of the past favors from the White Man?

By civilization greater emphasis is laid upon the materialistic civilization in which the White Man's countries have been leading other countries for centuries. In matters of spiritual civilization, there have been other races which were by no means inferior to the White Man as far as the essential qualities of such civilization were concerned. The Dark Man of India, the Yellow Man of China, and in a sense the Brown Man of Japan had much of their original civilization of which they had reason to be proud, and in which, in fact, they led the world. For that matter there are other races than those who claim superiority to the White Man in respect of the civilizations peculiar to themselves.

Be that as it may, what is most essential to note in any kind of civilization is how much happiness it gives to mankind. Indeed, it is an open question whether what is in common parlance called civilization today has really conduced toward the happiness of mankind. In a sense the very civilization of which so much is made by ordinary people is the very cause of misery to the people, whether they are distinctly aware of it or not.

We refer especially to the so-called modern civilization, by which is meant the civilization of the White Man. Take the example of Japan, for instance. Before the advent of the White Man's civilization in this country, our fathers had never known the so-called pleasures of modern civilization, and yet at the same time they were not the victims of the many maladies with which the modern civilization is keeping company. Are we happier today because we have automobiles, electric cars, steam trains, steamships, etc., to make our traveling easier and faster than our fathers, who never had these modern facilities?

We have no time to wait for an answer to this question, because we are too busy to ponder over it at leisure, such being one of the requirements of modern civilization. We are in a position now to solve the problem of how best the inconsistencies of civilization may be readjusted, not for ages to come, but for the brief span of time while we are living, trusting that posterity will take care of the rest of the work.

What is needed now is to blend the civilizations handed down to us from our ancestors who adapted to themselves what they had imported from India, China, and other Oriental countries with the so-called modern

civilization borrowed from the White Man, and imported into this country, in such a way that the best in each may be made to serve the cause of happiness of ourselves.

In this respect the Japanese people are placed in a very convenient position to undertake the task, although there is no reason why any other nation should not strive to be in a similiar situation. Despite the topsy-turvydom in which the Japanese people have been placed for nearly one century because of the introduction of the western civilization, we are slowly emerging from the chaos and are trying to find a way out of the dilemma, thanks to the lessons we have learned from the school of hard-knocks.

While acquiring the knowledge of things of the west, we are still holding on to our memory of the lessons learned from our fathers. In other words, we shall hereafter see that the lessons of spiritual civilization of the Orient, which we still appreciate, are applied in directing our daily life while enjoying the comforts of modern conveniences. In this respect we Japanese may open a new school of civilization by which we may make some contribution to the world in due time. That will be the Brown Man's burden.

Two Powers in the Far East

Editorial in the Osaka Mainichi, English Edition, September 28, 1928

From the European and American point of view, there will always appear in the Far East two distinct powers; one, Japan's political strength that combines national defence and diplomacy; the other, China's potential economic power that promises extraordinary productivity and consumption. One is active; the other passive.

These two powers manifest themselves in different ways corresponding to the international situation, and according to the time and surounding conditions. In the past, when the menacing hand of Russia reached out to the Far East and placed in jeopardy the interests of other nations, or when the ambitions of the war-like Kaiser disturbed the peace of the world, what was most important for these European and American states was Japan's political strength. It has been the same up till the time the intrigues of Soviet Russia threatened China and India. Japan will occupy an important place among these leading states in future just as before, irrespective of changes of international relations. However, it seems certain that the economic power of China will have more importance in the future than in the past.

The economic power of China mainly rests on the hope of future developments. Such can only be realized by eliminating all disturbing causes from outside, and by effecting perfect unification at home. With the failure of the Russian schemes and expedition against the North successfully terminated, China stands today facing the problem as to whether she can develop her great economic power based upon the pacification of the country and its reorganization.

The diplomacy of the leading nations toward China also stands at the cross roads as to whether it should court the pleasure of China who possesses extraordinary potential productivity and consumption, or rely on Japan's political power that combines national defence and diplomacy, as in the past. The recent attitude of these countries toward China and

the diplomatic relations with Japan, can only be clarified by looking at it from this point of view.

Present-day diplomacy has for its aim nothing but economic competition, and the stage where this competition will take place can be no other than China. We should therefore remember that it is natural that China who has the largest economic future, has the largest possibility of becoming a favorite of the world, or of being qualified to become one (whether we like it or not).

Chinese Thought

FOREIGN PAPERS AND EXTRATERRITORIALITY

Editorial in The China Critic, Shanghai, September 27, 1928

The editorials on "China's Fortunate Emigrants" by the "Shanghai Times," printed in its issue of September 20, again reminds us of the need of calling a stop to the practice of certain foreign journalists of heaping indignities upon and committing serious libels against the Chinese Government, within whose territory they are domiciled.

Such statements as "The Government has been repeatedly accused of having a hand in the many cases of kidnapping which have been going on both within and without the International Settlement. The Government needs money badly and it apparently has stooped to this means of getting it," and "the target of kidnapping and bandits or of a voracious government" are uncalled for even if the editor was sincerely convinced of the "fortunate" status of China's emigrants. They were purely libellous in their intentions. No proofs were given, no facts established, no data provided. If any extraterritorialized foreigner can make such statements with impunity, it is enough justification for the abolition of extrality.

Foreign newspaper men must be reminded that they work within Chinese territory, that they serve a public which earns its bread and butter from the Chinese, that they should know what would happen if they are not shielded by the system of extraterritoriality—and incidentally, we would like to ask whether consular jurisdiction is maintained to serve the purpose of affording foreign nationals every protection so that they may freely and boldly attack the Chinese Government.

The Chinese Government must take immediate action against all papers which print statements like those quoted above. It should immediately ban the sale of such papers, and order the Post Office to stop their circulation. The editors or the owners must be required to produce evidence to back up what they said. A criminal suit should be started against them. The foreign press has had a free hand to libel the Chinese Government long enough. They must be shown that the Nationalist Government will not stand for any such abuse of the "freedom of speech."

COUNCIL INTEREST

Following the meeting in Melbourne on September 25 last, at which the two separate Australian branches (Victoria and New South Wales) were consolidated into one Australian National Council of the Institute, membership lists have been forwarded to Central Headquarters and are here reproduced for the interest of other National Councils.

Hon. F. W. Eggleston continues as president of the Australian National Council and Australia's representative upon the Pacific Council. Professor R. C. Mills is vice-president. Tristan Buesst is national secretary and Stanley S. Addison is national treasurer. Griffith Taylor of the University of Sydney has acted as Research Secretary for Australia until his recent departure to join the faculty of the University of Chicago. News of an appointment to fill this vacancy has not been received in Honolulu.

The executive committees and membership lists for New South Wales and Victoria follow:

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CONFERENCE DATA

Notes on the 1929 Sessions of the Institute of Pacific Relations, Scheduled to Take Place in Kyoto, Japan

Group thought concerning the agenda for the Kyoto Conference has been slowly crystallizing during the past months. National Council meetings, the group circulation of questionnaires, and the special conferences on this subject which Secretary Charles F. Loomis has been enabled to hold during the progress of his recent world tour, have all contributed to this end.

The July issue of PACIFIC AFFAIRS carried an outline from the Australian group covering agenda suggestions as they ranked in that Council's thinking. In the November issue we published a communication from the Japan Council relating to cultural topics. This month we have returns from both the Japanese and British groups, embodying the preferences which have been sifted out of the thinking and discussion of the past months in those two countries.

JAPAN'S TOPIC CHOICE

The Japanese list indicated the choice of five major topics, namely: I. Food and Population, II. Financial Rehabilitation of China, III. Diplomatic Relations, IV. Manchurian Situation, V. Cultural Contact. Under those main headings come a number of sub-topics, or related aspects, as follows:

I. Food and Population
   (1) Land Utilization
   (2) Standard of Living
   (3) Industrialization and Migration as remedies of over-population
   (4) International Trade of Food Stuff

II. Financial Rehabilitation of China
   (1) Possibility of Rehabilitation without foreign financial aid
   (2) Consortium
   (3) The League of Nations.

III. Diplomatic Relations
   (1) War Prevention Policy in the Pacific and the perfection of machinery for peaceable settlement of disputes
   (2) Disarmament and Security in the Pacific

IV. Manchurian Situation
   (1) Study of Treaties relating to Manchuria
   (2) Railroads
   (3) Industry and Agriculture

V. Cultural Contact
   (1) Missionary Enterprise as an Agency of International Understanding
   (2) Ways and Modes of Cultural Contact
   (3) Synthesis of Cultures in Japan during the past seventy years

BRITISH INDICATIONS

The British group was the first to fill out the program questionnaire described in this section last month. In this document five of the suggestive

topics listed were classified as major subjects for this year's conference, with certain indicated sub-topical omissions, seven were classified as minor subjects and a number checked for consideration by means of data papers or scientific monographs. The major and minor subjects representing British group preferences for consideration at Kyoto are as follows:

Major Subjects

1. Population and Food
   (1) Movement of Population
   (2) Population Changes, from natural causes and from migration, and its relation to food supply
   (3) Transfers of Population into Malaya, Indonesia, Manchuria, the Pacific Islands, etc., and its effects

II. China
   (1) Revision of Treaties
   (2) Study of former foreign concessions under Chinese administration
   (3) German and Russian experience under non-extraterritoriality

III. Manchuria
   (1) The position of Manchuria and the study of treaties relating thereto
   (2) Economic Development
   (3) Position in Outer Mongolia

IV. Industry and Foreign Investments
   (1) Tariffs in force in Pacific countries
   (2) Effect of tariffs on trade relations in the Far East
   (3) Rights of China to tariff autonomy; the effect on world commerce of a sudden change in tariff
   (4) Industrialization
   (5) Standards of Living: Wages and hours of labour
   (6) Bearing of international labour conventions on comparative standards of living
   (7) Study of the existing conditions of labour in Pacific countries

V. Capital Movement from Europe and America to the Orient, etc.
   (1) The investment of capital in undeveloped areas through public and private loans and the general development of economic resources of such areas
   (2) Foreign investment in its economic, legal and political aspects
   (3) Raw materials of Pacific countries

Minor Subjects

I. Diplomatic Relations in the Pacific
   (1) Study of treaties governing diplomatic relations between Pacific Powers
   (2) Significance of the Kellogg Pact (signed Paris, August 27th, 1928) in regard to diplomatic relations in the Pacific area
   (3) A study of the Monroe Doctrine in relation to the Pacific area
   (4) The League of Nations and the Pacific
   (5) Disarmament and Security in the Pacific
   (6) War Prevention Policy in the Pacific, and the perfection of the machinery for the peaceable settlement of disputes
   (7) Relations of the United States with Mexico and Nicaragua, etc.

II. The Existing International Machinery for the amelioration of the conditions of labour
III. Cultural Contacts
  (1) Education
  (2) Religion
    a Recent tendencies in missionary work
    b The inter-relations of Buddhism and Christianity
    c Missionary enterprise as an agency of international understanding
    d The protection of missionaries
IV. Communications in the Pacific
  (1) Difficulties in the way of the exchange of news
  (2) Cables, wireless and broadcasting
  (3) Transportation
V. The Administration of Pacific Dependencies
  (1) Guiding principles
  (2) Political and social record of the Mandatory Powers in the Pacific Basin
  (3) Comparison of Mandatory and colonial administration, Fiji and Hawaii, Philippines and Mandated territories, condominium in New Hebrides
  (4) Native rights: the social and economic implications of land policies in dependent areas with special reference to the Pacific
  (5) The educational problem in the Pacific Islands
  (6) The problem of political representation in the Pacific Islands
VI. The Opium Question
VII. Traffic in Women and Children

In addition to these lists, certain other topics were checked as suitable for long time research rather than immediate discussion, and a few others as important but not urgent.

INSTITUTE NOTES

Secretary Loomis Returns

Closing a five months' tour in the interests of conference preparation, Secretary Charles F. Loomis returned to Central Headquarters at Honolulu on December 6 last. In the course of those months he visited local Institute headquarters in San Francisco, New York, London, Peking and Tokyo, and in addition met with various interested groups and individuals in Geneva, Paris, Moscow and elsewhere in the Orient.

Mr. Loomis was everywhere primarily interested in group discussion looking toward the 1929 Kyoto conference. His function on this trip, as he interpreted it, was to raise questions that would stimulate such discussion on conference preparation, out of which would inevitably emerge the problems appealing to each group as most vital for consideration. Through the use of this sifting method the 1929 agenda is being built up by the democratic process of group thinking. Mr. Loomis reports that wherever he went he found stimulating evidence of informal discussion going on amongst many groups and many types of thinkers, a fact which leads him to be optimistic for the representative character of the program-building opinion which is beginning and in the next few months will continue to come to Central Headquarters out of the several constituent countries.

China Research Visitor

On December 20 last Central Headquarters received a visit from Mr. Wen-yu Swen of the Department of Agricultural Economics at Nanking. Mr. Swen was en route to the United States to take up with Dr. Carl L. Alsberg the preliminary work on the research study known as **The Trend of Pacific Agriculture from Subsistance Farming to Cash Crop Farming.**

This is one of two projects being undertaken by the Food Research Institute of Stanford, of which Dr. Alsberg is Director, and is a part of the general Institute of Pacific Relations research program. Mr. Swen expects to spend a half year with Dr. Alsberg at Stanford and a half year in Washington, D. C., in the U. S. Department of Agriculture, where, in association with Dr. O. E. Baker, Economic Analyst of the Bureau, he will make an intensive study of statistical method. At the end of the year Mr. Swen expects to return to China to engage in the actual gathering and analysis of data. All the statistical material for his research must be fresh-gathered, as extensive data of this nature has not hitherto been available in China.

Mr. Swen has been one of three associates working under Mr. J. Lossing Buck in agricultural research at the University of Nanking. His special interest has been in farm management and in the course of the work in this field surveys have been made of farm conditions over a fairly wide area, 2,866 farms having been studied. The two other divisions of the agricultural research work of the University are Rural Credits and Marketing, under Mr. Paul C. Hsu, and Rural Sociology, under Mr. C. M. Chiao. Mr. Swen had interesting data to give concerning the formation of Rural Banks and Rural Credit Associations through the organizing activities of Mr. Hsu's department. The department of Rural Sociology is particularly interested in movements of rural population.

Study of Foreign Investment in China

The Social Science Research Council in the United States has voted the sum of $17,000 for a study of foreign investments in China, by Professor C. F. Remer, Ph. D., under the general direction of the Brookings Institution at Washington. This project, which originated with the Institute of Pacific Relations, involves cooperation between investigators in Britain, Japan, the United States and China. Professor Remer was formerly at St. John's University, Shanghai, and is an authority on the economic problems, both domestic and international, of that country. He has published several studies on China's foreign trade.

The piece of research under consideration will consist of three preliminary studies to be made independently upon the capital investment of Britain, the United States and Japan in China, together with a Chinese survey of the problem. Each of these four studies will be made by a competent national of the country in question. The remainder of the project, including synthesis and analysis, will require a further prolonged period of study.

Australian Research

The Australian National Group of the Institute of Pacific Relations has completed its first piece of research in preparation for the 1929 Kyoto conference. A cooperative study of population and immigration problems undertaken by eleven students of economic, political and social conditions in Australia, is now off the Melbourne University Press under the title "The Peopling of Australia." It has been reviewed in the book section of PACIFIC AFFAIRS for December, 1928.

CANADIAN STUDY GROUPS

The Regina branch of the Canadian National Council, which was organized during a visit from Mr. John Nelson, the Honorary Secretary for Canada, on September 19 last, has divided itself into two study groups with the purpose of becoming more fully cognizant of certain phases of Pacific problems in advance of the 1929 conference. The two topics chosen for intensive study are China's External Problems and the more general problem of Food and Population.

Mr. Shannon, who is officially connected with the Saskatchewan Provincial Government, is Chairman of the Regina group, and Mr. L. B. Ring, Barrister, is the Secretary. Among the original promoters of the group's organization were Mr. Justice Martin, ex-premier of the Saskatchewan Provincial government, and President Stapleford of Regina College.

NEW ZEALAND RESEARCH REPRESENTATIVE

The New Zealand Group advises concerning the appointment of a New Zealand representative on the International Research Committee. Professor W. N. Benson, professor of geology at the University of Otago, will fill this position. His appointment completes the personnel of the International Research Committee.

DR. CHANG PO-LING

The President of Nankai University at Tientsin, Dr. Chang Po-ling, is expected in Honolulu on January 3 en route to the United States in the interests of his university. A meeting has been arranged for him with the Hawaii Council of the Institute and the staff of the Central Secretariat. Dr. Chang is a member of the China Council, Institute of Pacific Relations.

ANNUAL COUNCIL MEETING IN AMERICA

On November 2, 3 and 4 the American Council of the Institute held sessions of its annual national conference in New York. The first day was given over to the Educational Committee, the second day to the Research Committee and the third day to a general council meeting, summarizing the work of the two preceding sessions. President Ray Lyman Wilbur and General Secretary J. Merle Davis were guests at these meetings. The gathering was given something of an international tone by the presence of Mr. Lionel Curtis of the Royal Institute of International Affairs; Mr. John Nelson, Honorary Secretary of the Canadian Group; Mr. James Y. C. Yen of the Chinese Mass Education Movement, and Dr. B. Tan Bogoras of the National Academy of Science, Leningrad. Minutes of action taken at the annual meeting have not yet been received at Central Headquarters.

JAPAN COUNCIL MEETINGS

Secretary Soichi Saito for the Japanese Group communicates notes concerning recent council meetings in Japan. At the meeting of the Executive Board, presided over by Mr. Junnosuke Inouye, it was decided to increase the personnel of the Research Committee by the following appointments:

Legal and political department:

Mr. Hanpei Nagao, former High Commissioner of the International Railroad in Manchuria.

Economics department:

Mr. Junshiro Asari, Secretary of International Labour Bureau.

Cultural department:

Professor Takahiko Tomoeda, Imperial University and Higher Normal School; Secretary, Germany-Japan Cultural Association.

The Advisory Council, likewise presided over by Mr. Inouye in Viscount

Shibusawa's absence, met and re-elected to office its forty-two members whose terms of office were expiring.

Information is also received to the effect that Professor Yasaka Takaki has resigned as one of the Honorary Secretaries (or "Jomuriji") to the Board of Directors and will henceforth serve as Secretary to the Research Committee. Mr. Soichi Saito, who has been Honorary Secretary in association with Mr. Takaki, will continue as Honorary Secretary to the Executive Board.

Mr. D. K. Lieu

The head of the Institute's Research Committee in China, Mr. D. K. Lieu, who was until his resignation some months ago Director of the Investigation Department of the Chinese Government Bureau for Economic Information, has been appointed head of the Statistical Department of the National Government at Nanking.

Librarian for Central Headquarters

Miss Isabelle Clark, formerly Librarian of Grinnell College, Iowa, and graduate of Columbia University, joins the Central Staff as Librarian beginning with the first of the year 1929. Miss Clara Chung, who has been Acting Librarian since the inauguration of the library plan here, is expected to continue her work as assistant to Miss Clark.

Commendation

At the Thirteenth Annual Meeting of the World Alliance for International Friendship held in New York, November 11-13, 1928, the following was included in the report of the Committee on Message and Recommendations:

"We particularly commend the work of the Institute of Pacific Relations as a remarkable example of what an unofficial organization can accomplish. This organization fosters scientific studies of the diverse civilizations bordering upon the Pacific, endeavors to understand the causes of friction and encourage enlightened discussions among the people of the regions concerned. Its prestige and influence in the increasingly important affairs of the Pacific Ocean make it an experiment in voluntary international cooperation worthy of imitation in other regions."

Publication Note

Announcement is here made of the discontinuance of the fortnightly clip-sheet, *Pacific Data,* which has been a regular feature of the Institute's Information Service since the 1927 conference. *Pacific Data* was originated to carry brief nuggets of Pacific information gleaned from the data papers presented to that conference. The more recently incorporated news features of the data sheet will henceforth be included under the heading "Pacific Items" in the monthly journal, PACIFIC AFFAIRS.

Reprints Available

For the convenience of members of the Institute of Pacific Relations and other readers of PACIFIC AFFAIRS reprints have been made of the major articles in the last two issues of the journal. These are Treaty Revision in Japan; An Historic Survey, by William P. Ker, which appeared in the November, 1928, issue, and Sino-Japanese Interests and Issues in Manchuria, by C. Walter Young, which appeared in the December 1928 issue. These reprints are available in small quantity.

Request

Four copies of the No. 26 issue of *Pacific Data* are needed to complete the files at Central Headquarters. Receipt of copies of this issue will be appreciated.

CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES

An International Joint Commission

The following review of the significance of this Commission's activities in North American affairs appeared in the *Christian Science Monitor*, Boston, for October 6 last over the initials of C. A. Bowman, editor of the *Ottawa Citizen*, who is a member of the Canadian branch of the Institute of Pacific Relations.

Comparatively few people know anything about the practical example of international conciliation which North America has employed during the last sixteen years. Since the appointment of the International Joint Commission in 1912, it has never once failed to find an answer satisfactory to both Canada and the United States in the cases with which it has been called upon to deal.

While holding the office of United States Secretary of State, in 1923, Mr. Hughes delivered an address at the annual meeting of the Canadian Bar Association, in Montreal, wherein he appeared to express the view that the status of the International Joint Commission might well be raised. He would like to see, he said, "a permanent body of our most distinguished citizens acting as a commission with equal representation of both the United States and Canada, to which automatically there would be referred, for examination and report as to the facts, questions arising as to the bearing of action by either government upon the interests of the other, to the end that each, reasonably protecting its own interests, would be so advised that it would avoid action inflicting unnecessary injury upon its neighbor."

The International Joint Commission is based on a treaty signed at Washington on Jan. 11, 1909, by James Bryce, on behalf of Great Britain (and Canada) and by Elihu Root, then Secretary of State of the United States. The commission consists of six members: three citizens of the United States, appointed by the President, and three of Canada, appointed by His Majesty on the advice of the Governor-in-Council—in other words, by the Dominion Cabinet.

The United States commissioners are, at present, Clarence D. Clark, Fred T. Dubois and P. J. McCumber; the Canadian commissioners are Charles A. Magrath, Sir William Hearst and George W. Kyte. Mr. Magrath has served on the commission since 1912; he is an engineer and is the Canadian chairman, presiding over meetings of the commission in Canada. Mr. Clark is the United States chairman, presiding over meetings in the United States. Under this arrangement, there can be no chairman's casting vote to decide an issue when there is absence of unanimity. The deciding vote must be at least four to two. In the numerous cases dealt with by the International Joint Commission, with only two exceptions, the decisions have been unanimous.

The general purpose of the treaty is stated in the preamble as follows:

"To prevent disputes regarding the use of boundary waters, and to settle all questions which are now pending between the United States and the Dominion of Canada, involving the rights, obligations or interests of either in relation to the other or to the inhabitants of the other, along their common frontier, and to make provision for the adjustment and settlement of all such questions as may hereafter arise."

Under the treaty, the jurisdiction of the International Joint Commission is threefold. In some cases it has authority to make the final settlement.

All questions involving the use of boundary waters between the United States and Canada, of waters flowing from boundary waters and of waters flowing across the boundary are thus dealt with by the commission as virtually a tribunal for judicial settlement.

The treaty provides, by Article IX, that the commission can be called upon, at the request of either government, to investigate and report on "questions of difference arising along the common frontier." One recent case to come before the International Joint Commission has reference to the effect of the fumes from the Canadian copper smelter at Trail, on the British Columbia side of the boundary line. Owners of land in the adjoining State of Washington claim that the fumes are causing serious damage. The smelting interests would apparently be willing to buy the land thus affected, as they have done on the Canadian side, but there are complications of state law with regard to land ownership and other problems which have finally made it necessary to call upon the International Joint Commission.

Numerous problems along the international boundary line, relating to irrigation, stream pollution, flooding of lands, water-power development, navigation, regulation of lake levels and others questions of interest to many people in both countries have been expeditiously dealt with. There is a notable absence of red tape or circumlocution about the working of the International Joint Commission. Everyone concerned, even the humblest citizen, is given an opportunity to be heard. Sessions are held, when necessary, at points where the local interests seem to be most affected.

Some authorities have expressed the opinion that the scope of the treaty is much broader than is generally appreciated. Article X says that:

"Any questions or matters of difference arising between the high contracting parties involving the rights, obligations or interests of the United States, or of the Dominion of Canada, either in relation to each other or to their respective inhabitants, may be referred for decision to the International Joint Commission by the consent of the two parties. . . ."

There is no reference in Article X to any frontier limitation. The makers of the treaty apparently looked forward to the day when confidence in law, justice and methods of conciliation would be so firmly established in North America that the neighboring nations, the United States and Canada, would be prepared to refer for decision "any questions or matters of difference" involving not only "obligations or interests," but even involving "rights" to the International Joint Commission.

The example of the United States and Canada may well be commended to other nations. At the Lausanne Conference in 1923 Lord Curzon spoke of the International Joint Commission as a possible model for the adjustment of differences at the Dardanelles. In a series of lectures at Cambridge University in 1925 Sir Robert Falconer, president of the University of Toronto, made the International Joint Commission the subject of an address. The Prime Minister of Canada, W. L. Mackenzie King, has been instrumental in bringing it before statesmen at the League of Nations in Geneva. One most notable recent reference by Aristide Briand is reported also from Geneva. The French Minister spoke of the commission of conciliation and arbitration between Canada and the United States as having worked in an exceedingly satisfactory manner. According to the reported interview with a German newspaperman, he added that it would serve as a model for the Franco-German frontier. While the International Joint Commission is being thus commended abroad, it may possibly begin to be discovered by a larger public on the North American continent.

BOOKS OF THE PACIFIC

SURVEY OF AMERICAN FOREIGN RELATIONS
By C. P. Howland
Published by the Council on Foreign Relations
Yale University Press, New Haven, 1928 $5.00

The Council on Foreign Relations, like the Royal Institute of International Affairs, is an unofficial organization which owes its origin to the gathering of experts and men of affairs at the Paris Peace Conference. Its activities, developing out of continuous study groups, have already resulted in valuable publications such as Bain's "Ores and Industry in the Far East." The present volume is the first of an annual series intended "as an attempt to examine comprehensively and continuously the foreign relations of the United States." The volume is edited by the Council's Research Director, Mr. C. P. Howland, with the assistance of his staff associate, Mr. Herbert B. Elliston. As in the Royal Institute's annual survey use has been made also of the help of specialists in group discussion, in criticism and in the writing of certain sections. The resultant volume is made a unity by skilful planning and editing. "The Council on Foreign Relations is responsible for the undertaking, and, through its Committee on Research, for the choice of an editorial staff; the editor alone is responsible for the contents of the volumes."

The difficult task of selection of the topics to be treated is complicated by the fact that this is a first volume upon which others must be modelled. The table of contents is of interest in itself. The first section traces the growth of the United States to its present position of power and responsibility in world affairs, the traditional policies which have evolved in the course of this growth and the machinery which exists for handling foreign relations. This whole section is illuminating and would have justified publication even had it not been merely a prelude to the more important narrative and analytical sections which follow. The need for an adequate explanation of the complex difficulties confronting American diplomats because of their domestic background has been met. Foreign observers need to realize that the responsibility of power has only recently come to the United States; that there is no long tradition and established technique in international affairs and that Americans "are naturally perplexed and uneasy when we have to abandon this carefree habit of mind for the unaccustomed anxieties and responsibilities which our new position as a World Power is thrusting upon us."

It is of some significance that Pacific problems occupy a comparatively small space in this first volume. Succeeding issues will deal more fully with such policies as the Open Door and with American diplomacy in the Far East. The 1929 survey will be awaited with expectancy by members of the Institute of Pacific Relations, particularly if its publication is early enough for it to be used in the Institute's conference at Kyoto in October-November. The present volume also concerned as it is mainly with America's contacts with post-war Europe is of great value in understanding the Pacific. The United States is a world-power and nothing which moulds its policies is quite alien to the Pacific.

Economic problems, some of them technically intricate, occupy so large a space in the 1928 survey as to call for comment. There are chapters on Commercial Expansion, the United States as a Creditor Nation, State Department Supervision of Foreign Loans, and International Implications of Gold Distribution in addition to a long and at times technical survey of the Finan-

cial Relations of the United States Government after the War. Questions of reparations and inter-allied debts connect themselves obviously enough with diplomacy; but one may well reflect upon the change which requires the student of international politics to give so much attention to economic considerations such as banking policy, the return to the gold standard and the control of the price-level.

The other sections of this volume deal with the relation of the United States to the League of Nations and with Limitation of Armament. Any summary of American politics and their reaction on the League which was almost forced upon Europe by the President of the United States must be embarrassing. The tangled issues of domestic politics and international fears that defeated the Treaty of Versailles, the wish-belief that the League would die an early death, the almost pedantic legalism of the State Department in its three-cornered correspondences on League matters, the gradual realization that cooperation was possible without membership, the advantages and disadvantages to the United States of the present status—all these are presented with admirable clarity and detachment. It is of some interest to note that the impersonality of the discussion leads naturally to the conclusion that the constitution was the cause of America's abstention from the League. The complications of the constitutional division of powers offer difficulties to action not readily appreciated by those outside American politics; but for all human decisions there is human responsibility and many readers will feel that the authors are nearer the heart of the matter in their statement that "there were plenty of American lawyers to argue the meaning of covenant phrases; there were fewer statesmen to grasp the essence of a new political organism, and to foresee the slow and certain coalition of world forces in disregard of words."

There is one merit which this survey shares with the annual British volume. Both are written in clear, nervous English revealing in the authors of both volumes exceptional command both of matter and of language. The styles are as different as can well be; but in both cases difficult and even intricate problems are marshalled in masterly fashion. Such books as these cannot and ought not to be light reading but there are no obstacles, in the way of confused arrangements and loose presentation, to an intelligent understanding of the great issues discussed. This fact is significant of the extent to which international problems are challenging the best thought of the present day. It is one of the most hopeful aspects of the international situation that men of first-rate calibre can be found to give their support and even their lives to the analysis and elucidation of the problems upon the solution of which goodwill and common welfare so clearly depend. —J. B. C.

IMMIGRATION CROSSROADS
By Constantine Panunzio
Macmillan. 1927

IMMIGRATION AND RACE ATTITUDES
By Emory S. Bogardus
Heath. 1928

Human migrations and the multitudinous associated problems still provide one of the most fascinating and absorbing topics for investigation and research for American sociologists. So compelling, in fact, is the interest in this field that few writers have been able to divorce themselves from the dramatic elements involved—to face the problem in an objective and disinterested way. The faith that scientific method may

eventually be successfully applied to this colorful and moving subject is strengthened by the studies here reviewed.

Both as to content and method, these two volumes differ considerably. Panunzio, himself an Italian immigrant to the United States, writes feelingly and interestingly of the pageant of American immigration, focusing attention upon the shifting official attitudes and the corresponding flux and flow of the immigrant tides. Bogardus, with more of the cold disinterestedness of the academic, confines himself to the study of the race attitudes engendered within the polyglot American environment. Each in its own way represents a contribution to our understanding of this vexing and pressing problem.

Panunzio approaches his study with something of the feeling of the artist, depicting with broad strokes the colorful picture of American immigration from the time of Columbus to the era of the "grave consequences" of 1924. He describes on the one hand the economic, and to a less extent, the social processes attracting and repelling the migrant to America during this long span of years, and on the other hand, the political reactions as reflected in American immigration legislation.

> **"This book aims to set forth in broad outlines America's significance to the laborer of the Old World, the contributions immigrants have made to the development of the United States, the changes in the attitude of the people of this country toward immigration, certain aspects of a possible constructive immigration policy and the international phase of the migration movement and our restriction policy." (vii).**

As the artist, Panunzio reacts to his subject with feeling, in this case, with the bias of liberal Christianity. As the scholar and scientist, he maintains a sane and balanced outlook. Strikingly enough he finds that the slowly evolving American policy of immigration restriction has affected the net movement of people "very little." Panunzio presents the challenging thesis that the rapidly evolving economic situation in the world, involving the increasing mobility of capital and the intensification of contacts, makes obsolete a strictly nationalistic policy of erecting immigration walls. The chapters describing a scheme for a more rational immigration policy are perhaps the weakest in the book.

Bogardus' interest centers about the origin and nature of interracial antipathies and friendships in the American situation, using "race" in the loose sense of a culture, race or national group. As to method, he confines himself to the single device of expressed attitude or "speech reactions" in personal documents, and this study shows all the weaknesses, as well as the advantages, characteristic of this method. From a strictly scientific point of view, this study would be somewhat more convincing if he had used some other devices for testing the validity of the expressions of attitude; and the readability of the book would have been enhanced if many of the less significant extracts had been omitted or included in their entirety in the appendix. Bogardus recognizes the tentative character of his findings and the need of supplementary studies, such as the investigation of the cultural situation within which the attitudes develop. In spite of obvious weaknesses and inadequacies, this study has the merit of exploiting one method consistently and suggests a technique for use in the scientific analysis of race contacts.

Following the lead of W. I. Thomas and others, the author illustrates effectively the rise and modification of "race antipathies" in crisis situations where "social status" is endangered.

> "The immigrant must not be too superior in his culture traits. He must not invade our status, but must be superior in some complementary fashion to our achievements. He must not detract from us or even 'threaten' to usurp our social position in any way." (p. 79)

Other conditions attending the ebb and flow of attitudes between "race" groups are also described insofar as the data from his collection of personal documents permit. Of particular interest is the author's device for measuring statistically the attitudes of one group towards another. Variations on the basis of age, sex, religion, occupation and regional or cultural contacts are likewise subjected to this same type of measurement.

—Andrew W. Lind.

Note: Mr. Lind is in the Sociology Department of the University of Hawaii.

THE AMERICAN RACE PROBLEM
By E. B. Reuter
Thomas Y. Crowell Company, New York. $2.75

The American Race Problem, by the Professor of Sociology in the University of Iowa, was published in 1927, but its timeliness for the student of racial interaction in the United States is unimpaired. The thoroughness and detached, scientific nature of the inquiry render it useful regardless of time, and the statistical tables are not such as to require altering within so short a period. For the foreign student of this, one of America's greatest social and political problems, the usefulness of the volume is considerably enhanced by source lists of additional readings at the end of each chapter.

The oft-referred to "Negro Problem" in the United States is not a simple one, nor is it analogous to the other familiar phases of a "melting pot" civilization. The presence of some ten million Negroes in a vastly outnumbering white population has implications more far-reaching than are suggested either by the sémi-sentimental plea of "Justice alike for white and black," or by the more hard-headed demand for "don't spoil good laborers by education and highfaluting notions." The author recognizes this, and one of the central motivations of his book rests upon this recognition, expressed as follows:

"In every phase of life, political, economic, intellectual, moral and social, the Negro enters either directly as a factor or indirectly as a condition determining personal and group behavior. The direction and the degree of development of American life has been in part determined by the presence of the Negro people, and their significance for the future promises to be no less important than their significance for the past, " (p. 1).

In fact, far from being a new problem, conditioned only by the modern trend of events, and far from being simple in its scope, it has its roots deep in the history of the Negro's first coming to America, deep in his racial heritage, in the shapings of the slave system, and likewise deep in the strongly developed attitudes of the "master" class. These facts in themselves render the problem in no way comparable to a racial situation created by the presence of any two mutually "unassimilable" races which are largely strangers to each other. Negro and white in America have lived together too long and too closely to be free of the peculiar mental and emotional incubus which such intimacy breeds.

Because of this, scientific objectivity has been rare in any discussion of Negro problems in the United States; (this latter phrase might, parenthetically, be a more exact title for the book, for the United States has another though less acute race problem—namely that of the native Indian race). Because, therefore, as Professor Reuter says on page 2, "whether

the particular angle of approach be political, economic, educational, eugenic, sentimental, or whatever, and whether the discussion be by white man or Negro, the point of view is prevailingly doctrinaire and the discussion impressionistic," he has endeavored to make exactitude and the scientific method salient features of his own approach. In an introductory chapter which is engagingly succinct, he presents to us the situation confronting the student. There are three pages of rapid historical notations concerning the Negro from the 8th century in Africa down through the American slave epoch. In half a page more he epitomizes the present social condition as the outgrowth of the emergency emancipation measure following the civil war, and then proceeds to trace the effect of the pre-war period upon the temperament of slave class and master class alike, producing as it did a series of attitudes which operated effectively to retard Negro progress after emancipation and to maintain the existing state of racial inequality.

Professor Reuter recommends to all Americans the earnest examination of this situation because: "It is part of a wise public policy to advance the cultural status of the backward groups and otherwise provide for their welfare," (p. 17); and because: "It is not possible for a population handicapped by a large backward and inefficient group to make the same progress as may be made by the same group without such handicap," (p. 18). He believes that, far from there being any hope that the problem is a diminishing one, "there is every indication that it will become a more acute and more important one." His present volume does not attempt to offer a solution, but it offers the opportunity for solid study of facts and statistics not hitherto presented in a collective and dispassionate and admirably pigeonholed fashion such as this.

These facts include accumulations bearing upon the physical and sociological concepts of race differences; upon the distribution, sex composition and relative increase of Negro population in the United States; upon accommodation, assimilation and racial amalgamation; upon cultural effects of prejudice and isolation and the nature of Negro contribution to the Fine Arts; upon health and other biological effects of the presence of Negroes in the population; upon Negro sex and family life; upon old and new types of education and their promise for the future; upon folk-ways and religious development; upon the nature, distribution and proportions revealed by Negro criminal statistics; on the fundamental factors underlying social and group crimes of violence practiced against Negroes; on the psychological and other factors operating in the growth of a Negro race consciousness and solidarity, etc., etc.

"The race," says the author most truly, "offers a laboratory for the student interested in human biology as it does to the sociologist interested in the social and cultural and human facts," because it "includes every variation of amalgamated stock from the Negroes of unmixed African ancestry to those with the merest trace of Negro blood. Between these extremes is every degree and type of racial intermixture. In this mixed population it is possible to study the effects of race crossing in a way not possible elsewhere," (p. 19). —E. G.

MIGRATION LAWS AND TREATIES
Vol. 1.—Emigration Laws and Regulations
International Labour Office—Studies and Reports, Series O—(Migration), No. 3. Geneva, 1928

This volume is the first of a series bringing up to date the information

contained in a previous publication of the International Labour Office, entitled "Emigration and Immigration; Legislation and Treaties" (1922). In the meantime the migration section of the organisation has been receiving documents from "about 200 sovereign countries, federated states, mandated territories, protectorates, colonies and dependencies.

The mass of information in these documents has been thoroughly and skilfully organized. The leading problems of migration, beginning with the definition of an emigrant, are considered topically so as to show comparative treatment in the various countries. Regulations and administrative practice, as well as legislation have been considered. The result is a manual of indispensable value to any student of population and migration. It would have been impossible and confusing to print all the supporting documents; but great care is taken in the precise quotation of relevant excerpts.

Though emigration control is probably of less importance internationally than its converse, the legislation regarding it is surprisingly complex. Much of it is concerned with domestic matters such as military service, family responsibilities, etc.; but there are general prohibitions and restrictions of a much more important character. One such restriction is of some interest in the Pacific area—the prohibition of labouring emigration except under special permission. This practice is followed in Japan, British India, and several British colonies in southeastern Asia, pages 36-9. The possibilities of international agreement by which the onus of restricting migration is thrown upon the emigrant's own government is a matter of some importance in the Pacific. The working of such agreement within the British Empire is of interest in view of its applicability to the wider sphere of international agreements generally.

Much of this volume is taken up with problems arising from the transport of emigrants and there is an important chapter dealing with the protection of emigrants after arrival by their national authorities. A bibliographical appendix gives references to the most important legislative texts relating to migration. —J. B. C.

THE TUTOR IN ADULT EDUCATION
An Enquiry into the Problems of Supply and Training
Carnegie United Kingdom Trustees, Dunfermline

The development of non-vocational adult education in England took a new turn with the formation of tutorial classes. The new movement which resulted in the formation and growth of the Workers' Educational Association was sponsored on the academic side by the University of Oxford and on the students' side by the English trade union movement. In essentials its methods are an outgrowth of the Oxford tutorial system which owed its inspiration to Jowett at Balliol. The spread of this tutorial movement within Britain and the British Dominions in recent years has been remarkable. Nor has its influence stopped there. The adult education movements of European countries and the United States are moving towards cooperation, which will be greatly stimulated by the forthcoming conference of the World Association for Adult Education to be held at Cambridge University in August, 1929. Moreover the success of tutorial methods in the Workers' Educational Association is leading to a revision of methods in other educational organisations. The reaction upon the sociological departments of the Universities has been vitalising and wholesome and the recent appointment by the Church of England of a committee on religious education headed by the new Archbishop of York, himself the chairman for many years of the W. E. A., opens another fruitful field of influence.

Tutorial methods in adult education have proved in practice what Professor Thorndike has demonstrated scientifically, that there is a vast field of mental improvement open to the adult learner. In the cultivation of this field lies one of the means of achieving political education in international as well as national affairs. It is a means which no institution or individual interested in the effort to bring international goodwill through understanding can afford to neglect.

It is significant that the British adult education movement, seeking the financial means of expansion, should have been faced with the question of assuring the supply and training of an adequate number of tutors. Adult education requires abilities and attitudes different from but not less exacting than those required for the teaching of adolescents in university classes. The report under review is a comprehensive survey of the present position of this problem in Great Britain. It is important for many reasons and not least because it indicates a serious effort to forecast and prepare for a great extension of adult education in many fields.—J. B. C.

STUDIES IN CHINESE DIPLOMATIC HISTORY
By Ching-lin Hsia, Ph. D.
THE FOREIGN TRADE OF CHINA
By C. F. Remer
The Commercial Press, Limited, Shanghai

The Commercial Press has published two books which, though not new (they are 1926 publications), are valuable sources for students of China's foreign relations in the fields of diplomacy and trade. These are Dr. Hsia's volume on China's diplomatic history and Professor Remer's work on China's foreign trade. Dr. Hsia, at the time of publication, was Professor of Diplomatic History in the University of Shanghai, and had earlier been Secretary to the Chinese Weihaiwei Retrocession Commission. His book is based on the thesis presented to Edinburgh University in 1922 for his doctorate degree, revised, amplified and brought up to date. He cites many authorities throughout the text. It is not a complete history but a study of the present situation in the light of historical facts, and aims to promote a more effective understanding of the problems connected with China's treaty obligations. The author states that "The Washington Conference did not secure for China all that she asked for at Versailles, but it was at any rate the sign of a better attitude on the part of the Powers toward her, and the concessions which China gained at Washington go far to prove the justice of the argument of this book."

Prof. Remer's book is a study of China's foreign trade by means of historical analysis. The work was begun while Prof. Remer was on the faculty of St. John's University, Shanghai, and completed at Harvard. Through his long research in this field the author is looked upon as an authority upon China's trade problems. The volume contains a useful bibliography. —E. G.

OUR INDIAN CITIZENS: THEIR CRISIS
American Indian Defense Association, Inc.
Washington, D. C., October, 1928

This pamphlet is addressed as a letter to the candidates in the recent Presidential election in the United States, and contains also a "Statement of the Situation of the American Indians as Affected or Determined by Governmental Policies and Action, with Suggestions for Remedial Legislation and Administrative Procedure."

The American Indian Defense Association is an independent organization of influential American citizens of non-Indian ancestry, which came

into being some years ago specifically to defend before Congress the land rights of the Pueblo Indians. Later the interests of the California Indians demanded attention, and subsequently the organization, with headquarters in Washington, D. C., and branches East and West, has undertaken to sponsor and support a more general program of tribal relief and of reform in Indian administration.

The statement compiled here is made up almost wholly of facts cited from a report of the Institute of Government Research, being the result of an investigation made at the request of Dr. Hubert Work, then Secretary of the Interior and as such exercising control over the Indian Bureau. That report was submitted to Secretary Work in February, 1928. The statement quoted therefrom and cited in this pamphlet concern Indian child labor and undernourishment in Government Indian boarding schools, unfitness of the present educational system, bad health conditions resulting in a spread of communicable disease, poverty and its causes, spoliation of Indian property, despotism of Indian agency system, etc.

These facts in themselves are sufficiently startling, but when one realizes that they are drawn from a conservative source and are only indicative, not exhaustive, their nature becomes appalling. The statement "What the Situation Demands," at the end, while drastic in its suggestions, seems by contrast to the quoted conditions extremely mild. —E. G.

BRIEFS

By B. M.

AMERICA SEEN THROUGH GERMAN EYES
By Dr. Arthur Feiler
Editor, Frankfurter Zeitung
New Republic, Inc., New York. $1.00.

Dr. Feiler may have German eyes but the spectacles through which he looks at the United States are clear and uncolored by prejudice. He writes as a man of the world who occasionally looks up from his study of the United States and glances at Germany for contrast. His book of 284 pages is in three divisions: American prosperity; the American economic system; the American world.

The book is stimulating reading for an American, noting as it does the good and bad points of our civilization—and this without any stirring of rancour. To a foreigner the book will probably be a little bewildering just as the United States is.

As an example of Dr. Feiler's insight, we give the following quotation which crystallizes a truth that many of our educators are just beginning to sense:

"On the whole, the aliens who are most quickly Americanized do not become the best type of citizen, for the initial Americanization harms them as human beings. They adopt only superficial American characteristics: the standardized forms—which undermine their old traditions and ties without giving them any new ones sufficiently profound or strong. It may easily happen that immigrants' children, who learn the language quickly, look down upon their parents—as Americans they disdain these aliens—and this younger generation which has no ties or roots anywhere frequently develops into the type of Americans who know nothing beyond the most materialistic desire to make money and to have a good time . . . It is clear that a rapid process of Americanization—especially if it produces a '100 per cent Americanism,' which like nationalism everywhere is so utterly brainless—more easily tends to undermine good qualities and to develop less desirable ones."

LABOR PROTECTION IN SOVIET RUSSIA
By George M. Price
International Publishers, New York. $1.25

Dr. Price, who has made a study of factories in America and Europe, gives a hopeful picture of the laborer in Russia. He carries the reader from the cruel days previous to 1861 when peasants and workers of Russia were the property of nobles, subject to work or rental, through the troublous period of emancipation to the present time when, so he says, the parental care received from the government laborers of both manual and professional rank is similar to that given students in the universities of the United States.

The Soviets regulate payment for work; hours of labor are generally eight hours for laborers and six for intellectual and office workers. Preventive and hospital care is provided; educative work is fostered.

A bibliography of two pages is given at the end of the book. Most of the publications referred to are in Russian.

WOMEN IN INDUSTRY IN THE ORIENT
National Board of the Young Women's Christian Associations of the U. S. A.
The Woman's Press, New York. $1.50

This is a source book of 221 pages published by the Educational and Research Division and the Industrial Department of the Y. W. C. A. It is a compilation of excerpts which have bearing on the subject as a whole and on the individual cases of China, India and Japan. There are many charts. The material is well chosen and provides an excellent introduction to the subject.

PERMANENT MANDATES COMMISSION
Extract from the Minutes of the 13th Session
League of Nations, Geneva, June 12-29, 1928

This 62-page gist of the minutes of the League's examination into the "trouble in Samoa" fills one with amazement that in a world so full of big problems this seemingly trivial situation should have to come before the League of Nations for review. A lack of understanding of the Polynesian temperament on the part of the New Zealand officials, as well as failure to take a definite stand at times of crisis have given the Samoan situation a place far beyond its intrinsic importance.

The Samoans, more even than most Polynesians, like to be amused. They like excitement and oratory. They like a parade of power. The anti-government group provided this. A review of the extracts of the minutes shows a tangle of liquor, copra and agitation in which the administration's only fault as deducted by the Permanent Mandates Commission was "lack of psychological insight." Perhaps New Zealand has learned something from this trouble. Dry justice will not suffice with the Samoans. They must also be entertained.

JAPAN, THE AIR MENACE OF THE PACIFIC
By W. Jefferson Davis
Christopher Publishing House, Boston $2.00

This anti-Japanese volume of 157 pages was written by a colonel in the Army Reserve Corps who acknowledges the friendly assistance of James D. Phelan, William Randolph Hearst and others. It is expressly intended to stir the United States to build modern sea and air-craft "that will match anything that Japan, or any other nation, may send against us." Ideas and phrases are repeated and repeated, and finally are summed up in the concluding five pages.

EFFECT OF MARRIAGE UPON NATIONALITY
Hearings before the Committee on
Immigration and Naturalization
House of Representatives
Statement of Emma Wold
U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C. 1928

This 58 page compilation of the nationality laws of 72 countries as affected by marriage was presented to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization of the House of Representatives by Emma Wold in connection with studies made by the committee in connection with the Cable Act. It consists of tabulations and excerpts from the laws of the 72 countries. Miss Wold, who is Legislative Secretary of the National Woman's Party, has given a very clear and concise summary of the subject.

ESSAYS ON CANADIAN ECONOMIC PROBLEMS
Economic Fellowship Competition 1927-28
The Royal Bank of Canada, Montreal

These seven essays published in booklet form are the result of the $1,000 graduate fellowship in economics offered by the Royal Bank of Canada in March, 1927, to the Canadian university student who submitted the best essay on any one of four specified subjects. The fellowship was awarded to Dermot A. Davies of the University of British Columbia for his essay on "Does Canada Need a Federal Farm Loan System?" Of special interest is "Japan—A Growing Factor in Canada's Prosperity," by James Gordon Nelles of McGill University which is well thought out and very ably written. The essays speak well for the university students of Canada. Economists and other universities will watch with interest the 1929 award.

In the Magazines

Note: All the following references to magazines published in the Orient are for English language publications. National ownership of such publications is indicated.

After Ten Years; editorial; the *Economist*, London, November 10, 1928.

"Finally, these ten years have witnessed the steady advance of a process which is the key to the future—the process of economic organisation, which seems destined to continue until mankind has learnt to mobilise its economic resources to the last drop, and has made the unit of all economic activity co-extensive with the habitable world. This is the crucial factor, for it is the factor which both offers us the means of organising universal and perpetual peace and at the same time renders it suicidal to go on making war. This factor is inexorable. We simply have the choice of adapting ourselves to it and being saved, or failing to adapt ourselves and going to perdition. In about twice ten years more we shall probably know—too late, for good or evil—which of these two momentous choices we have been making at this very moment in which we are living now."

American Negro, The; Subject for the November 1928 issue of the *Annals* of the American Academy of Political and Social Science; editor, Donald Young, Assistant Professor Sociology, University of Pennsylvania.

"The American Negro can no longer be dismissed as an unimportant element in the population of the United States. Generalized theories concerning racial qualities will not aid in securing essential interracial cooperation.

"This volume presents specific facts, with as little racial bias as possible, about Negro family life, health, crime, economic status, religion, art, literature, education and a host of other aspects of the Negro's everyday existence."

America's Part (in the Great War); editorial; the *Manchester Guardian Weekly*, November 16, 1928.

Anglo-American Relations; editorial; the *Nation*, London, December 1, 1928.

Assuring China's Food Supply; by O. J. Todd; *China*, New York, October, 1928.

"It is interesting to note what has been done in one province—Kweichow—where a governor has been able to get general cooperation on a road program which will mean the end of isolation for that part of China."

BACKGROUND OF THE NATIONALIST MOVEMENT FOR TARIFF AUTONOMY; by Chen Ping-tsang; the *China Weekly Review* (American), Shanghai, November 10, 1928.

BASES OF RACE PREJUDICE, THE; by Robert E. Park; the *Annals* of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Philadelphia, November, 1928.

BIG BUSINESS AND THE NORTH AMERICAN INDIAN; by William Christie Mcleod, University of Pennsylvania; the *American Journal of Sociology,* Chicago, November, 1928.

BRITISH NAVY OF TODAY, THE; by Hector C. Bywater; the *Nineteenth Century and After,* London, November, 1928.

CANADA'S CONCERN IN THE PACIFIC; by John Nelson; MacLean's Magazine, Toronto, November 1, 1928.

CANADA'S NEW INTERNATIONAL RESPONSIBILITIES; by F. H. Soward; the *Contemporary Review,* London, November, 1928.

"For better or for worse Canada is in the wider world of international affairs and she cannot draw back."

CATHOLIC MISSION WORK IN CHINA; by G. B. O'Toole; the *China Christian Year Book,* Peking, 1928.

The "Week in China" carries a reprint of this article in its issue of November 3, 1928.

The writer "trusts that he has conveyed some little notion of how we are striving to adapt ourselves to the life of China, to reverence her noble cultural and artistic traditions, to respect Chinese nationalism and Chinese patriotism, to work with all our hearts for the spiritual advancement, the national progress, the social and material prosperity, of the most ancient, the largest, the most industrious, the most patient, the most courteous people in the world."

CHILDREN GREATEST HOPE FOR WORLD FRIENDSHIP; by Homer W. Evans; *Pan-Pacific Progress,* Los Angeles, December, 1928.

CHINA AND JAPAN—1928; by Thomas F. Millard; the *Nation,* New York, December 5, 1928.

(This is the first of three articles by Mr. Millard. The second, Did Japan Kill Chang Tso-lin?" will appear shortly.)

CHINA AND THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS, 1920-1926; by Wang Tsao-shih; the *Chinese Social and Political Science Review* (Chinese), Peking, October, 1928.

CHINA'S MIGRATION PROBLEMS; editorial; the *North-China Herald* (British), Shanghai, October 27, 1928.

CHINESE COTTON MILLS IN SHANGHAI; by Chang Chu-fang; the *Chinese Economic Journal* (Chinese), Shanghai, November, 1928.

CHINESE IMMIGRATION IN THE PACIFIC AREA; by Wu Ching-ch'ao; the *Chinese Social and Political Science Review* (Chinese), Peking, October, 1928.

CLASHING RACES IN THE PACIFIC AREA; by André Duboscq; the *Living Age,* Boston, November, 1928.

COMMERCIAL ACTIVITIES OF HARBIN, NORTH MANCHURIA; editorial; the *Chinese Economic Bulletin* (Chinese), Shanghai, November 10, 1928.

DEVELOPMENT IN NEW KWANGSI; by T. King; the *China Critic* (Chinese), Shanghai, November 15, 1928.

"Kwangsi was considered to be one of the poor, hilly and unproductive provinces only a few years ago. But during the last couple of years, developments in agriculture, industry, means of communications, and other branches of constructive activities have taken place by the effort of the provincial authorities, and the aspect of that province has undergone a change little short of marvellous."

DISARMAMENT AND THE CHURCHES; by William I. Hull; the *Messenger of Peace,* Richmond, November, 1928.

ELECTIONS IN NICARAGUA; editorial; the *Review of South and Central America,* London, November, 1928.

ELIMINATION OF WAR, THE; by J. F. C. Fuller; the *Nineteenth Century and After,* London, November, 1928.

ENGINEERING AND CIVILIZATION IN CHINA—The Most Important Influence in Transformation: A Catalogue of the Country's Natural Resources; editorial; the *North-China Herald* (British), Shanghai, October 20, 1928.

ENTHRONEMENT CEREMONIES, THE; an address by Kikue Ojima to the Japan Language School at its Enthronement Celebration; the *Trans-Pacific* (American), November 14, 1928.

FEELING AT THE LEAGUE ASSEMBLY; editorial; the *Japan Weekly Chronicle* (British), Kobe, November 8, 1928.

Further Moves in the Sino-Japanese Diplomatic "Game"; by J. B. P.; the *China Weekly Review* (American), Shanghai, November 10, 1928.

Future in Mexico, The; by Carleton Beals; the *New Republic,* New York, December 5, 1928.

Glimpse of the Gold Coast, A; by Nana Amoah III, Chief of the Fanti tribe on the African West Coast, who was educated in Europe, states in *Opportunity,* A Journal of Negro Life, December, 1928:

"Africa should develop economically but without losing her soul. She wishes for aid to develop and cultivate her arts, preserve her ancient customs and institutions, record her musical and mysterious arts of healing by the use of herbs, leaves, and roots. Reading, writing and other arts of communication she wants to increase."

Great Manchurian Migration, The; by Paul T. Gilbert; *Travel,* New York, December, 1928.

"China's disinherited invade Asia's new land of promise—how Japan is creating a modern Manchuria—the most spectacular colonizing achievement in the Orient."

Greatest Shaman of the Chukchee; by Beulah Amidon; the *Survey Graphic,* New York, December, 1928.

This is an inspiring and well illustrated article on the work of Dr. Waldemar G. Bogoras, among the Chukchees of Siberia. This work, begun in exile, is now carried on under the Department of Ethnology of Leningrad University.

Dr. Bogoras is not merely interested in "recording scientific facts before they are lost." He is not a scientist whose religion is "for the good of science." He states: "We must help the people and we must learn from them. We must give them a safer and a better way of life."

In this brief magazine article one catches a glimpse of material for hero tales to strengthen the youth of today. Here is material for great literature to put heart into civilization-weary man. Here is material for drama. Here is drama.

Growing Commercial Relations of America and Russia; by Frederick Lewis Schuman; the *China Weekly Review* (American), Shanghai, November 10, 1928.

Has England a Foreign Policy? by H. N. Brailsford; the *New Republic,* New York, November 28, 1928.

Herbert Hoover: A Personal Impression; by Norman Angell; the *Spectator,* London, November 17, 1928.

Hope for Nicaragua? editorial; the *Nation,* New York, December 12, 1928.

House Papers, The: Birth of the League; by J. L. Hammond; the *Manchester Guardian Weekly,* November 9, 1928.

How China Was Dismembered; by Scott Nearing; the *Pan-Pacific Worker,* Sydney, November 1, 1928.

How Long Will Reparation Last? by Denys P. Myers; the *Nineteenth Century and After,* London, November, 1928.

Impressions of Soviet Russia, IV: What are the Russian Schools Doing? by John Dewey; the *New Republic,* New York, December 5, 1928.

International Finance; by Charles Austin Beard; *Harper's Magazine,* New York. December, 1928.

Internationale Finanz und Internationale Politik; von A. Willehn; *Europaische Gesprache,* Hamburg, October, 1928.

Japanese Labour Costs; editorial; the *Commercial,* Manchester, November 8, 1928.

Japan's Emperor; editorial; the *Week in China* (American), Peking, November 10, 1928.

"There is little likelihood that the monarchy will be overthrown in Japan, at least for many decades to come.

"This likelihood is decreased by the fact that the emperors, since the restoration seventy-five years ago, have shown themselves wise enough to take the lead in encouraging the development of democratic institutions."

Japan's Interest in Shantung Concerning Pacts and Promises, Old and New; by K. K. Kawakami; *Japan,* San Francisco, January, 1928.

Kuomintang Forbids All Strikes; by Chen Tang; the *Pan-Pacific Worker,* Sydney, November 1, 1928.

Lease Conventions in China, The; by Kao Yin-t'ang; the *Chinese Social and Political Science Review* (Chinese), Peking, China, October, 1928.

Loi Organique de la Chine a un Caractere Provisoire, La; by Jean Escarra; *L'Europe Nouvelle,* Paris, November 3, 1928.

Lower Wages But Dearer Labour in Japan; editorial; the *Commercial,* Manchester, November 8, 1928.

MANCHURIA, THE LAND OF PROMISE; by Arthur de C. Sowerby; the *China Journal* (British), Shanghai, November, 1928.

"Need we be surprised that even now great forces are moving to secure the dominance of this marvellous area? No, indeed. This is one of the world's last great rich unsettled areas, and the only wonder is that such an area of potential wealth has survived the all embracing arms of the financier to be offered today to those who have the vision and imagination to see it as something to be developed, something into which to throw their own small resources, and out of which they may reap an hundred-fold harvest."

MANDSCHURISCHEN EISENBAHNEN; by Dipl.-Ing. Slotnarin of the Tung-Chi Technical High School in Woosung (China); *Ostasiatische Rundschau*, Hamburg, November 16, 1928.

MR. COOLIDGE PLAYS WITH FIRE; editorial; the *Nation*, New York, November 28, 1928.

"The very hour which, out of consideration for the dead in France, should surely have been devoted to the preaching of good-will among all nations, the President picked out to devote to an attack—upon the Germans? Not at all. Upon our Allies in the World War; those whom we so solemnly assured in war days were bound to us by indissoluble bonds cemented by our joint bloodshed in France."

MONROE DOCTRINE AND THE LEAGUE, THE; by Raymond Leslie Buell; the *New Republic*, New York, November 21, 1928.

"We are as reluctant to reveal the meaning of the Monroe Doctrine as a Mason or an Elk is to give away the password of his lodge. Nevertheless, we insist that this doctrine be 'recognized.'"

NANKING TODAY; by Grover Clark; the *China Weekly Review* (American), Shanghai, November 17, 1928.

NATIONAL OPIUM SUPPRESSION CONFERENCE; by D. K. Lieu; the *China Critic* (Chinese), Shanghai, November 15, 1928.

NAVAL PARITY OR NAVAL POOLING? editorial; the *New Republic*, New York, December 12, 1928.

NEGRO AND FOREIGN LANGUAGE NEWSPAPERS; by William I. Gibson; *Opportunity*, New York, December, 1928.

NEGRO PRESS, THE; by Roy Wilkins; *Opportunity*, New York, December, 1928.

NEW SCHOOLS FOR A NEW ERA; by John Dewey; the *New Republic*, New York, December 12, 1928.

The last of Dr. Dewey's articles on Russia as he saw it.

NEW ZEALAND—The Budget—Public Debt and Taxation—Business Improving; editorial; the *Economist*, London, November 10, 1928.

NOTES EXCHANGED BETWEEN CHINA AND FRANCE AND ITALY; editorial; the *North-China Herald*, Shanghai, October 20, 1928.

NOUVELLE CONSTITUTION CHINOISE, LA—Les Traites Denoncés par Nankin—Trois Missions Officielles en Chine; by Roger Levy; *L'Europe Nouvelle*, Paris, November 3, 1928.

NOW THE MONGOLS ARE PAWNS IN A GAME; by Owen Lattimore; the *New York Times Magazine*, September 2, 1928.

OBSTACLES TO ANGLO-AMERICAN FRIENDSHIP; by Albert Bushnell Hart; *Current History*, New York, October, 1928.

OPIUM-SMOKING IN THE FAR EAST; by Ellen N. La Motte; the *Nation*, New York, December 5, 1928.

OUTLOOK IN THE CHINA MARKET—The Competition with Japanese Goods; editorial; the *Commercial*, Manchester, November 8, 1928.

PACIFIC COAST TRADE RECIPROCITY WITH MEXICO; an address by F. N. Puente; *Pan-Pacific Progress*, Los Angeles, December, 1928.

PACIFIC INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS; editorial; *Pan-Pacific Progress*, Los Angeles, December, 1928.

PAN-PACIFIC TRADE UNION CONGRESS, 1929; editorial; the *Pan-Pacific Worker*, Sydney, November 15, 1928.

PEACE REAPPEARS IN KANSU; editorial; the *North-China Herald* (British), Shanghai, November 17, 1928.

POLYNESIAN EDUCATION; by Dr. Peter Buck; the *Friend*, Honolulu, October, 1928.

In Part I of this article Dr. Buck, himself half-Maori, throws the "searchlight of why" on many Polynesian customs of child culture which many travelers and anthropologists have only succeeded in leaving in our minds as "queer customs."

Dr. Buck, because he himself loves his own people, makes us see the tattooed old men as wise, chuckling, jolly old fellows and not queer at all. The article is written in an easy, almost conversational tone.

POPULATION, FOOD AND IMPERIALISM; by Arthur P. Chew; the *New Republic*, New York, December 12, 1928.

PRESENT-DAY TRAVEL IN THE NORTH (China); by Rodney Gilbert; the *North-China Herald* (British), Shanghai, November 10, 1928.

PRESIDENT COOLIDGE'S SPEECH; an editorial in "News of the Week" having much to say of the United States, Coolidge and Hoover in their attitude toward Britain; the *Spectator*, London, November 17, 1928.

PRESIDENT HOOVER; editorial; the *Manchester Guardian Weekly*, Manchester, November 9, 1928.

"Hoover has said little in his campaign, but most of the oratory on which he ventured was concerned to link high wages with Republican management. That there was a good deal of rather appalling corruption in the matter of oil leases appears to trouble no one. The American voter is less concerned that his politicians should be impeccable than that they should 'deliver the goods.'

"The rest of the world may be assured that to the great problems of pacification and disarmament which deeply concern it he will bring the same energy, clear sight, and sturdy common sense."

PRIME MINISTER ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS, THE; editorial; the *Economist*, London, November 3, 1928.

"Our policy in naval building is, and has been for the last few years, to go slow. We have no intention of building in competition with the United States of America. We came to that decision, and we built slowly, long before we were asked to sign the Kellogg Pact; but I would like to express the pleasure which I feel that that Pact has been signed at this time."

PROBLEMS OF THE PACIFIC; Proceedings of the Second Conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations, Honolulu, 1927; editorial review; *International Labour Review*, International Labour Office, London, October-November, 1928.

RACE AND CLASS PARALLELISM; by Herbert Adolphus Miller; the *Annals* of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Philadelphia, November, 1928.

RACE RELATIONS IN THE UNITED STATES; W. E. Burghardt Du Bois, Editor of "The Crisis;" the *Annals* of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Philadelphia, November, 1928.

REAL DISARMAMENT; editorial; the *Manchester Guardian Weekly*, Manchester, November 9, 1928.

REVOLT OF ASIA, THE: A CLASH OF CIVILISATIONS; by A. Lobanov-Rostovsky; the *Contemporary Review*, London, November, 1928.

"The general public is under the impression that the present unrest in Asia is due to its violent and sudden awakening after a long sleep, as a result of contact with European civilisation. A closer scrutiny of Asiatic history will show that this view is widely off the mark. To get a really comprehensive view of the present stage in the development of Asia we must go back to the middle and end of the seventeenth century."

SAFEGUARDING OF BRITISH INDUSTRY; by Cyril Atkinson; the *Nineteenth Century and After*, London, October, 1928.

SELF-RESPECT AS A FACTOR IN RACIAL ADVANCEMENT; by H. M. Bond; the *Annals* of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Philadelphia, November, 1928.

SHIDEHARA ON DIPLOMACY; editorial: the *Week in China* (American), Peking, November 10, 1928.

Baron Shidehara's speech before the Society of Political Science of Keio University on October 19, as reported in the "Japan Chronicle."

"Japan proclaimed to the powers her regard for the territorial integrity of China. This policy has, indeed, been consistently upheld by the Japanese government. It is clearly mentioned in the Washington treaty also. Should this policy once be departed from, world peace would be threatened and a serious situation would arise. It is a misnomer to refer to Manchuria and Mongolia as Japan's special zone, as some people do.

"The Japanese government made a mistake in not arranging with the Chinese authorities for the withdrawal of the Japanese residents at Tsinan to places of safety temporarily, but China has no right to demand of Japan the withdrawal of

CONTRIBUTORS

Paul Scharrenberg, who contributed "The Philippine Problem," is Secretary-Treasurer of the California State Federation of Labor, and one of those most active in agitation for the passage of that provision of the United States Immigration Act of 1924 which excludes Oriental immigrants from entry into the United States.

Griffith Taylor, whose views on "New Lands and Old Education" we use in this issue, was until recently Professor of Geography at the University of Sydney, Australia, and has now joined the faculty of the University of Chicago.

Dr. Inazo Nitobé, who gave us permission to publish for the first time his lecture on "The Religious Sense of the Japanese People," was formerly Professor at the Tokyo Imperial University and later Under-Secretary at the League of Nations, Geneva. He is the author of "Japanese Traits," and other philosophical and literary books and essays in English and Japanese.

John W. Wheeler-Bennett, whose third quarterly report on Great Britain and Pacific Affairs was prepared for the Institute of Pacific Relations and printed in this issue, is Honorary Information Secretary for the Royal Institute of International Affairs, London.

Willowdean C. Handy, who contributed the story of "Renaissance in Indo-China," has spent an interesting period of travel and study in Southern Asia with her husband, Dr. E. S. Craighill Handy, Ethnologist of the Bernice P. Bishop Museum, Honolulu. Mrs. Handy is a Museum Associate in Polynesian Folkways.

PACIFIC AFFAIRS

No. 2 FEBRUARY 1929

The Philippine Problem

ATTITUDE OF AMERICAN LABOR TOWARD FILIPINO IMMIGRATION AND PHILIPPINE INDEPENDENCE

By Paul Scharrenberg

It is an historic fact that California has borne the brunt of the struggle for the effective exclusion of Asiatic laborers.

Californians did not seek this dubious distinction. They were forced into unpleasant anti-Asiatic campaigns because successive waves of migrations from the Orient seriously menaced the very livelihood of industrial workers, farmers and small tradesmen.

An anti-Chinese agitation was in full swing when Commodore Perry knocked at the gates of Japan to urge the statesmen of that country to do business with the world at large. Although the first Chinese exclusion act did not become effective until 1882, the principle contained therein has, by subsequent enactments, remained the law of the land to date.

The demand for Japanese exclusion was formulated in California during the early years of the present century. Anti-Japanese agitation became acute in 1906 and in 1907 President Roosevelt succeeded in negotiating a Gentlemen's Agreement with Japan, which he pronounced a satisfactory substitute for exclusion by law. Californians differed with President Roosevelt and continued the agitation for effective exclusion by law. Congress finally heeded this insistent and growing demand by inserting in the Immigration Act of 1924 a clause providing that "no alien ineligible to citizenship shall be admitted to the United States."

Today, California and other Western states are confronted by a third Asiatic invasion. Section 28 of the Immigration Act of 1924 defines the term "alien" and specifically declares that "citizens of the islands under the jurisdiction of the United States shall not be held as aliens." This places the Filipinos in the status of privileged characters. All other Asiatic laborers are rigorously excluded. Filipinos can come at their pleasure in any number. It is extremely difficult to secure reliable information on the number of Filipinos migrating to the United States, but it is known that the Territory of Hawaii has become the half-way station. Approximately 80,000 have been imported under contract with the sugar planters of Hawaii. In addition to this induced stream of contract laborers, many hundreds of Filipinos have come voluntarily. In 1927 the Spanish steamship "Consuelo" made two trips from Manila to Honolulu and landed over 1,300 Filipinos. In September, 1928, the Norwegian steamship "Sandviken" brought 638 voluntary Filipino immigrants to Honolulu.

According to data obtained from the United States immigration office at Honolulu, the Filipino population of the Territory of Hawaii had a net increase of 26,454 during the seven years ended June 30, 1928. This net increase was through immigration channels alone and does not include

the normal increase through births. The total Filipino population of Hawaii is considerably in excess of 50,000. Every one of these Filipinos has a lawful right to transfer his residence from Hawaii to points on the Pacific coast. The organized workers of America, who have given attention to this situation, firmly believe that most of the Filipinos in Hawaii will move to the Pacific coast as soon as they have accumulated the necessary funds.

The Filipinos are human beings with the normal desire to improve their conditions of living. In their native land they are paid a wage of about 40 cents per day. In Hawaii they receive from $1 to $1.50 per day. On the Pacific coast they can easily command double the amount. Under the circumstances one can hardly hold ill will against the individual Filipino who refuses to be happy in Hawaii and continues to move Eastward until he arrives in the promised land.

It seems to be impossible to obtain reliable data from official sources covering the movement of Filipinos from Hawaii to Pacific coast states. Various estimates, however, indicate that California already has a Filipino population greatly in excess of 30,000. The Filipino population of the Pacific coast is believed to number more than 50,000. Of course, not all the mainland Filipino residents have come via Hawaii. The Bureau of Insular Affairs at Washington, D. C., certifies to the fact that during the calendar year 1927, 6,709 Filipinos left the Philippines for permanent residence in continental United States. This number is in addition to 11,788 who are recorded as having left the Philippines during the same year for permanent residence in Hawaii.

The organized workers of the Pacific coast states have become apprehensive of this new uncontrolled flood of cheap Asiatic labor. Filipinos have taken the place of white workers in the culinary trades; they have replaced white bell boys and elevator operators and made it more and more difficult for white hotel maids to find employment. Steamships in the highly protected coastwise trade have been manned with Filipinos while American seamen are vainly walking the docks looking for jobs. The whole situation is extremely puzzling to the average American worker. He does not understand why the Filipino had been made a privileged character under the immigration laws. No explanation is forthcoming except the bold statement that the Hawaiian sugar planters must have cheap labor to continue in business. Such an explanation does not explain anything but brings forth resentful inquiries about the legal status of the Filipino, the reason for his migration and the possibility of putting an end to a situation that is rapidly forcing another unwanted, unassimilable alien group on California and other Western states.

Congress has the authority to control this situation and the Filipinos should not object to restriction because their country has been protected by Spanish and American exclusion laws against the influx of Chinese. If these laws were repealed, within fifty years, the Chinese would and could obliterate the Filipinos, as they have done in Malaya.

Right now there are enough Filipinos among us to create a problem and this is borne out by the fact that when the agitation against Japanese in California was commenced, there was a less number of Japanese here than there are Filipinos at this time.

Generally speaking, the Filipinos who come to the Pacific coast are young men from twenty to twenty-seven years of age. There are few women. As to the assimilation of these people, the Attorney-General of the State of

California has ruled that they are Mongolians and therefore under the state law cannot marry whites. Their status as citizens is peculiar. Under the Treaty of Paris, following the Spanish war, no definite provision for citizenship was made, and naturalization is denied under the United States Law of 1790.

As to general undesirability of the Filipino as an immigrant there is ample evidence. A well-known citizen of San Francisco, who has for a number of years had direct contact with the local Filipino population but whose name cannot be given for very obvious reasons, made this highly significant statement:

"There are, between San Francisco, Stockton and Salinas, approximately 9,000 Filipinos who work on the farms, all of whom work for less than whites, and probably displace a great many. When winter comes and there is no work in the country they flock to the cities and a great many of them come to the Filipino Club, a charitable institution, getting support from the Community Chest, and the balance of what it needs from the Archbishop. If it were not for this agency, where they get breakfast for 10 cents and dinner for 25 cents (or if they have no money they are fed and given a bed for nothing) they would be on the streets. They do not go to the Salvation Army for they will not do the work they are required to do there for a bed or meal. They are very lazy, and very vain. When they go for a day to wash windows in some private house, they carry their window rags in a brief case, so as to appear as lawyers. They save nothing as a rule, and if they do save a bit through the summer they come to the city and gamble it away and then expect the charitable agencies to take care of them. They buy whatever is possible on credit, and expect the Community Chest to pay what they owe—this they think is no more than what should be. They are not welcome at the Japanese and Chinese Y. M. C. A., and in Los Angeles dance halls have been opened (by private individuals) for their use, with white women as partners. Practically no Filipino women come into this country, and as a result there is no real home or social life for them anywhere. The climate here, especially the cold nights, does not agree with them, and they become an easy prey to tuberculosis. When they are in the hospital their comrades never come to see them—they do nothing for each other. Most of them stay in California, as they have no money to go further. Some plan to go back to the Philippines, but never save enough money. When one dies the Catholic church usually buries him—he has no money and his friends do nothing. They are very quarrelsome and continually fighting among themselves. They have no idea of honor, or honesty, or fairness—they will borrow money with never an idea of paying it back."

The foregoing quotation is mild compared with the opinion of health officers and others whose official duties have brought them in direct contact with Filipino immigrants. The prevailing opinion seems to be that Filipino immigration has more objectionable features than the former immigration of Chinese and Japanese.

In September, 1927, the annual convention of the California State Federation of Labor, by unanimous vote, adopted a resolution calling upon the California Congressional delegation to work for the enactment of a law which would effectively exclude Filipinos. The annual conventions of labor federations in several other Pacific coast states have done likewise. The Washington State Federation of Labor convention declared the Filipinos undesirable on the following counts:

"First, because they represent cheap and irresponsible labor of a type that cannot be assimilated, and as such they threaten American standards of wages and living conditions. Second, because they have given serious offense to communities in which they have congregated because of their moral conduct, with the result that in one community in Washington the citizens became so aroused that they organized and forcibly evicted the Filipinos. We feel sure that it is not good for labor nor for American institutions and standards to permit the free and unrestricted influx of these people, and we endorse the position of the California State Federation of Labor in asking for their exclusion, and instruct the officers of this Federation to assist in securing the legislation necessary to accomplish this end."

The last two conventions of the American Federation of Labor, meeting in Los Angeles and New Orleans, respectively, also unanimously adopted resolutions insisting upon the enactment of a Filipino exclusion law.

In compliance with the urgent request of his labor constituents, Congressman Welch of California, on May 19, 1928, introduced a bill (H. R. 13900) in the House of Representatives which, when enacted, should effectively exclude the Filipinos.

The bill introduced by Mr. Welch aims to place Filipino immigration in the general classification of "aliens." As such they will be subject to rigid exclusion because another section of the Immigration Act of 1924 provides that "no alien ineligible to citizenship shall be admitted to the United States."

Those who are most active in furthering the exclusion of Filipino laborers fully realize that there is going to be strenuous opposition to such legislation. The Hawaiian interests will doubtless do their utmost to prevent the passage of a Filipino exclusion bill, but the sponsors of Mr. Welch's bill are experienced men. They are also eminently practical men who have met and vanquished opposition in many legislative battles. Delay and procrastination will not discourage them. Time will become their ally. In brief, they will stick to the job until success has been achieved.

The controversy over the proposed exclusion of Filipino laborers will develop some interesting side issues. We have always been told that the main reason for the mass emigration from China and Japan is to be found in the ever increasing population pressure and the food supply problem in those countries. The available evidence with respect to the Philippines does not seem to show the existence either of population pressure or of a food supply problem. The estimated population of the Philippine Islands as of January 1, 1925, is 11,234,000. The land area of the Philippines is approximately four-fifths of the land area of California. There are two islands in the Philippine group as large as Ireland. According to Philippine Government surveys and estimates, there are about 73,185,000 acres in the islands cultivated. Commercial forests cover 54 per cent; non-commercial forests, 10 per cent; 19 per cent consists of open grass lands; 1 per cent of mangrove swamps, and 4 per cent is unexplored.

Of the forest land about two-thirds, or 25,190,000 acres, are probably best utilized as permanent timberland, and of the unexplored area about 1,976,000 acres are not alienable. Adding to these unavailable areas land already under cultivation and the mangrove swamps (670,000 acres), approximately 35,800,000 acres, or nearly half the total land area of the islands, are still available for cultivation, as compared with the 9,170,000 acres now being farmed. In other words, only about 20 per cent of the land suitable for agricultural purposes is now under cultivation.

From the foregoing it is quite plain that the natural resources of the Philippines have scarcely been appraised. Certainly there is plenty of room in the islands for many times the present population. And yet, the migration of Filipino laborers to the United States has been increasing at an alarming rate from year to year.

In any analytical discussion of the pending Filipino exclusion bill, it is, of course, out of the question to ignore that very much related issue, i. e., the demand for immediate independence by the people of the Philippines. The grant of independence would at once change the Filipino's status as an immigrant and would apparently make it unnecessary to promote an exclusion law.

The promise of self-government and independence for the Filipinos was made by the Congress of the United States through the passage of the Jones Act on August 29, 1916. There was only one qualifying point in said promise, namely, recognition of independence was promised as soon as a stable government had been established.

The Filipinos have ample reasons to believe that they have fully established the stable government demanded as the only prerequisite to the granting of independence. Stable government has a definite meaning in American foreign relations. It is a government supported by the people and capable of keeping order and fulfilling international obligations. Its origin and its application to the Philippines can easily be traced to America's relations with South America. It was the policy of Presidents Grant and McKinley. It was President Grant who, as early as 1875, expressed the idea that as soon as the Cuban people had set up a stable government, their independence would be recognized. This policy was supported by President McKinley. When he urged Congress to declare war on Spain to liberate Cuba, he definitely stated that as soon as the Cuban people had established in the Island "a stable government, capable of maintaining order and observing international obligations, insuring peace and tranquility and the security of the citizens as well as our own," then Cuban independence would be recognized.

The representative of the American government in the Philippines, who supervised the establishment of the government under the Jones law, has concurred in the report of the Philippine legislature that there is a stable government in the Philippines now. President Wilson, in his farewell message to Congress, officially certified that the Filipino people had already fulfilled the condition imposed upon them as a prerequisite to independence, and hence that independence should no longer be denied them.

The American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, voicing the sentiments of millions of American workers, has by unanimous vote declared for the immediate grant of independence to the Filipino people.

Besides the fulfillment of their part of the understanding with America, the Filipino people have another reason for wanting independence now. They are caught in the same current which is sweeping practically every subject people on earth. They believe that the right of self-determination has now a better chance to live than ever before. The World War gave birth to ten new nations in Europe. An Irish Free State has been created, based on treaty relations with England. The self-governing colonies of the British Empire have already become independent, and the empire itself has become a minor league of nations.

Look at Asia and Africa. The nationalist movements there are also in full sway. All demand self-determination. Egypt has virtually regained her

independence. Representative institutions are being tried in Java and India. Korean nationalism has reasserted itself, and China is struggling as never before in history to establish a self-reliant, independent national government.

When we think of the new-born nations in Europe—the majority of them half as large as the Philippines, some of them bankrupt, staggering under heavy taxation, weighed down by gigantic debts, yet proud of their hard-won independence—and compare them to the Philippines, free from the turmoil of war, free from the weight of huge war debts, can we wonder why the Filipino people now believe that they should become the chief arbiter of their national destiny? They want to drink in the new life, the new freedom, the new atmosphere. They believe they should now take their place in the progress and the broader events of the world. And why not?

New Lands and Old Education

By Griffith Taylor

This paper was read before the Australian Educational Conference and subsequently printed in the October number of Education, published at Sydney.

Some eight years ago I gave an address to the Secondary Teachers in Victoria in which I stressed the necessity for the teaching of modern geography, not only in the schools, but in the Universities of Australia. I am glad to say that a year later an independent Department of Geography was started at the University of Sydney, which is now attended by over 200 students. (It may be added that nearly half of these are Arts students.) But the teaching in the secondary schools, more especially in the high schools, has not yet been much affected. There are several reasons for this. One reason, I fear, is that the Head of the Department of Geography has had so much work that he has been unable to attend to the subject outside the University, until urged to do so on the present occasion. Another reason is that the supply of teachers trained along the lines of **modern** geography has been quite inadequate. This lack of teachers will, I hope, not be felt in a year or so. A third reason (and the chief object of my address is to try to remove this disability), is that the somewhat rigid syllabus of the Education Department either omits geography or makes it practically impossible to train pupils adequately in modern geography (up to the Intermediate standard) in the time allotted. What I desire to show is that no subject better deserves the attention of the most promising youth of the State than modern geography.

Let us first of all consider the chief aim of the education of the child. Surely it is primarily to fit him to cope satisfactorily with the problems which he will encounter after he leaves school. There can be no objection to his starting off with the three R's, but what are the vital subjects which he is to study in the last four years of his education, say between the ages of 12 and 16? I think we may assume that if his interest in a subject is not aroused before he is 16, he is likely to go through life in ignorance of that subject; unless, of course, it touches his business career.

It would seem obvious that as soon as the child can read, write and cipher, he should be taught to appreciate his own position in relation to the world about him. I feel confident that in the near future no one will be considered educated who has no accurate knowledge of how man has

evolved from the lower animals; who has no knowledge of how man has developed a great civilization, and, lastly, no knowledge of how man is evolving, very slowly, but very surely, in response to his environment.

Now these may seem weighty matters to occupy the brains of our young folks, but translated into terms of the syllabus, they mean that some natural science, (biology, with some geology), some history (with emphasis on the social and economic side*) and finally some geography (with a strong leaning toward the human side) should be the platforms of the next stage of human education. Of much less **general** value to the average young Australian, (though of the greatest special value to future students of technology or language) are the subjects of Physics, Chemistry, French and Latin. Let me hasten to add that I should like all high school boys and girls to attend some classes in these four subjects, but not until they have acquired (and certainly not at the expense of) some considerable knowledge of Elementary Biology, History and Geography. Certainly it seems to the writer a poor arrangement which sends out so many of our future citizens when they are 16 with an education, to a large extent, based on Latin and French and Chemistry, although many of them will make practically no contact with these subjects in their post-scholastic career.

Let me now give some of the reasons why geography is a necessity in the education of young Australians. Modern geography may be defined as the study of man's relation to his physical environment. It has very little in common with the ancient geography involving lists of places or the mere drawing of the outlines of countries, which still form the bulk of the teaching of the antiquated teacher. One may compare the geographer with the town-planner. The geographer (in the words of Sir Edgeworth David) is a nation-planner. What higher ideal can any teacher possess? It is his privilege to teach how and why settlement advances, stagnates, or retreats; how climate controls not only man's comfort, but almost the whole of his material needs in farm and field. On the political side it treats of national boundaries, their rational or arbitrary position, with all that this implies as to the peace of the world. On the ethnological side it is concerned with the distribution of primitive peoples and their relation to the governing races. On the economic side it treats of the materials of commerce, of the shipping routes, and of travel generally. (The lantern slides demonstrate these problems.)

It is difficult for one who is a geographer to understand how any curriculum can ignore the paramount importance of these problems. They can all be included in fairly elementary geography. They are all discussed in the first year course of geography (in the Faculty of Science) before young students who, in general, arrive blissfully ignorant of any of them; for they have usually dropped geography at the mature age of 10 or 11. However, as I said before, I am here making a plea primarily for the vast bulk of high school pupils who do not proceed to the University.

There is another aspect of the question of perhaps equal importance. How can our political administrators deal efficiently with the vital national problems of the day if they remain ignorant of the scientific principles involved therein? I fear that politics are controlled rather by expediency than by scientific knowledge, although so many of our problems turn on the complete understanding of the Australian environment. By the present arrangement of the curriculum in many of the best schools, there is not

* The Departmental History seems an excellent example of the modern type.

only no chance of our future administrators learning how to cope with these problems, but the general public remain equally in ignorance.

Some of the problems may be indicated briefly. Our forefathers came from the cool, moist islands of Britain to a land which is typically the hot arid continent. We have no region in Australia, save perhaps part of Tasmania, which remotely resembles Britain. We have, indeed, very little which resembles any part of Europe, save its extreme southern peninsulas. Australia has environment like Algeria, like much of the Sahara and like Nigeria. Our crops, our flocks and herds will more closely resemble those of India and North Africa than those of Britain. One would imagine that every citizen would be encouraged to study firstly his own unknown environment and secondly those of lands of a similar nature. Does he do this? Far from it. He ignores them and is encouraged to devote one-fifth of his education to studying the speech and methods of a nation which flourished 2,000 years ago.

To the north of us lie the five hundred millions of China and Japan, at present peacefully inclined towards us. But their foreign problems are our foreign problems. Their sad state of semi-starvation and all that that implies, should be of moment to a nation like ours, which is unable to place more than 20,000 people into half of its vast Commonwealth. Nearer home, just north of Rabaul, the Japanese and Australian realms touch. It is gratifying that the Commonwealth authorities are sending picked cadets to study the geography of Pacific Lands at the University. We administer thousands of square miles of land in New Guinea, but it is unlikely that the average citizen knows the name of more than one or two places in this outlying part of our Commonwealth. It is certain that he knows nothing of the habits or habitats of the native peoples of New Guinea.

I come now to the last part of this address. It is clear that nothing can be added to the curriculum of the schoolboy, unless something is removed. I can see nothing for it but a great diminution in the time given to Latin. The arguments for and against Latin in the schools are familiar to most of us. I think Latin an excellent subject in its proper place, which will ultimately be beside Greek, and mainly at the University. Can we not imitate Dr. Norwood (the Headmaster of Harrow), who has made geography alternative to Latin, because, we are told, geography is a first rate mental exercise and can be turned to immediate account. The writer had the usual five years of Latin at school, and he has always regretted it. Not because Latin is not interesting, but because it means that he learnt no science, physical or natural. There was then, of course, no modern or human geography. How many readers of this address, who are not professionally interested in Latin, ever read a Latin text today? Personally, I doubt if I have opened a Latin text since I left the Latin class, for I can find no time for one-quarter of the English literature which I ought to read, and I fancy that is the experience of most educated English people.

Why do so many pupils spend about one-fifth of their time upon Latin? Partly because it was a necessary study some five hundred years ago, and because we are a conservative race. Partly because there is an excellent Department of Latin turning out plenty of teachers. Partly because Latin is compulsory for matriculants into the Faculties of Arts, Law and Medicine. I have never been able to appreciate the weight of the argument that Latin is taught to help the student in his English or French. On similar lines, the Chinese used to burn down a house to obtain roast pork. Why not give

a few special lessons on the bearing of Latin on French and on English, and then go ahead and study the French and English languages themselves?

I believe that the curriculum at the High School for all but a small group of commercial pupils (who do not study the **human** side of geogphy) is somewhat as follows: Latin 6 periods a week, French 6, English 5, Mathematics 7, History 3, Geography 1 or none, Physics and Chemistry 4. Actual figures in regard to the pupils of one of our largest High Schools are of value here. Only 7 or 8 per cent of those entering the school proceed to the University, and only about 3 per cent matriculate in Latin. Why then should some 66 per cent of the scholars devote one-fifth of their education to this subject? It is a poor argument to say that languages need 6 periods because they are hard. The sole reason for the time expended on a subject should be its relative value to the pupil.

I venture to suggest a much better balanced curriculum for the vast majority of pupils (over 95 per cent), who are not anxious to take Latin at the University, would be as follows:—

Mathematics 7 periods, English 6, History 3, Geography 4, French 4, Latin 2, Physics and Chemistry 4, Biology with Geology 2. This will obviously involve some change in the matriculation* system for Arts, etc. (It will not affect Science or Engineering.) But this is, of course, outside my province.

Latin has had a long innings and it is time she stepped down from her privileged position, in view of the special needs of Australian youth. Of course the great reason usually given for learning Latin is that no other subject so readily promotes the growth of "culture." As regards mere translation, the complicated syntax of the language, (which Jespersen tells is the most **primitive** of the Aryan family), induces agility of the brain in the same sense as does the jig-saw puzzle. Why not trust to Chemistry or Physics to teach the processes of induction and of cause and effect? In regard to that elusive term "culture" I am reminded of the attitude of the Chinese Mandarin. For centuries his education was entirely based on the life and literature of Confucius, a literature which has the advantage of being 500 years more reverend than that of Cicero and Horace. The Mandarin was, in his own opinion, a gentleman of culture, and his badge was the abnormal length of his finger nails. His conservative education in no small degree led to the downfall of his nation, when it met the shock of modern peoples. The actual significance of his badge was to prove that he never followed the plough—did no degrading work—was, in short, a person of **leisure.**

Western "culture," also is more generally found among the leisured class; so is Latin, so are top-hats. One cannot deduce from this argument that culture depends on Latin, any more than on top-hats. It is, however, readily admitted that culture notably depends on a degree of **leisure** from the cares of life. True culture implies a love of beauty not only in art but in nature. It promotes a sympathy with the concerns and ideals of other individuals and peoples. The modernist believes that these ideals will rather be promoted by the study of the human environment of today than by the study of a language of twenty centuries ago.

* Possibly the few pupils who are likely to take Latin at the University might be allowed to take 6 periods at school.

The Religious Sense of the Japanese People

By Dr. Inazo Nitobé

The substance of this essay was originally presented as a lecture at the Japanese Language School, Tokyo.

"The Japanese Sense of Religion," or rather, "The Religious Sense of the Japanese People," is a rather vague and wide subject for anybody to take. Whoever speaks of religion must begin with a definition. In theses on religion in the abstract one must give a concise definition of the terms he uses. Mr. Benjamin Kidd when he treated of religion devoted three or four pages of his book to quotations on religion made by different authors and philosophers. I was talking with a friend of mine who is an exponent of Shintoism. I asked him what he meant by religion and he said by Shintoism he means everything that is good in the Universe. He cannot say "everything." His definition is too vague. I would never have thought of Shintoism in that way. However, without giving some limitations to the term religion you can scarcely maintain your thesis. You cannot make any rigid statement, and therefore I may give it a very broad definition tomorrow, or I might change it this very evening if I were talking with somebody else; but for this one hour's convenience I wish to state what I mean by religion.

My definition is not original. I take a poem—a very well known poem of Emperor Meiji, and I do that because he uses terms that are entirely of Japanese derivation—no Chinese words used. For the benefit of those familiar with Japanese I would like first to give it in Japanese that they may feel the beauty of it.

"Me ni mienu
Kami no kokoro no kayokoso
Hito no kokoro no
Makoto narikeru."

Me—means eyes, unseen, invisible eyes of flesh. *Kokoro* cannot be translated by one word in any language. It is scarcely a scientific term. Its meaning is limitless; spirit, mind, the heart. I think it was in desperation that Mr. Lafcadio Hearn used the original word for one of his books, "Kokoro." *Kami*—means God. To commune, to have intercourse, that alone is *makotono*—untranslatable, a word that had been used I don't know how long at a time when there was no psychology and when there was no Chinese word in Japan. It is an affirmative sort of word and by that term our people meant anything that is not physical; anything that is not material in the nature of man was put in this single word *makoto*—truth, sincerity, faithfulness, fidelity, loyalty, friendship. It may mean many things. I think it is quite interesting that when that word was translated into a Chinese character our ancestors adopted a Chinese word of two characters, namely, "word" and "done." In other words in Chinese it is the equivalent of meaning "the word done." Does this not remind you of the rite, or the ritual, in Greek? I myself do not know Greek, but so I have read. *Rite* in Greek means a thing done. Now the Chinese character suggests something like it. "The word done;" I can stretch out the meaning and say "made, accomplished." "The word that was made flesh——." To return to the Japanese word *makoto*. *Makoto* seems to be a derivation of *Ma-koto*,

"thing, real thing;" or the "essence," if it is not too philosophical a term and may not be misleading. We may call it reality, spiritually or otherwise; the *thing itself*.

Now to put the poem roughly in English: "To commune with the heart of God invisible to the eyes of flesh: That is the religion of the heart of man." Now *makoto* here in this case means belief. It means religion. If I am not greatly mistaken that is our idea of religion and may be said to be a far more ideal and spiritual one than the definition of the etymology of the term religion which I think means "to bind," primarily. There is no binding in the Japanese conception of religion; no outside power suggested except to define that it is the exercise or yearning of the heart to reach forward to that which is invisible to eyes of flesh. In brief, it means the recognition of supernatural power accessible to human spirits, and that is to serve as my definition of religion—a recognition of supernatural power accessible to human spirits. I use the words accessible to human spirit in order to exclude recognition of physical power. I do not think electricity, solar rays, tides, and whatever power it may be that exists in nature, physical power, can be thought of as accessible to human spirit, by which I mean responsive to the appeals of man. You must excuse me if my definition is not precise or concise enough; I confess to the ignorance of the proper English word to express what I had in mind when I used those vague, poetical terms to define what faith, and belief, and religion are. Now there is nothing said of the personal element in religion and I wish to include an idea of a personal Being in the world accessible to the human spirit. Unless the supernal partakes of a personal character it will never be accessible or responsive to human spirits.

The extent of such a power is variable according to different systems of religion. In the Shinto system there is a *kami* that presides over the life and destinies of a needle. The particular *kami* is partial only to the needle. You have heard of, if you have not seen, the feast or festival in honor of the god of needles. Women come together and make prayers and offer thanks for the help that the needle has given them. A very circumscribed function of a divinity to look only after the life and destiny of needles! So there is another god that presides over houses; there is one who looks after the welfare of the writing-brush, etc. As there are 800,000,000 in the pantheon of Shintoism you can imagine that every conceivable object has its own divinity and each divinity must be exceedingly circumscribed in his function. So that the extent of the power attributed to the divine beings is variable according to different religious systems.

But I think there is little doubt that there is a constant tendency for the divine attributes to broaden with the march of time, in other words with the development of human thought. Whoever reads the first book of Herman Schweer's sociology will see, beautifully described, a gradual expansion of the religious mind—the local god becomes greater and greater, and things broaden beyond the precincts of the locality, and at last comprehend Heaven, and earth, and soul and universe. I am sorry that Schweer's book is read so little. I am not convinced nor so strongly impressed by his ideas of evolution, but as he is one of my educational benefactors I mention his name. Now you know what I mean by religion and what is included in the use of the term religious sense of the Japanese mind.

Having made this much clear, at least for myself, I wish to state three or four points which will make clear certain laws obscure to you—how the

Japanese mind responds to religion—the conception of a supernatural being who is accessible or responsive to human spirits. First of all, may I make this suggestion — psychologically, the religious sentiment lies between cognition and action. Or, to use a more usual term, the religious sentiment is a function of the human mind that lies between perception and gradual action. You perceive anything and it is instinct to react against or according to the perception. Now between this perception and the power to act, react, there is a momentary pause. Estimated in terms of time it is just a momentary pause, but estimated in terms of space it may be limitless. You perceive anything and before you adjust yourself to the impression that you got from the first perception or from cognition, you feel, sometimes, hesitancy. You are not quite sure whether you should do so and so. You cannot react immediately. In that hesitant mood, in that vague function of the human mind, there, lies the religious sense. Am I mistaken? I am very much interested in this question, but to me it seems as though a religious sense is something that does not blend altogether with action. It partakes ever so much of the emotional, the first sensation that comes from a cognition.

You remember Goethe put these words in the mouth of Faust when Gretchel asked him if he believed in God. Faust is made to say, "Hertz, Liebe, Gott, Ich habe——." As it were, "You asked me about God. Heart, Love, God, I have no name for it, feelings all." A name is only sound and smoke that obscures the mind of Heaven. Here we see at least that the great mind of Goethe connected God, belief in God, religion, almost exclusively with feeling, emotion. Now I do not think that in the day of Goethe psychology had analyzed human emotions sufficiently. I think that he was not aware that there may be a function that is not exactly emotional, that is not only feeling, that is not intellectual or mental; a vague ground there. I wonder if that is the ground which Shakespeare meant when he made Hamlet say that "conscience makes cowards of us all." There again he is not thinking; the thinking function of the conscience is not often intellectual, but it is not exactly feeling; so between feeling and intellect, and first perception and the action, Hamlet hesitates to take action. There is vague ground which he simply calls conscience.

I have very, very often wondered what Wordsworth meant in his "Intimations of Immortality," when he says:

> "—— Not for these I raise
> The song of thanks and praise;
> But for those obstinate questionings
> Of sense and outward things,
> Fallings from us, vanishings,
> Blank misgivings of a creature
> Moving about in worlds not realized,
> High instincts, before which our mortal nature
> Did tremble like a guilty thing surprised;
> But for those first affections,
> Those shadowy recollections,
> Which, be they what they may,
> Are yet the fountain-light of all our day,
> Are yet a master-light of all our seeing——"

ambiguous terms, like many Japanese terms. You know Wordsworth had the intellect of a giant, or the feelings of primitive man; he tried the feel-

ings of all philosophical Englishmen, and he is quite ambiguous. He did not know how to express it. That shows that there is a ground in the function of your mind whose contents you cannot put down in black and white. In the domain of religion, words—language—languages, are but a weak interpreter. Why? Because religious feeling lies somewhere before the human mind conceives any intellectual terms. That is why I believe that religion is an activity of the human mind that lies between perception and thought, or action.

And, if I am not greatly mistaken, is not the religious sense closely connected with an artistic sense—with a sense of beauty and enjoyment of beauty? Is not artistic taste of a similar nature? Does not artistic appreciation lie in the same indefinite ground? Even if they are not intricately bound together, I think religion and art lie very, very close together so that the one just merges into the other. How very many of the religious places are indissolubly connected with ritual and rite from which sprung much of our art, drama, music, songs, etc.!

Where does the Japanese mind lie in the field of art? It is about the one and only thing of which there is no question, that here the Japanese are preeminently in the lead. We know that different races or tribes of men have different natural or artistic gifts. Those who have read the exceedingly suggestive book, thoroughly scientific in nature and presentation, by Professor Sollars, the great archaeologist and geologist, "The Ancient Hunter and Modern Rites," will remember he speaks of the peculiar traits of different primitive peoples. For instance, he traces those who painted beautiful drawings in the Spanish caves and connected them with the Brahmin who away down in Africa are still in a very, very primitive state of civilization but are, nevertheless, highly gifted with an artistic taste and skill. So it seems that some races are highly gifted with artistic taste and among them I think our critic put us down in the foremost ground. Mr. Huntington of Yale, who has made extensive study of climate and climatical affects upon civilization, asked a number of people whom he considered able to answer the questions, to grade, or, as in school, give marks, to the nations in different branches of activity. "How much will you give for an Englishman in art? How much in science, in music?" I know Englishmen got quite a high mark in some things—and quite a good mark, about 80 per cent average, in art. I think he gave about 90 per cent to Japanese. Now you see what I am driving at. Can people naturally imbued with artistic skill be indifferent to religious sense? The two are so closely connected. This then is my first point, the psychological sense of the Japanese people.

My second point is what psychologists call "herd instinct," to use the scientific term. To herd instinct I prefer the term collectivity, at least for this evening. Collectivity to cover the undignified term "herd." Is it not true that what a man believes in his heart of hearts constitutes a religion in itself? Until a man finds somebody else to share the same belief, until one's belief becomes a social phenomenon, I do not think you call it a religion. Of course in a very vague way, my religion is so and so, but I think it is not rightly so. When the term religion was derived from the word bind it shows that the religion was something that bound people in society, either bound them together in accomplishment or art, or bound an individual from doing something derogatory to the common interests of the community. Anyhow the connection had the idea of binding. Religion as a belief is called a religion only after it becomes a social force, when one's belief is shared by others. Nearly all writers on religion (that sounds bad because I have not

read nearly all writers on religion)—many writers on religion, differ from the beginning in their essays or books. They speak of the distinction between individual following and institutional religion; in fact, religion, to be called by that name, is largely a social institution. If so, in that race among whom the idea of personality is thin, poor, and meager, in that race religion comes as a strong social phenomenon. It is a sort of public opinion that one believes, that great men believe; if the majority of the community believes, it almost seems too bad not to believe. How many people in America or England hold a strong personal religious belief? Many are Christians by birth. They are Methodist because their parents were Methodist; or Quaker, etc.; or because there is no other church in the village they become this or that. Religion is an institution. The State becomes such when it merges out of the individual and becomes a part of the social institution, whether it be in the form of ritual, or Communion of Saints (by which I mean a church); or it may be a state function, not only a social institution or political institution, but a state function. We know that the Greeks made of their religion a great political bond, and when a religion becomes a state affair not to believe, not to accept that religion, is to be disloyal to the country. Whoever fails to accept all the demands of a state religion is considered not a heretic, but a traitor. I think our Shintoism is somewhat like that. Whoever desecrates or dishonors a Shinto Shrine, or anything held holy by Shintoists, will be condemned not as a heretic but as a disloyal subject of the Japanese Emperor. There is no distinction made between individual faith and the outward conduct of a citizen.

We have heard of Anathagoras and others being exiled from Athens because they did not accept the gods worshipped by the Athenians. Socrates—most of you know better than I do—though the real motive of his condemnation was because he spoke against democracy, was put to death ostensibly because he introduced new deities into Attica, showing that their constitution had a great binding force in religious faith. In other words, a religion was identified as a means—was made a means—of developing and organizing herd instinct, or realizing social collectivity.

In the case of the Japanese we have a constitution, liberty of conscience, and freedom of belief that is far from inconsistent with the institution of semi-religious rites and ceremonies connected with the Shinto Shrine. I go to Court on New Year's Day, I have to bow. I go to the shrine at Ise, I am admitted into the precincts, must bare my head, and make a bow. Is that religion? You must make obeisance. If obeisance is religion, and it is yet forced upon you, there is no liberty of conscience. Hence, in the constitution, to obviate this objection, the government has put it down clearly that Shintoism is not a religion, but a wise government. That is about the wisest thing our people have done. I bow to many people. I don't mind bowing to people, or shrines, in fact anything, that I respect. Having been accustomed to bowing, it is very easy for me. But, if by bowing I am considered to be worshipping, if it should imply that I believe in this particular god and no other, and that this mirror or this sword I hold is divine—has a sort of power responsive and accessible to human spirits—if a bow implies that, I cannot bow. Nobody asks me to have a belief of that kind. All that is required is to be polite. All right, I have my invitation.

Now, when a religion is accepted, is made a binding social force, a means of strengthening herd instinct, it may be a morality beyond the pale of ethics. Our Shintoism is not moral. It has no decalogue, it doesn't tell you what to do or what not to do. No moral conception is included, unless

it be that it requires us to be true to the legitimate successor of the Imperial house. You may call that moral, or political, as you wish.

Now what I tried to make a little clear is that religion not only in this country, but the whole world over, has been identified with or is a social force to bind individuals together. It was a social bond, and in that capacity the Japanese are not in any nature inferior to or weaker than other peoples —they are even stronger. I say, even stronger, because their sense of personality is not, I am sorry to say, as strongly developed as the western; and when sense of personality is not developed, the value of individuals is not highly esteemed; and thence collectivity is highly developed and hence their religion as a binding force, as an instrument of collectivity, is naturally more highly developed than in other peoples.

Third, I wish to make distinct that the Japanese are by nature and by trait extroverts and not introverts. Of course there are exceptions; but on the whole the Japanese mind loves to go out and not to concentrate itself within. You remember the beautiful description that the Roman historian Mommsen has written, of the difference between the Greek mentality and the Roman, how the Romans covered their heads in worship because to them religion meant reflection—introvert, thinking of yourself; the Greeks uncovered their head, and instead of bowing down they looked up because their religion was contemplative. They wanted to look outside over the whole world, to breathe in the beauties of nature. In fact, it is said that the essence of the religion of the Pyrenees lay in the very simple term, in English translation, "Thou art." Who? You go to a temple and try to worship. It says, "Thou"—whom does that mean? Does it mean, Thou, who are enshrined here, who art God? Thou, the worshipper? It may mean either. In the case of the Roman, "Thou art," would have meant, reflect upon thyself. In the case of the Greeks, it would not mean himself, but somebody else, outside of himself; that is, outside of the worshipper.

The Greeks were extroverts. How about the Japanese? As I have said before, we are extroverts. We value outside things altogether too much. That is bad with a thin, meager, poorly developed sense of personality and individuality. We lack that strong personality; sometimes that gives a beautiful character. I won't say that the lack of strong personality is altogether a disadvantage in the moral character. Certainly it is a disadvantage in that we don't feel a personal responsibility to others and that is a very serious drawback; a very serious matter in the development of character. But, there is this side, you can invest yourself with your neighbor's personality; you can also take your neighbor's thoughts, and feelings, and ideas, into your own.

The partition that lies between one Japanese and another is very thin. There is a constant process of osmosis—simply you feel for others. You may see Japanese come to you and say, "My father died last night," and laugh. In other words, "I don't wish to pain you by sharing my own sorrows." He doesn't say so in so many words, but you know what lies underneath. We have no Hamlet to mourn over his fate. We don't speak of those things. We know when we hesitate, without saying. The Japanese does not philosophize or if he philosophizes he doesn't put it in so many words—and he feels that others understand him. Have you not seen many actors in the Japanese theater say at most serious moments, "Please guess," or, "please understand," and you understand. Why? Because there is this osmosis going on and so this action between two individuals is due to Japanese being extroverts. Hence, they are lovers of nature. They are so sen-

sitive to outside surroundings: and so what nature can impart to the human soul in regard to God, or his acts, is helped by us, perhaps even more vividly, than by men of other races. But there is no ground for comparison. Do you feel more deeply, or do I? I can testify for my own self that some of the spiritual emotion that I personally feel when I come in contact with man or nature I can scarcely believe others can feel more deeply.

And now lastly, the fourth point. You all know of ancestor-worship in this country and some of you may think it is superstitious and ridiculous. May I suggest that when true mental science or biology makes further progress in the discovery of secrets pertaining to heredity, ancestor-worship will become a most scientific attitude of mind? Particularly in America, if I am not greatly mistaken, individuals are too busy with new life; cutting down virgin-timber, and building factories. The whole people are too busy with the demands of the present age. They do not care from whom they descended. But now as society gets older, many are going to Europe to find their forefathers. This is coming more and more to be the case. They ought to know whence they came, and whether you call it ancestor-worship or not, the same attitude of mind is created in new races. The new races will come to regard the ancestral stock as a great influence in their lives. And ancestor-worship in some of its phases, and particularly in its progressive and ascending form, takes you back, back and back, to God the Creator, and the One Being who made Heaven and earth and all that are in it and under it. In a sense Christianity itself is an ancestor-worship. When our souls ascend in worshipful mood from the present to the past, from Nature up to Nature's God, the All-Father, that is ancestor-worship; and in this worshipful attitude of mind we Japanese are not lagging behind.

And so I have given only a few points; from

(1) the psychological position of religious faith,
(2) the highly developed herd-instinct,
(3) our extrovert tendencies, and
(4) the ancestor-worship that has been in vogue with us for centuries.

At least in these four ways, the Japanese sense of religion is highly developed.

I don't mean by this statement that we have overgreat religiosity; nor am I saying that what appears to other people as irreligious or anti-religious may in reality be deeper religious sentiment.

I knew some writers and observers who came to Japan—I mean foreigners—who made such astounding remarks as "Japanese birds never sing,"—"the flowers have no scent." The flowers they have in mind are the roses and violets. They did not know that these flowers are not native to Japan. They never saw the plum in its native country. If they had stated that roses and violets are not fragrant—but they said, "flowers are not fragrant." Just so with birds; when they spoke of birds they perhaps meant robins or thrushes. They did not hear the larks or other Japanese song-birds. I knew of a Persian gentleman who went to America to study, and who said, "There is no such thing as decency," because to his mind decency was connected only with long skirts. And so it is no easy task for a foreigner to understand the psychology of a native.

While I have by no means exhausted my subject, I shall feel gratified for the opportunity given me if I have given you some suggestions, some hints, as to what we feel in the depths of our hearts.

Great Britain and the Pacific

A Report of Occurrences Bearing on Pacific Affairs for the Quarter September-December, 1928

Prepared by John W. Wheeler-Bennett

Hon. Information Secretary, Royal Institute of International Affairs

Note: In the period under review (September-October-November, 1928) there is little parliamentary news to report as the Houses of Parliament did not reassemble for the winter session until November 6. There were, however, important events at Geneva during the month of September and for that reason a section has been added giving an account of the relations of China with the League of Nations at the Ninth Session of the Assembly.—J. W. W-B.

China

I. *Parliamentary*

1. *Policy*

In the Speech from the Throne at the opening of Parliament on November 6th, the following reference was made to China:

> I welcome the efforts which China is making to establish a Central Government for the whole of that great country and to cope with those forces of disorder which have distracted it for many years past.
>
> I regard the progress of these endeavors as being of the highest importance, not only for the safety and prosperity of my subjects resident in China, but also for the peace of the world.

On November 9th, the Prime Minister speaking at the Guildhall Banquet said:

> The position in China—a matter which affects this great city—has shown marked signs of improvement.
>
> The civil war has ended, and a Central Government is formed which has a claim to authority over the greater part of the country. That Government has great difficulties before it, but it has a constructive programme and we hope it will feel strong enough to give effect to it. Our policy in China during these three dangerous years has been, as you know, on the one hand to defend the lives of our own people, and on the other, to take the best measures practicable under the conditions to meet the national aspirations of the Chinese themselves.
>
> We have been successful, I believe, in both our endeavors. The despatch of the Defence Force to Shanghai undoubtedly saved the lives of many people, not only British but Chinese, and preserved that great city from what might have been a catastrophe. On the other hand, the good relations now existing with the Chinese National Government, established since the settlement of the Nanking incident, is the best proof that the Chinese themselves are appreciating our friendly feeling, and now that they have definitely rejected the counsels of the Third International, having realized that those were not given in the interests of China but in the interests of world revolution, we believe that if they now turn to us for advice and assistance they will not find us unresponsive.

2. *Recognition*

In reply to a question from Sir Walter de Frece (Con.) on November 14th regarding the recognition of the National Government, Mr. Locker-Lampson, Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, stated that "His Majesty's Government in Great Britain are at present engaged in the negotiation of a treaty with the Chinese National Government on tariff matters. We hope that these negotiations will soon be brought to a successful issue, and, if so, the conclusion of the treaty would automatically result in the recognition of the Chinese National Government." Later, answering an enquiry from Viscount Sandon (Con.), Mr. Locker-Lampson said that "on the occasion of the Republican anniversary on the 10th October, when Chiang Kai-shek assumed office as President of the National Government, His

Majesty's Minister sent the following message to the Minister for Foreign Affairs at Nanking:

> On the occasion of the anniversary of the Revolution please accept my best wishes for the prosperity of the Republic and the welfare of the Chinese people.

On November 28th, Mr. Viant (Lab.) asked Sir Austen Chamberlain whether he could make any statement regarding the progress of the negotiations on the tariff question between His Majesty's Government and the National Government of China; whether any negotiations were in progress on the question of extra-territoriality; and whether His Majesty's Government, in order to facilitate relations and in view of the recognition of the National Government in China by the Government of the United States of America last July, will take immediate steps leading up to the full recognition of that Government. Sir Austen Chamberlain stated in reply that "negotiations with the National Government for a treaty on tariff matters are still in progress, and in the circumstances I should prefer at this stage to make no detailed statement as to the present position. No negotiations are taking place on the question of extra-territoriality."

3. *Washington Treaty Powers*

Sir Austen Chamberlain on November 28th dealing with questions from Mr. Rennie Smith (Lab.), Sir Nicholas Grattan-Doyle (Con.), and Mr. l'Estrange Malone (Lab.) regarding the progress of Anglo-Japanese conversations on the subject of coöperation in China stated:

> Relations between Great Britain and Japan with regard to China are based on the obligations of full and frank communications specified in Article 7 of the Washington-China Treaty of 1922, and on the fact that Japan and Great Britain have much larger interests in China than have the other Washington Powers. In these circumstances, the two Governments have agreed informally that the close contact which they desire to maintain can best be promoted and developed by constant communication and consultation between their respective Ministers at Peking. The two Ministers, each being fully informed of the views of his colleague's Government in regard to every new problem as it arises, will then be in a position to consider whether a common course of action is desirable or not, and if not, to understand and explain the reasons to their Governments. There are no conversations proceeding between the two Governments regarding China other than this informal exchange of information and views which takes place at Peking, and which will, I hope, be continued. This arrangement is not a new departure but a natural consequence of the Washington obligations. Similar conversations and consultation take place between His Majesty's Minister and the Ministers of other Powers at Peking. The general lines of British policy in China were laid down in our declarations of December, 1926, and January, 1927, to which we adhere.

Later, in answer to a question from Mr. Rennie Smith and an earlier enquiry from Colonel Wedgwood (Lab.) whether the United States were being consulted Sir Austen Chamberlain stated that there had been "no consultation with anybody, but that our Minister in Peking communicates with the representative of the United States in that capital; and that I think is the best channel through which we can coördinate, wherever coördination is possible and desirable, our policy with that of the United States, Japan and other Powers."

> Colonel Wedgwood: May we take it for certain that there is the same consultation and cooperation with America that we now understand there is with Japan? May we take it that there is no sort of differentiation or preferential treatment given to the Japanese Government and the Japanese policy in China?
>
> Sir Austen Chamberlain: Certainly. From the first day I met the Ambassadors of the Powers concerned, it has been my earnest desire to work in harmony both with the United States and Japan with respect to our common interests in China.
>
> Mr. Saklatvala (Comm.): Will the rt. hon. Gentleman tell us if our Minister

in Peking is not first instructed from Whitehall as to what policy he shall pursue when holding those conversations with the Japanese Ambassador?

Sir Austen Chamberlain: Certainly, His Majesty's representative in China receives instructions from our Government as all our representatives abroad do, and he would not speak otherwise than as he believes His Majesty's Government would desire.

Colonel Wedgwood: Can the rt. hon. Gentleman assure us that the answer he has given will not be news at Washington?

Sir Austen Chamberlain: Yes, I am quite sure that it will not be news to the Washington Government. The Washington Government are aware and must be aware of it. One of my first steps on taking my present office was to express the hope that we should pursue a common policy, or at any rate consult freely with other nations in regard to all our actions in China.

4. *Situation*

On November 14th, Sir John Power (Con.) asked the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs if he could make a statement on the present situation in China. Mr. Locker-Lampson in the course of his reply said:

The constitution of the new Government (which I have been informed by the Chinese Chargé d'Affaires is to be known as the National Government) was defined in the Government Organisation Law promulgated at Nanking on October 3rd. The preamble lays down the future relations of the Government to the Kuomintang, stating that the parties responsible for its establishment, direction and supervision pending the time when it will be possible to hand over full constitutional powers to the people. The State Council consists of a Chairman, who represents the Governments in international affairs and is concurrently Commander-in-Chief of the Army, Navy and Air Force, and 16 members, the most significant of whom are Feng Yu-hsiang, and Chang Hsueh-liang, Chang Tso-lin's son. Government is exercised through five Councils:

The Administration or Executive Council;
The Legislative Council;
The Examination Council;
The Supervisory Council;
The Judicial Council.

The new Government, formed on this basis, was installed on October 10th, the Republican Anniversary. Chiang Kai-shek took the oath of office as President of the National Government, Presidents of the five Councils were also appointed.

5. *Piracy*

Mr. Locker-Lampson replying on November 14th to questions raised by Sir Robert Thomas (Lib.), Mr. Locker (Con.), and Sir Basil Peto (Con.) regarding piracy and asking what measures had and were being taken stated:

On September 26th the British SS. 'Anking,' en route from Singapore, was attacked by pirates who had come on board as passengers. The captain was wounded and two British officers and one Chinese quartermaster were killed. The ship was taken by the pirates to Hong-hoi Bay, east of Bias Bay. On the 3rd of November the British SS. 'Shasi' was similarly seized by pirates on the Yangtze, about 11 miles below Hankow. One Chinese member of the crew was killed and one wounded, and an American passenger was seriously wounded. The pirates confined themselves to looting the personal effects of the passengers, officers and crew. There seems to be no evidence that piracy is on the increase; in fact, as compared with previous years, the situation shows some improvement. As the result of the 'Anking' piracy the General Officers Commanding, Shanghai and Hongkong, were authorised to provide military guards on steamers on the Hongkong, Amoy, Swatow, and Singapore routes. Similar authority had previously been given to the General Officers Commanding, Malaya.

In addition to the normal patrolling by H. M. ships of the main steamer routes and the known centres of piracy in China, on the 10th November arrangements were initiated for putting armed naval guards on British steamers on the Lower and Middle Yangtze. It is not clear that an increased number of gunboats would be a certain cure for this evil, and the Naval Commander-in-Chief has not, up to date, recommended any such increase.

Representations as to the need of taking effective action against the pirates' lairs are constantly made to the various Chinese authorities concerned. His

Majesty's Consul-General at Canton reports that the authorities there have shown some activity in dealing with the base at Bias Bay and killed a number of pirates and released some of their prisoners. From the subsequent case of the SS. 'Anking' it appears that their action has been only partially effective, and may have simply resulted in the pirates moving their base to Hong-hoi Bay. His Majesty's Consul-General at Hankow reports that the Chinese authorities there have made a great many arrests of persons suspected of having taken part in the piracy of SS. 'Shasi,' and that they appear to be dealing with the matter energetically.

Compensation has in the past been paid by the Government of Hong Kong in the case of the death or injury of officers of the British ships as the result of resistance to piratical attacks, but now that the Piracy Regulations, which impose on shipowners certain duties in connection with the prevention of piracy, have been abolished in accordance with their wish so as to leave them a free hand to take their own measures, it seems likely that the Hong Kong Government will consider that the responsibility for compensating the families of the officers should also devolve on the shipowners.

On November 21st, Mr. Locker-Lampson further, in reply to an enquiry for figures regarding the number of ships attacked and passengers killed or injured, informed Mr. Day (Lab.) that "apart from numerous instances of firing on British steamers on the Upper and Middle Yangtze, on which it is not possible to give exact statistics, there have been during the past twelve months two attacks by Chinese pirates or brigands on British ships on the high seas and four on the rivers. As far as my information goes, in the course of these attacks there have been one passenger killed, one wounded, and twelve kidnapped."

6. *Troops*

In answer to questions regarding British troops in China from Mr. Wellock (Lab.) and Lieut.-Commander Kenworthy (Lab.), on November 13th, Sir Laming Worthington-Evans, Secretary of State for War, said: "There are at present in China seven infantry battalions together with ancillary troops, in addition to the normal garrison of three infantry battalions which were stationed there in 1926. No withdrawals have taken place since June last. Further withdrawals must depend on the local situation."

Later replying to Mr. Thurtle's (Lab.) enquiry how many, if any, of the troops originally sent out to Shanghai with the Defence Force still remain in China, Sir Laming Worthington-Evans stated that "of the eighteen additional battalions sent to China, ten infantry battalions and a battalion of Royal Marines have left China. Under existing arrangements, six other battalions will leave during the present trooping season, and the 2nd Battalion, the Borderer Regiment, is being moved into permanent quarters at Tientsin for normal garrison duties there."

Mr. George Penny, a Lord Commissioner of the Treasury, stated in reply to Sir Robert Thomas (Lib.) on November 20th that the "extra cost involved in the employment of additional troops in China up to the end of November, 1928, is estimated at approximately £4,250,000."

7. *Boxer Indemnity*

Dealing with an enquiry from Viscount Sandon on November 21st, whether in view of the composition of the Chinese section on the Board of Trustees of the United States Boxer Indemnity Fund having been changed illegally and contrary to the Charter, and in view of the new members appointed being likely to endanger the success of the administration, any action will be taken by His Majesty's Government to forestall such a development in the case of the British Fund, Mr. Godfrey Locker-Lampson stated that "in the case of the British Fund no board of trustees had as yet been established, nor can it be established until a Bill to amend the 1925 Act has

been passed through Parliament. His Majesty's Government have noted the change recently made in the Chino-American Board of Trustees and will bear it in mind in considering their own future action."

8. *British Missionaries*

Asked on November 28th by Sir Robert Thomas (Lib.) what missionaries had been killed in China and whether he would make a general statement regarding the present position of British missionaries in the disturbed areas in China, Sir Austen Chamberlain replied:

> During the past three years there have been the following cases of murders of British missionaries in China:
>
> Mrs. Sibley, who was murdered by a coolie, who appears to have been insane, in Chengtu on 7th June, 1926;
>
> Mr. Slichter, and child, regarding whom I would refer the Hon. Member to the reply I gave to the Hon. Member for Central Southwark on May 2nd, 1927;
>
> Miss Mann, who was shot by brigands near Taiyuanfu, on 12th inst.
>
> As regards the return of missionaries to the interior, on September 25, 1927, His Majesty's Consuls in China were authorised to deal with individual applications at their discretion, subject to the following conditions:
>
> (1) Permission for missionaries to return to the interior to be confined, in general, to men, and to be given only for those districts for which the Chinese authorities were prepared to issue the necessary passports.
>
> (2) Applicants to be informed specifically that His Majesty's Government did not encourage them to return and that they did so at their own risk and on the understanding that they might be advised to evacuate again at short notice.
>
> Consuls were instructed that, if they were in any doubt, they should act on the side of caution. On March 29th last Consuls were further authorised to use their discretion in extending permission to return to women missionaries on the same conditions, and were again directed to act on the side of caution in cases of doubt.

II. *China and the League of Nations*

At the Ninth Assembly of the League China failed to secure the two-thirds majority of votes necessary for the election of non-permanent members of the Council, under the rules adopted in 1926. She had been elected in 1926 a non-permanent member of the Council for two years. At that time her delegate at Geneva, as also her ambassadors and ministers were appointed by the Northern (Peking) Government, although its claim to be representative of China was fast disappearing. By an unfortunate accident, China has lost her seat on the Council of the League just when there seems hope of a single predominant administration in China, after the defeat and withdrawal of the Northern Government from Peking, and when the close co-operation of the League with the new Government might have been so valuable for the reconstruction of China.

For these very reasons it had seemed probable that China would be re-elected. It was almost certain that Great Britain and nearly all her Dominions and also France, Germany, Italy and Japan would vote in favor of her re-election.

There were, however, considerations on the other side. The first and the most important objection was financial. China first began to fall into arrears with her contributions to the League of Nations in 1922 and on September 1st, 1928, the total of her indebtedness stood at the considerable sum of 6,619,489 gold francs, approximately £264,780 or $1,323,900. There was consequently a strong objection to the re-election to the Council of a member which not only was unable to pay its own way, but was also indebted to it for such a considerable sum.

Another obstacle was raised by the Scandinavian countries, who were opposed in principle to repeated grants of re-eligibility.

These considerations and the opposition of the Latin-American States

—it is generally assumed that they voted against China, though there is no evidence as the voting is secret—turned the scale and though 27 votes were obtained, she failed to secure the 34 votes necessary to give her the two-thirds majority required by the rules adopted in 1926.

As it was felt that some steps should be taken to show the friendly feeling of the League towards the new Government in China, the Secretary-General and the Head of the International Labour Office have taken the matter in hand. As a result, M. Avenol, Deputy Secretary-General, is shortly to go to China on a general survey to discuss the possibility of the collaboration of China with the League of Nations. Further, M. Albert Thomas himself, head of the International Labour Office, has started on a visit to China and Japan. He intends to visit Shanghai, where he will attempt to resuscitate the regulations for the protection of Child Labor, which were the outcome of the Shanghai Labour Commission of 1923-4, and the Provisional Factory Regulations proposed at Peking in 1923, the application of which was prevented by the outbreak of the civil war.

In Japan, where industrial conditions have been profoundly influenced by the International Labour Office and nine conventions have already been ratified, his task will be quite different.

He will visit Java on the return journey to Geneva on the special invitation of the Dutch Government.

Editor's Note: Mr. Wheeler-Bennett appended to the above parliamentary resumé the texts of recent Chinese conventions as examples of the new trend in Sino-foreign treaty making. These were, the Sino-German Economic Agreement signed August 17, 1928, and the Franco-Chinese Settlement of the Nanking Affair, contained in the exchange of Notes, October 1 to 9, 1928, between Foreign Minister C. T. Wang and M. Cosmé, French Chargé d' Affaires in China. These documents were too long for inclusion here.

Mr. Wheeler-Bennett attached also the following interesting list of late books which have had recent publication in Great Britain and which offer opportunity for the study of Pacific affairs:

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Renaissance in Indo-China

A French Experiment in Reviving Cambodian Art

By Willowdean C. Handy

One hesitates to place the cultural revival in Indo-China in the same category with those more spontaneous renaissances which evidence the reawakening of national or folk consciousness. It is, rather, that one hopes for a rebirth of Cambodian self-realization as a result of the resuscitation of the practice of the ancient arts. For the return to the plying of old crafts in the traditional manner springs not from any native conception of the need for national expression, but from the French appreciation of the aesthetic possibilities of her colonials. In other words, the Museum Art School at Pnom Penh and its resultant Corporation of Cambodian Artisans owe their existence to French endeavor.

What lifts this French movement in Cambodia out of the realm of the old-fashioned, well-meaning, but wholly misguided efforts of Western nations to "educate" those of the East, is that it is based upon the new spirit in education, wherein the attempt is made to draw out the capacities and conceptions of the pupil rather than to veneer him with a hard coat of the teacher's points of view and methods. We have traveled far since the days when Lord Macaulay, out of the fullness of his appreciation of the intellectual potentialities of the Indian people and a generous desire to give them of England's best, was instrumental in standardizing their colleges upon the basis of making Cambridge matriculation their goal. The crowd of unemployed young men with B. A. degrees now in India is tragic evidence of the futility of such endeavors. To help a native people regain their feet upon *their own foundations,* after the upsetting shock of European aggressiveness, is an effort well worth recording in the annals of colonization. And it is to the French, subtly appreciative of purity of aesthetic ideals, that the palm must be given for perhaps the first attempt in an organized way to do such a thing.

It may of course be said that the Khmer art, which the uncovering of the ruins of Angkor has revealed and towards which the French are endeavoring to lead the modern Cambodians, was not an indigenous folk art. The Khmers would seem to have compounded Indian and Chinese conceptions in the flower of their achievements in the tenth to twelfth centuries, and it is believed that they worked under Hindu masters. From such a point of view, it is sometimes said that the Cambodians never had an art of their own and hence cannot return to one. However, their canons of art, which have been handed down to the present architects of the King, though of Hindu origin, were long ago assimilated by the Khmers and put out as their own. It is this body of traditional concepts of proportion, color, form and symbolism, that the French have worked into a curriculum for Cambodian students in the Pnom Penh School. And it is the inherent capacity for craftsmanship, which has always belonged to the Cambodian people, that the school is resuscitating.

"No European influence allowed," is, in effect, the motto of the school in all of its nine departments, including design, modeling and casting in bronze, repoussé silver work, lacquer work, theatrical mask-making, wood carving, enamel work, silk weaving and the making of casts of reliefs from the ruins of Angkor. Under the inspiration of the relics treasured in the

Albert Sarraut Museum, with which the school is connected, the 175 pupils now enrolled are being led back to their own racial conceptions. No modern methods are employed in the technique of craftsmanship, the pupils making their own tools and using the old charcoal forge of their ancestors as well as the primitive kiln of two telescoped pots and a hand bellows to keep them hot. The readiness with which the native population is accepting this "Service of Arts," as it is called, is probably largely due to the lack of innovation, to a return to familiar ground. After ten years of operation, the school has turned out ninety-three graduates who belong to the Corporation of Cambodian Artisans and who are producing objects of art in genuine Khmer style both in Pnom Penh and in the outlying districts of Cambodia. Sixteen of these have returned to their own provinces to stimulate a revival of their ancient "specialities" of wood, ivory or marble work, and two annexes of the school have been formed to meet local needs, one in a district devoted to pottery-making, another where marble is produced.

Whether this training will ever turn out creative artists is a question depending upon the capacity of the Cambodians themselves, for in the conception and execution of the project, M. Georges Groslier, the Director, has left no stone unturned to provide them with proper opportunity and encouragement. In starting the school at the request of the French administration, this Cambodian-born French artist, archaeologist and novelist, freed it at the outset from political and commercial pressure, kept its ideals pure and true to native tradition and even provided for the midday meal and the living of the accepted pupils, so that any and every promising boy or girl, whatever his or her economic status, may take advantage of the instruction. In his endeavor to render the community a service, he has avoided competition with established gold and silversmiths in his sale of the products of the school, and has opened the Museum sales room to any outside artisan whose output satisfies his scrutiny.

Though it is probably a fact that the chief interest of the French in this enterprise is an aesthetic one, yet it is nevertheless inevitably a humanitarian service. Not only are Cambodian youths being aided to equip themselves for lucrative and congenial employment, but they are being provided with discipline and an outlet for their energies at a critical time of their lives. The discipline of hand and eye, the filling of the mind with images of beauty and grace, the stimulation of creative ambition are by-products of the school, which may be more important to the race than the more tangible art that is being reintroduced to the world. How far-reaching will be the effect of refreshing the Cambodian mind with its own racial concepts remains to be seen. It is too early to say what the modern Cambodians will make of their French-given opportunity.

Pacific Items

Canadian Trade Increase

Reports from the Dominion Bureau of Statistics issued at the end of 1928 indicate that Canada's import and export trade for the year increased notably over previous years, being to the value of $34,720,875 over 1927 figures. Her trade with the United States amounted to $1,318,351,648 during the more recent period, and to $645,931,538 with the United Kingdom.

Mexican-United States Migration

In his annual report (1928) for the United States Department of Labor, Secretary James J. Davis states it as his conviction that the protection which American labor enjoys as a result of the nation's restrictive legislation will not be complete until legislation to the end of restricting Mexican as well as Asiatic immigration is enacted. Quota-basis legislation in this case would, he says, reduce the annual influx of Mexican workers into the United States from 80,000 to 7,000, in round numbers.

Manchurian-Chinese Allegiance

On December 29, 1928, the Nationalist flag of China flew over governmental centers in each of the three Eastern Provinces of Manchuria, according to news reports. This is an indication of a further unification step in the plan of the Nanking Government toward that end. Taken together with the subsequent execution of faction leaders at Mukden in January, this is further regarded as an indication of General Chang Hsueh-liang's break with Japanese influence and his allegiance to the Nationalist Government, on whose Council he at least theoretically sits.

Japan Colonial Office

A Colonial Office for Japan is in the final planning stage, according to Toho reports from Tokyo. This new department of the government is expected to look after affairs in Korea, Formosa, Saghalien and South Sea mandate islands, and likewise "to exercise supervision over the South Manchuria Railway Company and the Oriental Development and Colonization Company." Colonial governors will be under the control of the Minister for the Colonies.

Korean Administration

The new Japanese Colonial budget for 1929, announced officially on December 19, 1928, provides the largest budget for Korea. The appropriation for administration of that country totals 242,400,000 yen.

Philippine Opium Inquiry

Announcement is made at Geneva that the United States of America has officially assured the League of Nations that the League's proposed investigation mission into the Far Eastern territories of the Powers will be welcomed and given all possible assistance by the Governor-General of the Philippines in its inquiry into conditions respecting growth of and traffic in opium.

Keeping the Peace

"It was once said by M. Clemenceau that making war was much too serious a business to be left to the generals; and there was a profound truth in his epigram. May it not be just as true that keeping the peace is much too serious a business to be left to the politicians and the diplomats?"—Editorial in the *Economist,* London, December 15, 1928.

Pan-Pacific Trade Union Congress

According to the annual report (1928) of the Secretary for the Pan-Pacific Trade Union, an organization comprising leftists in the ranks of labor in the several Pacific countries, August, 1929, has been set for the

next Congress of the organization, to take place at Vladivostok. The first Congress took place at Hankow, China, in May, 1927, under the Eugene Chen regime. The report of the Secretary, Earl Browder, appeared in the December 1 issue of *The Pan-Pacific Worker,* Sydney, Australia.

Soviet Fish-Curing Concession

Japanese firms have been granted the right to exploit fish-conserving factories at Kamchatka for a period of ten years, in a series of 22 contracts signed by the Concessions Committee of the Soviet Government. These transactions involve a yearly rental of over 600,000 roubles. The concession will start twenty-two factories, each employing 100 to 600 workers.

Women at Bar in Japan

A Nippon Dempo dispatch for December 25th last states that women lawyers are given recognition by the commission recently appointed to consider revision of regulations governing legal practices in Japan.

Canadian Wheat

Canada's wheat crop for 1928 is estimated at 500,613,000 bushels, according to government report. This represents a material advance over 1927.

Racial Conference in U. S.

An Inter-racial Conference was held at Washington, D. C., in December last to discuss possible improvement of relationships between Negro and white citizens. Sixteen national organizations, in many fields of interest, sent representatives. The subjects discussed included education, industry, agriculture, citizenship, social questions, etc., and were drawn, the report says, from the research study, sponsored by the Social Science Research Council, "to construct a reasonably faithful picture of Negro life and the status of race relation."

Institute of Intellectual Cooperation

The Institute of Intellectual Cooperation of the League of Nations, with headquarters at No. 2 Rue de Montpensier, Paris, has announced a conference to be held in London, March 11-14, 1929. The Royal Institute of International Affairs, London, has undertaken the local arrangements at Chatham House, 10 St. James' Square. The agenda will deal with questions of cooperation relating to publications and bibliographies, research, lecturers and speakers, information exchange, etc. Relations between universities and a proposed international conference of teachers will also be considered.

Oriental Cruise

Dr. Herbert H. Gowen of the University of Washington has organized a personally conducted tour of Japan, Korea, China and the Philippines, known as the Oriental Art Cruise, lasting from January 12 to April 8, 1929. Dr. Gowen is an experienced Orientalist and has planned a series of visits which should have unusual educational value.

Chinese Labor Emigration

According to Kuo Min news dispatches, the National Government of China through the Ministry of the Interior and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs issued an edict forbidding the enlistment of Chinese laborers for overseas colonization purposes without express government sanction. The most recent application of this rule was when the request of the Spanish Legation in Peking to open an enlistment headquarters for Chinese colonies in South Africa was denied. Two thousand emigrants were wanted.

China's Treaties

The months of November and December saw unusual activity in treaty making between the Chinese National Government and foreign governments. Norway, Belgium and Italy signed trade treaties on the 12th, 22nd and 27th

of November, respectively. Negotiations with Holland, Sweden, Denmark and Portugal were concluded early in December, while Britain and France had completed their negotiations by the 20th of that month. The United States of America was the first to enter into a new pact with the Chinese government, on July 25th last, and Germany followed on August 17th. All of these new treaties recognize China's right to tariff autonomy, to go into effect February 1, 1929, and four of them—the Belgian, Italian, Danish and Portuguese—provide for the relinquishment of extraterritorial rights by 1930. Several have clauses looking toward the early conclusion of treaties "based on the principle of perfect parity and equality of treatment."

Chinese Tariff Schedule

On December 7 the National Government at Nanking submitted to the representatives of nine powers the draft of the new tariff schedule planned to go into effect February 1, 1929. This consists, according to a government finance official, of the old statutory rate of 5 per cent plus the graded tariff, which ranges from 2.5 to 22.5 per cent, the average being 12.5 per cent; while for those goods not specified in the schedule a uniform 7.5 per cent rate added to the statuary 5 per cent will be levied.

The Japanese representative, Mr. Yada, refused to forward this document to his government, due to the controversy over the principle of treaty revision which still exists. Since that time, however, tariff negotiations between Japan and China have been resumed and a preliminary draft for a working arrangement drawn up.

National Chinese Congress

The third National Congress of the Kuomintang (the National Government of China) is announced for March 15, 1929, at Nanking. Party matters, administration policies, education, national defense and economic reconstruction are scheduled as the outstanding items for consideration.

Japan-Brazil Migration

The Brazil Colonization Association of Japan announces arrangements for the sending of 600 families from Japan to Brazil in April, 1929, and plans for the settling of 1,800 families there within the next two years. Brazil is an old field for Japanese immigration, though the movement has been given a new impetus by governmental agreements between the two countries. Already more than 60,000 Japanese are said to be living in the coffee districts of Sao Paulo.

Australia-Japan Venture

Dispatches from Sydney indicate that a "Japan-Australia Club" has been organized among leading personages of the Commonwealth and Japanese government officials residing there. The purpose is to spread the movement more widely with a view to better understanding and more friendly relations between the two countries.

Disarmament Meet

A preliminary disarmament meeting to lay the groundwork for the 1930 conference has been announced by the League of Nations to be held in Geneva in April, 1929.

The Peace Pact

The United States Senate on January 15 approved the Briand-Kellogg multilateral treaty in renunciation of war with only one dissenting vote. The opposition dissolved upon compliance of the Foreign Affairs Committee with a demand for "interpretation" in the light of American national defense. On January 17th President Coolidge signed the Pact in the presence of the entire foreign diplomatic corps at Washington.

Canadian-United States Conference

The United States Department of State news releases for December 28, 1928, announced a January conference of officials at Ottawa to discuss the general subject of commercial smuggling between Canada and the United States.

United States-China Negotiations

The United States Department of State news releases for December 28, 1928, announce that "Negotiations between the United States and China for an arbitration treaty were initiated on December 21, when the Secretary of State transmitted to the Chinese Minister a draft arbitration treaty as the basis for negotiations. The draft treaty is similar to the arbitration treaties which have been signed during the current year with the following countries: Austria, Albania, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Italy, Poland, Sweden and Lithuania."

China Government Recognition

On December 20th last, following the signing of the new Sino-British tariff treaty, Sir Miles Lampson, British Minister to China, presented his credentials to the National Government at Nanking, thus extending the de jure recognition of His Majesty's Government. Elaborate ceremonies included naval salutes from gunboats on the Yangtze.

Although stating that the tariff treaty concluded on July 25th last between China and the United States implied the de jure recognition of the National Government, United States officials have made no formal presentation as have the British. On December 16 the opening of the United States consulate in Nanking, delayed since October 1 over technicalities concerning the intended ceremonies, was accomplished without formalities of any sort.

Factory Law for China

A factory law has been drafted by the ministry of industry, commerce and labour and discussed by the legal commission of the ministry and will shortly be submitted to the government council for adoption and enforcement, according to a Kuo Min news dispatch from Nanking, December 3, 1928. The law consists of 16 chapters, namely, general provisions, contracts, dismissals, working hours, rest, standard of production, wages, distribution of profit, sanitation and safety, workers' councils, apprenticeship, workers' welfare, special regulations, registration and reports, inspection and penalties.

Chapter II provides that child labor under the age of 14 should be prohibited in all factories, and all boys and girls above 14 and below 16 are considered as minor workers who will be permitted to be engaged in light and easy work only. A worker may enter into an individual contract with the factory, while the labor unions may conclude collective contracts with the factories on behalf of any group of workers.

The regular daily working period for adults is eight hours, but owing to varying local conditions and the nature of the work, factories may petition the proper local government organ for the extension of the time limit to ten hours. For minors, the working period must, under no circumstances, exceed eight hours. Female workers are absolutely prohibited to work at night during the hours between 10 p. m. and 6 a. m., while minor workers are not allowed to work at night from 7 p. m. to 6 a. m., nor to extend their daily working hours.

Chapter VII provides that minimum wages of the workers must be based upon the living conditions and cost of various necessities of life of each particular locality where the factories happen to be. Wages are to be payable twice a month.

There are further provisions for recreation, welfare, apprenticeship, inspection and penalties.

Reflections

Editorial Opinion on the Pacific

NEW EMIGRATION POLICIES

From the *Tokyo Nichi Nichi*

Translated in the Japan Advertiser, November 2, 1928

It is still too premature to pass judgment upon the probable development of the new emigration plan just put in practice. Some time ago, it may be recalled, the people of Brazil offered a vast stretch of land along the Amazon for Japanese colonisation. A commission was organised and sent to the spot to investigate climatic and economic conditions of the territory. The report brought home proved favourable. A law was accordingly enacted for the specific purpose of colonising the land loaned by Brazil, providing for the establishment of emigration corporations amply subsidized by the Government. These corporations are to be formed by those who intend to settle down in Brazil, and who pay the entrance fee which together with the governmental subsidy is to be used for the sailing expenditure. For each company a certain stretch of land in Brazil is allocated to the exclusive settlement of its members.

Standing above these local emigration corporations was set up a national federation financed by the Government and headed by the Minister of Home Affairs. It is the task of the federation to engage in the development of the Amazon territory, render it comfortably habitable, and economically remunerative. Report has just come to hand that out of diplomatic considerations the federation, at least in name, was transferred from the Government to private enterprisers. It is now definitely arranged that some 1,600 families, comprising nearly 6,000 individuals, are to be sent to Brazil every year by the hand of this emigration federation.

The plan decided upon is a departure from emigration policies of the past, if indeed we can say there was any emigration policy at all in past. The nation has become habituated to the system of national isolation and the idea of migrating to foreign countries has for a long time seemed a gravely risky affair. Only a small number of desperadoes dared to run the risk and the Government looked at them with askance until it was rudely awakened by the first signal of the exclusion movement raised in the Pacific coast region of the United States.

Henceforward the emigration question has become anathema for Japanese statesmen; it has come to constitute a sensitive spot in otherwise cordial relationship with the United States. Canada followed the suit of California, and so did Australia and some other immigration countries. A series of diplomatic negotiations and popular agitations have rendered the simple and practical question of emigration needlessly complicated with awkward implications of national and racial questions.

What compelled our statesmen to turn their attention from too far-fetched perversion of the question into reality was the indefatigable growth of population. The mountainous soil of Japan is none too extensive to offer the means of subsistence to several millions of people. On this narrow stretch of land—virtually on top of volcanoes—there were living more than 50,000,000 extremely ambitious and fertile people. The annual net gain of the population varied around 800,000. "Give us space to breath; offer us land to expand!" cried these people vehemently. Emigration proved no longer an emotional discussion of national pride and racial honour; it proved to be a practical question, a question of economic welfare to millions.

Whether our statesmen have realised it or not, there is no doubt but that the failure of past emigration efforts was due to their inability to handle emigration as an economic enterprise instead of an imperialistic instrument. The world has been fairly mapped out and there do not remain territories which are open for predatory encroachment. It is not possible to send our subjects to these territories and attempt thereby to convert the latter into our own land. That sort of expedition and exploration ceased to be a paying enterprise ever since the time of Columbus and Marco Polo. Naturally our emigrants provoked suspicion and hostility of native peoples wherever they went. Wrong national conception of emigration was at the root of the adverse fortune our poor colonists experienced abroad.

The new departure made in emigration policies as we have outlined above has come too late, but it is better than none. As far as we can judge by the measures

pursued so far, the new policies appear to be based upon a correct conception of promoting economic welfare rather than furthering nationalistic designs. In our opinion the safest and the most proper motive for sending our citizens abroad is the promotion of their individual welfare. It is quite possible that in place of the government some other factor may sneak into the affair and attempt to derive benefits at the price of causing adversity to the emigrants.

We rejoice upon the establishment of emigration policies along the right principles of enlarging the vista of personal opportunity for our nationals without the least nationalistic implications. We hope sincerely that the new departure so nobly planned shall be safeguarded from commercial profiteering at the hands of numerous Shylocks.

CHANGING IMMIGRATION QUOTAS

From the *New York Times*, December 7, 1928

In his annual report, Secretary of Labor Davis advocates several changes in the immigration laws. The most important is an increase in the number of Europeans who may be admitted with a limitation of the Latin Americans and Canadians. He reprints a letter which he wrote to Senator Johnson last Spring commenting on a proposed bill embodying these and other changes. His explanation indicates that he is anxious to give all concerned the most favorable possible consideration. For example, he would adhere to the present quotas for European nationals where these quotas are larger than the allotments under the so-called national origins provision which has been deferred until next June. Where the quotas are larger under the national origins provision he would accept them. As for immigration from the American nations and Canada, he favors a quota which would reduce the Mexican influx by 90 per cent, but postulates one for Canada in excess of the average immigration from that Dominion.

These details will be thoroughly discussed in Congress. Many points are sure to be made. Should there be any radical change in the present quota system? The law provides that the national origins clause is to come into effect on June 30, 1929. This diminishes the total immigration from Europe, and reduces the German and Irish immigration at the same time that it increases the British and Italian. Congress has been unwilling to risk the animosity of the foreign groups which oppose it. A strong movement exists to discard it. If this is done, the present quotas, based on the census of 1890, will remain in force until modified. Is it wise to change this basis so drastically as the plan which Mr. Davis approves? The Davis project would increase the total European quota immigration from 164,000 to 204,000. The national origins plan would reduce it to 150,000.

The next point is whether it is fair as well as expedient to make an obvious discrimination between the quotas of Canada and the countries of Latin America as compared to the countries of Europe. The latter quotas are based on 2 per cent of the foreign-born residents of those countries in the United States according to the 1890 census. For Canada and Mexico the basis is 10 per cent of the 1890 census and for the Latin-American countries a figure much in excess. An additional provision is made for an annual influx of temporary laborers from the two neighboring countries amounting to 10,000.

It has never been claimed that the use of the 1890 census as the basis of establishing quotas was either ideal or altogether just. Those who have studied the national origins figures are inclined to believe that their obvious errors more or less cancel each other, and that the results more nearly approximate the avowed purpose of preserving the present proportions of various racial strains in this country than does the present law. Another system has apparently been overlooked—to use the records of the immigration service as far back as they exist, including the figures of the latest year, as a basis for determining the quotas. This would be somewhat unfair to the old American stock that made up the bulk of population a century ago. But as in the case of the national origins plan, the errors would more or less neutralize each other. No foreign group could feel that it was denied a fair basis for its quota.

CHINA-BRITISH TREATY

From the *New Republic*, N. Y., January 2, 1929

The most important event in Chinese history since the capture of Peking by the Nationalists is the signing of the new tariff treaty by Great Britain, followed as it was by the British Minister's presentation of his credentials, and a formal British salute of twenty-one guns. The tariff treaty follows the lines of that

which the United States signed last summer, and contains no surprises. But while the American State Department merely contented itself with issuing a declaration that the signing of the treaty constituted recognition, the British have gone further and have completed all the possible formalities. The procrastination of the United States is emphasized by the fact that a dispute is now in progress between the Nationalists and ourselves as to the salute which the Chinese are to give us as the closing of the Nanking incident. The British have once again shown that realism and flexibility in foreign policy for which they are famous. Their advantage over the United States in the eyes of China is probably both temporary and comparatively unimportant, but is nevertheless to be regretted by those jealous for the record of the United States in the Far East, and especially since our delay seems to have been so entirely without justification.

Of much deeper significance, of course, is the fundamental change in British policy toward China which has been in evidence for the last year or so and is definitely signalized by the establishment of full relations with the Nanking government. In the past, Great Britain stood with Japan as the uncompromising foe of China's independence and control of her own territory. Next to the Japanese, the British have been among the most unpopular of the foreigners, and the boycott of their goods cost them many millions of pounds annually. Even within the last few weeks there had been rumors that the old Anglo-Japanese alliance might be renewed, the inference being that these two powers would support a common policy in opposition to the aspirations of the present regime in China. The recent action shows how groundless were these rumors. Great Britain has now definitely aligned herself on the side of conciliation, and great must be the gloom among the "old China hands" in Shanghai. Even Japan is no longer unwavering in her hostility. An important element in her political life believes that more is to be lost than gained by such an attitude; and if it were not for the special problems created by Manchuria, there would be a good chance of a rapprochement between the two powers.

SLINGING MUD AT CHINA

From the *Canton Gazette*, November 30, 1928

The newspapers from abroad seldom come to hand without some mention of corruption and illegal practices in countries where they are published. The American papers, for instance, are full of reports of corruption in the services entrusted with the suppression of bootlegging. The Russian papers, although Soviet Russia is supposed to have a rigorous censorship in force, complain of the crooked practices of certain Commissars and government departments in the matter of grain distribution. The Japanese organs are always full of bitterness at election time in respect of the use of bribery in the securing of votes. The Italians are crushed by the Fascist regime which does not recognize the freedom of the press, not to mention freedom of speech. Portuguese writers cannot turn out books criticizing the methods of their government without the risk of going to jail. In certain South American countries, murderers, if not caught by the police within twenty-four hours, are immune from prosecution. These are some of the things brought up in the columns of countless foreign publications with which the "Canton Gazette" exchanges. And now, Reuter reports corruption in the British police force at home.

But not a single foreign editor in China takes the trouble of writing an editorial based on these facts. Instead, they take great pains to harp upon the state of things in this country, real or imaginary, pretending that the Chinese have a monopoly on all that is bad. This country is blamed for militarism the while European Powers refuse to disarm; the Chinese are painted as the most corrupt people on earth; squeeze is alleged to be only prevalent in China; patriotism is dubbed agitation; demands for the abolition of unequal treaties are ridiculed, and so on ad infinitum.

Most of the foreign papers in China avail themselves of the services of correspondents whose chief and only conception of a newspaperman's duty is the concoction of news. The reliable, responsible man is frozen out by these charlatans. And the editors who accept such erroneous or concocted reports very frequently pen caustic editorials based upon them. Thus the charlatan at Mukden who had never so much as crossed General Chang Hsueh-liang's threshold, gives out the text of an interview that has not taken place. The charlatan in Canton reports in detail a conference of great importance which he has not attended. The charlatan at Nanking declares that the Central Government is fast going to the dogs.

It is the practice of responsible editors to make sure of their contributor's status. But in China, editors of foreign newspapers seem unable or unwilling to secure the services of reliable, responsible collaborators. Any Tom, Dick or Harry with sufficient imagination to concoct reports and sufficient ability to sling mud at the authorities is forthwith adopted as "Our Own Correspondent." Accuracy is appreciated in no way; decency is not observed.

Basing his remarks upon such concocted or twisted news, the editor of a Hongkong paper would state that "when Chinese officials give up their practice of 'squeezing' the merchants, the millennium, as far as trade in China is concerned, will have arrived." Such an editor seldom finds time to reflect upon the fact that certain colonial officials have waxed rich and fat on wages barely sufficient to meet household and general expenses. Police officers in the concessions and settlements after a few years' residence out here accumulate money enough to purchase property worth thousands and thousands of dollars. But does anyone write an editorial about it? Not on your life!

THE FARCE OF NEGOTIATION

Fom the *North China Daily News*, Shanghai, December 8, 1928

Complaint is often made by Chinese that foreign papers go out of their way to dwell on things that tell against the new *régime*. For ourselves we can say sincerely that the reverse is the truth and that we are only anxious to give prominence to whatever points to real effort and improvement. Unfortunately the adverse side obtrudes itself upon one's notice everywhere. Two episodes are reported this week which call for attention because they strike at the root of all government. At Ichang the anti-Japanese boycott pickets are forcing their way on board British ships (no doubt others, too) and exacting payment of a "fine" on Japanese goods in transit to Chungking. It need hardly be said that the shipping companies are merely common carriers, who have no responsibility for the goods they carry. The Chinese authorities at Ichang, when appealed to, suggest that the shipping companies should collect the fine from the consignees, a really monstrous suggestion, which the companies naturally reject. The other incident is also connected with the boycott. In Nanking, the capital city, a whole week is being given up to demonstrations against Japan, in which boy and girl students take the lead, notwithstanding all the exhortations latterly made to them to stick to their studies. The walls of the city are plastered with anti-Japanese posters, handbills distributed and lectures delivered and processions of motor-cars deliver loads of youthful enthusiasts at Government offices to harangue their Ministers.

Incidents of the sort described, and many more that might be mentioned, are really of much greater importance than occasional piracies. The latter are the not unnatural outcome of a time of upheaval which might be transient. But the unchecked activities of the boycotters point to something fundamentally wrong with the Government: either it cannot, or it will not act, and both explanations are equally damning to its claims to be a representative government of all China. It passes comprehension why the foreign Powers enter into negotiations for new treaties with a Government whose status is so obviously weak. The Powers have promised to revise their treaties when a Government appears which can speak for all China. The phrase obviously means a government which can make its authority felt throughout China, or it means nothing. Whether Nanking can and will not, or would but cannot, control the boycotters, the illegal tax bureaux, the military despoilers, we do not pretend to know. The result is the same, namely, that new agreements are being concluded with an administration which manifestly cannot be relied upon to carry out its share of the bargain. In such circumstances negotiation is worse than futile; it is dangerous. And as the Chinese people are much greater sufferers by boycott and illicit taxation than foreigners, the Powers have not even the excuse for shutting their eyes to the facts of the situation that they are serving China's welfare. They are doing exactly the opposite. The only way to get the prevailing lawlessness stopped, is for the Powers to inform Nanking bluntly that they will negotiate nothing until it has justified its claims to be a Government by exercising the functions of one.

GREAT BRITAIN AND THE UNITED STATES

From the *Economist*, London, December 1, 1928

In both Great Britain and the United States we pride ourselves on being clear-sighted people who do not shrink from facing unpleasant facts; and at this

moment we are not concealing from ourselves, on either side of the Atlantic, the fact that Anglo-American relations have drifted just now into an unsatisfactory situation. "For the time being, the sky is overcast," as Lord Lee of Fareham put it in proposing the health of the American Ambassador in London on November 22nd last. We have to admit, in fact, that the gloom is distinctly deeper to-day than it was on the morrow of the failure of the Three-Power Naval Conference. The immediate sequel to that was the introduction of a building programme in the United States which aroused a storm of spontaneous and unorganised but widespread and vigorous popular opposition. Unhappily, since then the temper of the American people has been profoundly affected by the unfortunate affair of "the Anglo-French naval compromise;" and that effect does not yet seem to have been counteracted by Mr. Baldwin's important declaration, made in categorical terms, that we are not going to compete with the United States in naval construction. On our side the British people mean to see to it that the Prime Minister's declaration—which accurately expresses our sincere intention—is carried out in the spirit as well as in the letter. On the other side, we hope that the full importance of this British national policy will gradually become clear to the American mind. Meanwhile, it is safer to assume that American public opinion remains under the influence of the impression produced by "the Anglo-French naval compromise," and that it was not altogether misrepresented in President Coolidge's recent speech, in which he intimated to his countrymen that they were living in a dangerous world, and advised them to take to heart that old counsel of European diplomacy, "*Si vis pacem para bellum*," which has been the fruitful source of wars in the past.

STUDENT RADICALS

From the *Tokyo Nichi Nichi*

Translated in the Japan Advertiser, November 2, 1928

The Education Ministry has established a student section for the guidance of undergraduate thought. On the same day the Tokyo Imperial University expelled three students and punished 19 others on the charge of having radical principles. The guidance of student thought would be a simple matter if expulsion could set it right. A tyrant in ancient China is said to have had all books burned with the idea of exterminating the source of thinking. The steps taken by the faculty is as absurd as the policy of that tyrant.

The value of present education, especially of universities, is in showing students the way they should go and society the course it should take. Students should be punished stringently for violations of national laws but in most cases their ideas are still premature and are merely indiscreet. It would be better if the Education Ministry would provide means for the moral or mental training of students in order that they might see their own faults. Expulsion is capital punishment, blocking the way for them to rise in the world. With such a policy, the guidance of thought is impossible. Students' minds will only be hardened, and they will become worse radicals. The rigorous punishment of delinquent students by the Tokyo Imperial University is a grievous mistake.

IN MANCHURIA AS IN MEXICO

From the *New York Times*

Japan's position in regard to China is compared to that of the United States with Mexico in a letter from Tsunejiro Miyaoka, international lawyer and Japanese correspondent of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, to Nicholas Murray Butler, president of the endowment.

"Your country has economic interests of such magnitude in Mexico, and that circumstance, added to the contiguity of the territories of the two countries, makes it impossible for the United States to stand aloof. When a similar situation exists in the Far East, the public opinion of the United States fails to see that the same thing is true in this part of the world.

"Economically, Japan has vast investments and an enormous population in Manchuria. Nobody can, therefore, honestly fail to understand why the Japanese people cannot afford to be unconcerned about the preservation of peace and order in that region. This is not to say, however, that Japan entertains any territorial ambitions in Manchuria. Nor does she deny that it is a part of China. What Japan expects as regards Manchuria is that her peculiar relations with that region, geographical, historical and economic, should be fully respected by all parties concerned."

Books of the Pacific

WAR AS AN INSTRUMENT OF NATIONAL POLICY
and Its Renunciation in the Pact of Paris
By James T. Shotwell
Harcourt, Brace and Company, New York, 1929. G. $3.50

This book, written by the chairman of the International Research Committee of the Institute of Pacific Relations, gives a remarkably penetrating analysis of the Pact of Paris, and an account of the diplomatic negotiations that led up to it.

The book is constructed in three parts, the first entitled "Historical Perspectives," being a description of the part played by war in human affairs; a statement of the difficulties that have stood in the way of attempts to dispense with it in the policy of tribes and nations; and a sketch of the effect that the changing economic conditions and scientific discoveries of the last century have had upon the use of war as an instrument of national policy. These four short chapters provide a proper historical perspective in which to evaluate the Pact of Paris. Dr. Shotwell makes no attempt to minimise the difficulties in the way of abolishing so established an institution as war. He does not underestimate the positive values achieved by war in the world's history. "We draw the contrast between law and war," he writes, "yet the soldier has created many of the conditions which the law preserves." The possibilities of the application of science to warfare in the future, and the effect of wars on a world that has practically become an economic unit, are frankly faced. The conclusion is irresistible. "War is no longer a safe instrument for statesmanship; it is too dangerous to apply. By reason of its all-embracing needs it becomes a contagion among the nations: and one cannot safely use a contagion as an instrument."

The book contains an accurate yet lucid review of the diplomatic events that preceded the Kellogg Pact. Beginning with an account of M. Briand's offer in April, 1927, the author traces its reactions in the United States. There were a good many factors in the relations of United States with Britain and the Continent that tended to retard the acceptance of such an offer as M. Briand's, and to preserve the suspicion in America that the offer was merely a magnificent but rather meaningless gesture on the part of a nation which at heart was militaristic and imperialistic. The crux of the problem before the people was not so much that there was urgent need for permanent peace—that was unquestioned—but that there was need of some device for keeping inviolate the sovereignty of the nation, when the war instrument had been renounced. The problem, as Dr. Shotwell cogently puts it, "is not simply one of moral attitude but of practical politics."

To test out the practicability of the Briand proposal, the author and his colleague, Professor J. P. Chamberlain, framed an unofficial draft treaty in a form which would be acceptable to American public opinion. This treaty, incidentally, was the subject of a valuable evening's discussion at the conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations, at Honolulu in July, 1927. Though not primarily intended for diplomatic use, the draft treaty had the great value of bringing the proposal out of the realm of speculation into that of practical politics. In addition, it extended the scope of the Briand offer from a bi-lateral to a multi-lateral agreement.

The eighth chapter of Dr. Shotwell's book contains a very interesting account of the growth and power of public opinion in the United States. In what he well characterizes as "the passing of parochial America," the author describes a most significant change in the great body of American

opinion on international affairs. This growth of interest has been most marked, strangely enough, in the period in which the United States has been most emphatic in its refusal to become entangled in world or European politics. In this public sentiment is to be found the reason for the wide popular acceptance of the proposals to renounce war. In the chapters that describe the resolutions of Senators Capper and Borah, there is a careful and illuminating analysis of the difficulties involved in the terms "aggression" and "defence," and a most stimulating passage (p. 114) on the meaning and implications of the famous phrase "the outlawry of war," and the distinction between it and the "renunciation of war." Of this the author very shrewdly writes: "There is (in the term 'outlawry') a hint of that red-blooded benevolence, the kind of idealism that prefers to march to its goal of international peace singing a militant hymn, rather than to risk the mental struggle which confronts it in an analysis of its premises. The oriflamme of outlawry will probably be borne in front, no matter what follows after."

Two chapters (14 and 18) contain some acute analyses of the peculiar bearing of the "renunciation of war" on the policy of Great Britain and the British Empire. The reaction of British public feeling to the proposal to renounce war was complicated by the existence of three important bonds, first between Britain and the Empire, second between Britain and the League of Nations, and third an unwritten but very vital tie between Britain and the United States. Under the now well-known title of the British Monroe Doctrine, the meaning of Sir Austen Chamberlain's reservations to the Kellogg Pact is examined, and the peculiar relation of Britain to Egypt is stated in the light of the new Pact. Under the three heads of "the Monroe Doctrine," "intervention," and "the problems of the Canal Zone," Dr. Shotwell draws an interesting parallel between the policies of the United States and Great Britain.

The third part of the book contains some seventy pages of extremely valuable enquiry into the major problems that arise out of the application of the terms of the Pact to the political problems of today. The difficulty of defining the terms "aggression" and "defence," and the still greater difficulty that the question of just what acts constitute a breach of the treaty of renunciation must be determined solely by the nation concerned, are dealt with candidly and carefully. It is in this respect that the real reservation of the Pact is found, and here that it compares most unfavourably with the League Covenant, as an instrument for effective action. "The legitimacy of war is denied by the Pact of Paris, and the use of the illegitimate method is henceforth aggression." Thus, as Dr. Shotwell maintains, the Pact defines aggression and defence without a formal definition.

The differing importance of sea-power and the freedom of the seas to Britain and to the United States is only beginning to be realised in America. The acceptance of the Pact by Britain is really fraught with great significance, for it involves a veritable "reversal of the entire history of British naval strategy." "A doctrine that proposes to deny henceforth the legitimacy of the strategy which has prevailed from the days of Drake and Frobisher to that of Jellicoe and Beatty—the heritage of Nelson—can only win its way to serious consideration by sheer weight of inescapable realities. Nevertheless that is just what is happening at the present time."

A chapter is devoted to the position of Japan in relation to the Pact. Dr. Shotwell pays a very just tribute to the scrupulous sincerity of Japan's international dealings with the western world, and proceeds to a timely

exposition of the crucial problems that beset modern Japan. The significance of the Japanese acceptance of the treaty (and that without any special reservations) can only be appreciated fully if it is recalled that the memory of the Japanese Exclusion Bill in the United States was still fresh in the minds of the Japanese people, and that Japan, like the United States and Britain, has a Monroe Doctrine in connection with her interests in Manchuria. "Among the menacing possibilities of conflict in the world today, there are, perhaps, no other so definitely presenting danger and inviting cautious statesmanship as the problem of Manchuria." Both for economic and for sentimental reasons, Japan has a very vital interest in Manchuria, a country under the sovereignty of China, receiving a huge influx of Chinese immigrants, and lying right at the eastern door of Russia. "There are thus problems for Japan of the most definite reality in any proposal to renounce war as an instrument of its national policy. It surely calls for the highest quality of leadership in those responsible for the government of Japan to accept, as they have done, the principle involved in the Kellogg treaty, which if effectively applied, places such definite limitations upon the freedom of action of a sovereign state." There are probable difficulties in the way of adjusting such questions as are likely to arise in the Pacific between Japan and the United States, due to the fact that Japan is not immediately connected with the United States as she is with other powers through membership in the League of Nations. The author quotes the suggestion made at the Institute of Pacific Relations Conference of 1927 that this might be overcome by "building on the precedent established by the Four Power Pact after the Washington Conference, and adding to it a Commission of Inquiry of the type of the Bryan treaties."

The book concludes with a chapter on the alternatives to war. The Pact itself does not deal with this problem, being confined to the renunciation of war as an instrument of policy. The remaining question of alternatives to that instrument is really more fundamental. The author notes four main formal alternatives: arbitration, the World Court, conciliation, and conference, the first two being juristic, and the second two, political institutions. Because the Pact concerns the renunciation of war as an instrument of policy rather than the outlawry of war, the alternatives should be political rather than legal instruments; conciliation and conference rather than arbitration and the Permanent Court. The United States, he says, has fallen behind in the matter of developing the technique of the conference instrument, to her disadvantage as compared with the members of the League of Nations. The author ends with the very true observation that the procedure of a conference allows of that saving sense of humour which is really a sense of proportion, in a way that the Court procedure never does.

There is a useful list of appendices giving the texts of the various treaties and proposals in connection with the Pact, and a statement of the relation between the Pact and the American Constitution. —W. L. H.

A SHORT HISTORY OF CHINA
By Edward Thomas Williams
Harpers', New York, 1928. G. $5.00
MODERN CHINESE HISTORY
Selected Readings
By Harley Farnsworth MacNair
Commercial Press, Ltd., Shanghai, 1927. Mex. $8.00

These two weighty volumes, respectively 670 and 910 pages, attempt to perform two quite different functions in the historian's field. Professor Williams, for forty years a student of China, surveys the task of producing

for Western readers a comprehensive history of unnumbered Chinese dynasties, and chooses rather to write a history of the people; for, "while dynasties rise and fall, the people remain, and the history of the development of the people has an interest which the intrigues of courtiers, the tramp of marching armies, and the follies of forgotten monarchs can never possess," (preface). Dr. MacNair, on the other hand, has chosen to deal only with the so-called modern period—the past 120 years of China's foreign relationship—and that not in the humanistic but the documentary field. His volume is largely a compilation of source material, competently linked together by explanatory comments of his own. Dr. MacNair is professor of History and Government at St. John's University, Shanghai.

To exercise properly the selective function in a gigantic task such as an historical survey of China requires great delicacy of perception as well as a keen historical sense. It is not easy to criticize justifiably Mr. Williams' selection of historic data out of the wealth of recorded fact and legend that constitutes the story of age-old China. Mr. Williams presents this selected material in a manner remarkably free of any intent to "interpret." But when the author reaches the near-past and the almost-immediate-present the task of unbiased selection has increased an hundred fold in delicacy and danger. It is impossible for a writer to proceed further in Mr. Williams' adopted method without making definite yet highly disputable statements on issues for which there are several possibilities of interpretation and concerning which a number of variant opinions, capable of being supported, exist. When the reader reaches this section of the volume he may wish for a less interpretive and arbitrary and a more thoroughly documented treatment. Especially in the discussion of Chinese movements of the past four or five years is there noticeable the doubtless unpremeditated use of phrases or adjectives which tend to color distinctly the current picture with the author's personal conviction. This would not be so evident were not the body of the book scrupulously free of such a defect.

Professor MacNair's volume is described in the subtitle as "a collection of extracts from various sources chosen to illustrate some of the chief phases of China's international relations during the past hundred years." This, too, presents a sturdy task for the exercise of the selective function. In this connection the author congratulates himself upon the privilege of working in an age when the historian is more than ever before "getting away from the one-man point of view," and when, in the study of history, the need for "the consultation of sources has been realized and acted upon as never before."

His volume, then, is an effort to acquaint the student of history with the thoughts and activities of those who participated in the moulding of China's foreign intercourse from 1793 (the first Macartney embassy to China) until the present time, through the medium of official documents and personal observations preserved through the years. His selections are wide and fairly comprehensive, and each chapter (the chapter arrangement is topical as well as chronological) has a generous supplementary list of suggested readings.

Professor MacNair has done much to make comprehensible his quoted mandates, regulations, declarations, etc., (which embody within themselves the history-making events of the period in question) by the inclusion of contemporary quoted passages descriptive of the scenes, life and times with which they have connection. In addition he has strung his selections upon a slight thread of narrative, unobtrusive in itself yet serving to give con-

tinuity and form to the whole. Such comments as he makes are brief, yet may give point to a long series of quoted passages, as when he says: "The key word to a comprehension of the early Anglo-Chinese trade at Canton is *monopoly* . . . the English and the Chinese each established a monopoly for foreign trade." Balance is an important characteristic of his selected passages, of which fact this following interpolation is indicative: "It is pleasant to read the foregoing accounts of peaceful trading relations; it is necessary to remember, however, in the light of what follows in the next chapter, that these were the relations between private merchants of China and Western countries. The *official* relations were often otherwise. In these the foreigners as well as the Chinese were often far from faultless."

The volume is conspicuously useful in presenting a well-rounded picture of China's international history for this period and at the same time giving access in carefully coordinated form to valuable source material on the individual problems of today such as customs, extraterritoriality, diplomatic involvements, etc. —E. G.

BETWEEN WAR AND PEACE
By Florence Brewer Boeckel
The Macmillan Company, New York, 1928. G. $2.00

An eminent European statesman has said that what the world needs is to become as effectively organized for peace as it is for war. This volume is an attempt to survey the field of peace organization in the world, and particularly from the point of view of American initiation. It is useful as an indication of what experiments are in the making, and consequently as a pointer toward what may next be done.

Mrs. Boeckel, as Education Director for the American National Council for Prevention of War, is perhaps primarily interested in what she considers the most hopeful aspect of peace "organization"—namely, the work being done in educational institutions and amongst young people generally. Her first chapters constitute a survey of official and extra-official means of raprochement between nations in the intellectual field, of international aspects of education in universities and colleges, and of the work being done with children toward the promotion of peace ideas, both in and outside of secondary schools. In later chapters she discusses the work of church organizations, national and international, in the interests of peace; the influence of organized women in building up a public opinion opposed to war; the part being played by international commerce in the direction of war and peace, etc. In Part III (Part I was introduction) the author studies world agencies operating toward the organization of the world for peace (the League of Nations, the International Law Court, arbitration and disarmament conferences, etc.), and the various national policies with relation to international affairs which have profound bearing upon war and peace. Part IV is a suggested program for community and national activity looking toward "organization for peace." There is a useful bibliography. —E. G.

THE FLUTES OF SHANGHAI
By Louise Jordan Miln
Frederick A. Stokes Company, New York, 1928. G. $2.50

In this volume the author has attempted something that is almost always disastrous to the success of a novel—the treatment of contemporary history in fiction form. Although there is much of charm in the Oriental background and something of interest in the unfolding of the plot, the reader is forced to undergo the frequent and disconcerting intrusion of the author herself into the passages which deal with matters of actual and recent happening in Shanghai. Mrs. Miln makes many fair and forceful statements

in refutation of popular foreign prejudices concerning China and the Chinese, and speaks her mind with considerable independence on several points which would not, one gathers, tend to increase her popularity in the Shanghai Foreign Settlement. And yet the force of her statements is necessarily lessened by the fictional medium she used for portraying events, and at the same time the artistic quality of her third person narrative, the very credibility of her fiction, is decidedly lowered by the intrusion of passages beginning—"We in the Settlement did not . . ." Such homiletics might have been somewhat more acceptable had the author troubled to put the phrases in the mouths of her characters.

The story carries across a number of clear pictures, some lovely, some not, but all apparently realistic, of Chinese and international life in the environs of a profoundly disturbed city—Shanghai. One is left wondering, however, what might be the nature of the great though obscure "service" to which her Shanghai-born English hero is devoting his own and numerous Chinese talents in the name of "China." —E. G.

SOVIET TRADE UNIONS
By Robert W. Dunn
VILLAGE LIFE UNDER THE SOVIETS
By Karl Borders
WOMAN IN SOVIET RUSSIA
By Jessica Smith
Vanguard Press, New York. 50c each

The Vanguard Press of New York is issuing a series of compact little volumes on life in Soviet Russia, under the editorship of Professor Jerome Davis of Yale University. Of the three volumes above listed, the authorship seems to bear out the publishers' claim that the studies are made by "impartial observers and experts." Karl Borders is a Kentuckian, educated for the ministry, who went to Russia with the Quaker famine relief mission and later acted as educational director for the Russian Reconstruction Farms. Jessica Granville-Smith, graduate of Swarthmore, the Quaker college, had been an active suffrage worker before going to Russia with the Quaker mission in 1922. She was twice in Russia, living at one time for more than a year in Moscow, studying family life, educational development, etc. Robert Dunn, a Yale graduate and at one time acting director of the American Civil Liberties Union, has also had Quaker connections in his Russian experience. Later (1927), he acted on the technical and advisory staff of the American Trade Union Delegation to Russia.

These three volumes are objective in treatment, colorful, and moderate in tone. They contain much interesting information and little that attempts to be "interpretive," otherwise than facts themselves may serve to interpret a movement or a people. The introduction is in each case by Professor Davis, himself a student of Russian affairs and a visitor to that country. —E. G.

REPORT ON THE ECONOMIC AND COMMERCIAL SITUATION OF AUSTRALIA
By R. W. Dalton
Published by the Department of Overseas Trade
H. M. Stationery Office, London, 1927

This is a short review (101 pages) of the general economic condition of Australia in 1927, by the Senior Trade Commissioner (for Australia) of the British Overseas Trade Department. It gives good brief statistical summaries of the main factors of Australian economic life, including population, cost of living, national wealth, production, finance, tariff questions, trade conditions and figures, transport and communication. With the statis-

tics are given useful surveys of the outstanding economic problems. In them the commissioner analyses some of the underlying trends of Australia's finance, production and trade. Section VI has a valuable account of the Australian tariff policy where it is pointed out that the burden of the tariff has often tended to fall heavily on British exporters. In the section on Manufacturing Industries mention is made of the possible insecurity of Australia's position if any period of economic adversity should be experienced. The already high costs of production might react seriously on the primary industries during a period of falling prices, and Australia depends absolutely upon these industries for the fulfillment of her heavy financial commitments abroad. —W. L. H.

INCREASING RETURNS AND ECONOMIC PROGRESS
Economic Journal, London, Dec. 1928

By Professor Allyn A. Young, formerly of Harvard University and now professor of economics at London University. A masterly piece of economic analysis on Adam Smith's dictum, "the division of labour depends on the extent of the market," in which the writer points out some of the defects in the ordinary apparatus of economic theory which is wont to consider economic processes as tendencies towards an *equilibrium*. But in view of the continual progress of industrial technique and organization, a more appropriate conception for the economist is that of a *"moving equilibrium."* In his analysis Professor Young draws the following interesting conclusion:

"Those who hold that American industry is managed better, that its leaders study its problems more intelligently and plan more courageously and more wisely can cite no facts in support of their opinion save the differences in the results achieved. Allowing for the circumstance that British industry as a whole has proved to be rather badly adjusted to the new post-war economic situation, I know of no facts which prove or even indicate that British industry, seen against the background of its own problems and its own possibilities, is less efficiently organised or less ably directed than American industry or the industry of any other country." —W. L. H.

CHINESE-JAPANESE MYTHOLOGY
By John C. Ferguson and Masaharu Anesaki
Archaeological Institute of America
Marshall Jones Company, Boston. 1928. G. $15.00

This is Volume VIII of Mythology of All Races. Dr. Ferguson, an authority on Chinese art and literature, has written the section on Chinese Mythology; Professor Anesaki, the Japanese. Both sections are ably handled and present a source book of great value. The book is well illustrated.

In order to simplify his subject, Dr. Ferguson has excluded foreign myths and avoided all comparisons with myths of other lands. As a Chinese once said in speaking of the mythology of his country, "To collect our mythology would be like rolling up an endless snowball." This can readily be understood after consulting Dr. Ferguson's treatise. Although he has simplified the subject the reader sometimes feels as if he, too, were being caught up and buried in the snowball. On the other hand, the Japanese mythology, which Professor Anesaki frankly admits has borrowed amply from China and India, is simpler, clearer and somehow nearer to the heart. It would be interesting to have for comparison a similar work on the mythology of Korea.

This volume does much to give meaning to the art, literature and nature of the Japanese and Chinese. One puts the book down with the desire to have it at hand so that the subject matter may be more slowly re-read and studied. —B. M.

A THEORY OF THE LABOR MOVEMENT
By Selig Perlman
Macmillan, New York, 1928

This book is described by the author as giving "a survey of the historical development of the British, German, Russian and American labor movements, in order to show the grounds upon which he has arrived at his theory of the labor movement."

After a brief introductory chapter setting out the main lines of the author's theoretical analysis of the labor movement, the book continues as an historical exposition of labor in each of the countries named above. This survey is made in the light of the author's theory and the development of the labor movement in each of these countries is exhibited so as to afford historical support to the theory. This historical section takes up the greater part of the book. Particular mention should be made of the fifth chapter on "Labor and Capitalism in America," in which the author has given an able account of a labor movement, in which he is apparently well versed. He shows the peculiar evolution of trade-unionism in the United States up to its present position, where it has to fight not the "Capitalism" of the old order, but the more subtle antagonism of "welfare capitalism."

It is, however, in the theoretical and philosophical section that the book is likely to be of greatest value. Here Dr. Perlman has undoubtedly broken new ground and given a novel explanation of labor theory. In three chapters, "Economic Group Psychology," "The Philosophy of Organic Labor," and "Intellectuals and Labor" he expounds his interpretation of the labor movement. In any modern labor situation three basic considerations are observable; first the resistance power of capitalism to revolutionary change; second the extent to which a labor movement is under the domination of "the intellectual mentality" which regularly underestimates capitalism's resistance power and overestimates labor's will to radical change; and third, the degree to which the movement has evolved the trade-union mentality. The objective of the strivings of the labor movements is traced down to the desire for "communism of opportunity," while capitalism is discovered in the last analysis to be not so much a material phenomenon as a psychological fact, namely, the "effective will to power of the capitalist class." The introductory chapter from which these last remarks are drawn, is in itself a fair epitome of the thesis of the book.

The argument and description is couched in an attractive and forceful style. The chief criticism to be levelled against it is that the psychological analysis is conducted in rather too simplified a fashion. The appeal of the book is enhanced by the lack of continual qualifications, but its scientific value is probably impaired. The summary classification of the "intellectuals" into three distinct types of "ethical," "efficiency" and "determinist-revolutionary" is perhaps a little too clear-cut and simple, especially when those "types" are discussed and described as actual personalities. —W. L. H.

CHINA AND WORLD PEACE
By Mingchien Joshua Bau
Fleming H. Revell Company, New York, 1928. G. $2.00

This book, written by a Professor of Political Science at Peking National University, has special interest for a western public because, out of the mass of books produced on China it is one of the few which actually reflects a Chinese point of view. More such reflections, as for instance, the distinguished 1927 publication, "China in Revolt," by Mr. Tang Liang-li (who, by the way, now has a new volume off the press), would be extremely wel-

come and extremely useful. Failing, or supplementing, the more frequent publication of such books in English, it is to be hoped that more translations of books written in Chinese may be made available to western readers, in numbers more nearly proportionate to the western books translated into Chinese. The translation and publication in English of Dr. Sun Yat-sen's "San Min Chu I," the famous "Three Principles" of modern nationalism, by the China Council of the Institute of Pacific Relations is a useful case in point.

Dr. Bau's book is a study of China's international relations, looking toward their alteration in ways that would directly affect the peace of the world. It should more properly be said "series of studies," for the chapters, revised and brought to date, were originally prepared as data papers for the 1927 conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations at Honolulu. The subjects of these separate yet interrelated studies are the "Unequal Treaties" (now already in course of revision), "Chinese Nationalism" (now on a sounder footing than when here discussed), the "Shanghai Affair," treated historically as the "spark which set the nation on fire," the "New British Policy in China" (now somewhat modified by the course of events), "Tariff Autonomy" (now largely settled in principle if not in detail), "Extraterritoriality" (still a moot point), and the problem of foreign concessions and settlements, which yet awaits deeper consideration and satisfactory solution by China and the other Powers in concert.

The chapters dealing with these subjects are to a certain extent annotated, and there is a further section of documents related to the issues in hand.

So much water can and does pass under the bridge in China between the conceiving and the publishing of a study of this nature that it is very difficult for the reader to envisage the same scene that the author envisaged. The study was, however, at the time of its first use at Honolulu, very enlightening and very challenging. That it is now of interest chiefly as an historical rather than a current statement does not detract from its usefulness for the student. In addition it possesses the perennial freshness of presenting a Chinese viewpoint and reflecting, with some fire, at least a section of Chinese feeling. —E. G.

WHEN I WAS A BOY IN KOREA
By Ilhan New
Lothrop, Lee & Shepard Co., Boston. G. $1.25

The series of books, of which this is one, is written to acquaint the children of the United States with the children of other lands. In each case the author writes of his native land after many years in America.

"When I Was a Boy in Korea" is simply and entertainingly told. It describes the Korean home, the schools, customs, etc. It is especially welcome, coming as it does from Korea, of which so little is known. The book is written with the mind and not the heart. It would be interesting to see how a Korean with the sympathetic and poetic approach of Mrs. Sugimoto of Japan would present the same material. Mr. New's treatment leaves you interested in Korea, but the children especially lack the spark of life. The old people are more vivid.

An incident which is reminiscent of Solomon is recalled by Mr. New from his boyhood. An oil vender who had crossed a river on a ferry claimed he had been robbed by a blind man. The villagers laughed at him. When the case came before a magistrate the money was poured into a bowl of water. Oil came to the surface. An examination of the hands of the disputants showed that the vender's hands were grimy with oil and the money was given to him. —B. M.

Pamphlets

WORLD LABOUR PROBLEMS IN 1928
A Record of the Eleventh International Labour Conference
League of Nations Union, London, October, 1928. 4d.

For the general reader only casually acquainted with League activities this record has the initial defect of failing to state at the outset where and under what auspices the conference of May 30-June 16, 1928, was held. Otherwise it is a useful resumé of the event, treated especially from the British viewpoint.

TEN YEARS
The League of Nations Union, London
November, 1928. 3d.

Addresses by Lord Grey, Stanley Baldwin, Mr. J. R. Clynes and Lord Cecil, on the occasion of the tenth anniversary meeting of the Union in London, October 26, 1928. Stanley Baldwin, after reviewing "what our League has done," speaks also at some length on the renunciation of war, with special reference to the Kellogg Pact.

THE METROPOLITAN LIBRARY
Second Annual Report for the Year Ending June, 1928
Peking Leader Press, Peking, October, 1928

This 48-page report, issued by the Trustees of the China Foundation for the Promotion of Education and Culture, is an interesting indication of the significant work of preservation and construction which this library is undertaking. Design of the new library and progress of the building are included. The report is submitted by Y. T. Tsur, Acting Director, and T. L. Yuan, Associate Director of the Library.

INTERNATIONAL GOODWILL CONGRESS
Commemorating the Tenth Anniversary of the Armistice
World Alliance for Friendship, New York, November, 1928

The story of the congress, resolutions adopted, and program for the year's work. Several addresses and communications are included.

CHINA INSTITUTE IN AMERICA
119 West 57th Street, New York

These are two recently received pamphlets, one a report of the Institute's life since its inception in 1926, but with no publication date to indicate its scope in point of time, although there are references in the text to 1928 activities. The second, stamped Bulletin 7, is a supplementary list bringing up to date the record of Theses and Dissertations by Chinese Students in America (Bulletin 4), which appeared some time ago.

WHAT CHINA WANTS
By A. M. Chirgwin
Livingstone Press, Westminster, S. W. I., April, 1928. 6d.

The substance of articles which appeared in the 19th Century Review, Contemporary Review, etc., on the Chinese Renaissance, the Anti-Christian Movement, Extraterritoriality, etc. The author answers the question implied in the title with the translated phrase "China for the Chinese."

JAPAN AND CHINA
JAPAN AND MANCHURIA
JAPAN AND THE UNITED STATES
By Motosada Zumoto
Herald of Asia Press, Hibiya Park, Tokyo, 1928

Three pamphlets in English, being the addresses delivered by Mr. Zumoto at the Williamstown, and Seattle Institutes last year.

AMERICAN INDIAN LIFE
Bulletins Nos. 12 and 13
1037 Mills Building, San Francisco, 1928

Two late numbers of the bulletin published by the San Francisco branch of the American Indian Defense Association, which has national headquarters in the Bliss Building, Washington, D. C. Contain enlightening facts about Indian life in the United States and a running account of the progress of United States Senate investigations into Indian affairs.

THE SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH COUNCIL
Fourth Annual Report, 1927-28, New York

This 56-page annual report of The Social Science Research Council, which seeks "by research, by conference, and by publication to promote the application of science to the solving of social problems," shows the varied and interesting problems being studied and studies promoted by this Council through committees, fellowships and grants-in-aid. Of particular interest in the Pacific is the work of the Advisory Committee on International Relations, under the chairmanship of Professor James T. Shotwell. New work of this committee includes: A Study of the Development of Neutrality, A Study of the International Financial and Economic Relations of China, and A Survey of Research Possibilities in the Field of International Relations. Mention is made of two other studies to be taken up in the Trend of Consumption of Agricultural Products in Eastern Asia and the Trend of Pacific Agriculture from Subsistence Farming to Cash Crop Farming, both of which grew out of Institute of Pacific Relations projects.

STATISTICAL ABSTRACT FOR THE NETHERLANDS EAST INDIES—YEAR 1927
Compiled by J. Van Gelderen, Head of the Colonial Statistical Bureau
Weltevreden, 1928

This useful publication concerning an important section of the Pacific area is bi-lingual, presenting explanations for the figures in Dutch and English.

STANDARD AND DIALECTICAL JAPANESE
Some Remarks by M. G. Mori
Tokyo, December, 1928

Interesting light upon phoneticized Japanese with reference to the accent marks employed for so-called standard pronunciation and for the pronunciation in non-standard variations. Students of the language will find it of value. In English.

RUSSIAN ECONOMIC NOTES
Department of Commerce
Washington, D. C.

The Division of Regional Information of the Department of Commerce at Washington is issuing a semi-monthly bulletin from official Russian sources, owing to the "scarcity of authoritative information in the United States about economic conditions in Soviet Russia." The subjects covered in No. 11, January 2, 1928, are the Federal Budget for 1928-1929, Internal Debt, Domestic Trade, Foreign Trade (Fur Exports). This new series is comparable to the useful circular on China trade, compiled regularly by the United States Department of Commerce from Chinese Maritime Customs and other reports.

NANKAI SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC RESEARCH
Work and Project
Nankai University, Tientsin, China, 1928

The accomplishments and plans of one of the most important independent research agencies in China, of which Dr. Franklin L. Ho is director, under the leadership of Dr. Chang Po-ling, President of the University.

AN EXAMINATION OF THE STRENGTH OF CHRISTIANITY
A Short History of the Progress of Christianity in Japan
Japanese Christian Association
Tokyo, 1928

An 85-page pamphlet in Japanese, setting forth the extent of Christian Endeavor in Japan since its inception and estimating the influence which the Christian religion exerts amongst the people and upon social currents in modern Japan.

L'INSTRUCTION PUBLIQUE EN OUCRAINE
Syndicat des Travailleurs de l'Enseignement
Oucraine, U. S. S. R.

A booklet issued in French by the Pan-Ukrainian organization, telling of the plans and accomplishments of workers' groups in the fields of public instruction, etc.

In the Magazines

Note: All the following references to magazines published in the Orient are for English language publications. National ownership of such publications is indicated.

AFTER TARIFF AUTONOMY; by Ling Hoon-lai; the *China Critic* (Chinese), Shanghai, November 29, 1928.

ANALYSIS OF THE MONROE DOCTRINE; *Information Service,* Foreign Policy Association, New York, December 7, 1928.

ANGLO-AMERICAN REALITIES AND FANTASIES; editorial; the *New Statesman,* London, December 8, 1928.

"All the sensible people in England will agree with the plea in the Observer that a fresh start be made in Anglo-American affairs. The relations between the two countries have fallen of late to a level of absurd, even shocking, unreality."

ANGLO-AMERICAN RELATIONS; editorial; the *Spectator,* London, December 1, 1928.

This article states that there is only one danger of trouble between Great Britain and the United States, and that is on the question of the "freedom of the seas."

"This danger is due to the persistence of the age-long controversy about belligerent rights . . . The Admiralty clings to its ancient rights as indispensable to the efficient exercise of naval power, but it is clinging to them at a time when America is acknowledged as the equal of Great Britain on the seas, and when America has yielded nothing of her desire for the triumph of the doctrines loosely comprehended in the phrase, 'freedom of the seas.' The danger is that a clash between the two doctrines or policies might come about accidentally, and perhaps suddenly."

ANGLO-JAPANESE ALLIANCE AGAIN? editorial; the *China Critic* (Chinese), Shanghai, November 29, 1928.

ANGLO-JAPANESE ENTENTE, AN; editorial; the *Nation,* London, December 8, 1928.

"The fact remains that the proposals were coldly received at Washington. The United States Government has secured very tangible advantages by playing a lone hand in China, and does not wish to be embarrassed by any kind of diplomatic partnership, however informal. The exchange of views must take place, therefore, without American assistance; it remains to be seen what the American attitude will be towards the arrangement. . . .

"An Anglo-Japanese understanding might well act as a real solvent of friction. There is now no chance that the Great Powers will ever revive their old policy of seizing Chinese territory, establishing bases upon Chinese soil, and sending punitive expeditions against the Chinese capital. That policy is dead for ever: its ill consequences are too manifest."

ANGLO-JAPANESE UNDERSTANDING, THE; editorial; the *Trans-Pacific* (American), Tokyo, December 1, 1928.

ASIATICS; by Upton Close; the *Living Age,* Boston, September, 1928.

BANKNOTE POLICY OF PRESENT-DAY CHINA, THE; by E. Kann; the *North-China Herald* (British), Shanghai, December 15, 1928.

BELATED IMPERIALISM, A—Japan's Position in Manchuria; translated from the "Oriental Economist"—editorial; the *Japan Weekly Chronicle* (British), Kobe, December 20, 1928.

"If China, awakened and unified under a stable government, wants for a just cause to modify or withdraw privileges previously granted, the Powers should listen to her demand and be pleased to make reasonable adjustment. This being so, the lease of Kwantung and all the other interests which Japan has in Manchuria and Mongolia are no reason for her to consider Manchuria and Mongolia a special zone for herself. This is a patent fact that admits of no doubt or dispute, but this nation persists in looking upon Manchuria and Mongolia as a special zone for itself for the reason that Manchuria would never have been restored by Russia if it had not been for the fact that Japan fought and beat her at the cost of much blood and money. Manchuria is thus held to be Chinese territory only in name and Japan's in fact."

BRITAIN AND AMERICA; editorial; the *New Republic,* New York, December 19, 1928.

CALLES: MEXICO'S LEADING CITIZEN; by Ernest Gruening; the *Nation,* New York, December 26, 1928.

CANADA AND THE ST. LAWRENCE PLAN; by D. M. LeBourdais; the *New Republic,* New York, December 26, 1928.

CENTRAL BANK, THE; by D. K. Lieu; the *China Critic* (Chinese), Shanghai, November 29, 1928.

"New notes have been issued, and loans have been made to native banks on the security of Government bonds and treasury notes. Branches will soon be established, the first one being in Nanking. The capital of $20,000,000 has been provided by the Government out of the proceeds of a special series of treasury notes. The rapidity with which the Bank was organized was a surprise to most people, although we had been gradually accustomed to the promptness with which the National Government carried out its decisions."

CHINA AND JAPAN—Japan in China; by R. Isome; the *Living Age,* Boston, December, 1928.

CHINA AT GENEVA; by Reginald Wright Kauffman; the *China Weekly Review* (American), Shanghai, December 1, 1928.

CHINA IN SEARCH OF A GOVERNMENT; by George E. Sokolsky; the *North-China Herald* (British), Shanghai, December 1, 1928.

The first portion of a three-part article on the contest of ideas among political parties in China, the circumstances which have brought about the present group dictatorship in Nanking and the dangerous efforts which the later is making to keep itself in power.

CHINA, JAPAN, AND MANCHURIA; by Shigeyoshi Obata, Correspondent, Osaka Mainichi; the *Nation,* New York, January 2, 1928.

CHINA POLICY OF THE TANAKA MINISTRY; nothing noteworthy done in past 18 months; by Gyokujo Hanzawa, the Osaka Mainichi, Osaka, November 14, 1928.

Osaka Mainichi, English edition, prints translation of interesting article from the Diplomatic Review.

CHINA REVIEWS THE SHANGTUNG QUESTION; by Kiyoshi K. Kawakami; the *Nineteenth Century and After,* London, December, 1928.

CHINA'S PROPOSED FACTORY LAW; editorial; the *North-China Herald* (British), Shanghai, December 8, 1928.

CHINESE AND JAPANESE IN PACIFIC COAST STATES; editorial review of "Resident Orientals on the American Pacific Coast," by Eliot G. Mears; the *Monthly Labor Review,* Washington, D. C., December, 1928.

CHINESE LABOUR AND WESTERN RESPONSIBILITIES; by Count Sforza; the *Contemporary Review,* London, December, 1928.

CHRISTIAN EDUCATION IN CHINA; by Herman C. E. Liu; the *Chinese Recorder* (American), Shanghai, December, 1928.

CHRISTIAN MOVEMENT IN CHINA, THE; by Henry T. Hodgkin; the *China Weekly Review* (American), Shanghai, December 15, 1928.

CONTEMPORARY BRITISH PRESS, THE—An analysis running as a series in the *Economist,* London (weekly), beginning with the issue of November 3 and running through December 1.

CRISIS OF THE "NEW ECONOMIC POLICY" IN SOVIET RUSSIA, THE; by Paul Scheffer, for some years Moscow correspondent of the Berliner Tageblatt; *Foreign Affairs,* New York, January, 1929.

DECADE OF AMERICAN ROMAN CATHOLIC MISSIONS IN CHINA, A; by Carrington Goodrich; the *International Review of Missions,* London, January, 1929.

DEFENCES OF OUR NORTHWEST; by T. King; the *China Critic* (Chinese), Shanghai, December 6, 1928.

"In one of our previous issues, we referred to the railway problem in Manchuria and exposed the designs of the Island Empire on our northeast territory, pointing out that it is not a problem that concerns the people of the Three Eastern Provinces alone, but it is one the solution of which should be regarded as of vital importance to our whole nation. Now, we would like to declare emphatically that the adoption of prompt and adequate measures for the defence of our northwest possessions, which has been neglected so long, is certainly a matter not less important to the consolidation of our Republic."

DIE ÖKONOMISCHE NATUR DER BAUERLICHEN WIRTSCHAFT; by Professor Dr. G. A., Studensky; *Weltwirtschaftliches Archiv,* Jena, October, 1928.

"The overwhelmingly greater part of mankind is engaged in the culture of land. In India, China, Africa, Russia, Switzerland and Sweden the proportion of peasantry to entire population is 75 per cent and more . . . According to W. Sombart ('Modern Capitalism') there are at least 200 million agricultural enterprises, with an agricultural population of from 1 to 12 milliards, or two-thirds of all mankind."

DISCREDITED METHODS; editorial; the *Japan Weekly Chronicle* (British), Kobe, December 6, 1928.

In speaking of the agitation over the understanding between Britain and Japan regarding policies in China, the editorial states: "It is clear that China believes that, if Britain and Japan came to any agreement regarding China, it would be for their own advantage. We can hardly blame the Chinese: it is always very difficult to appreciate another nation's altruism, especially when that nation has hitherto dissembled its love so successfully that its beneficiaries believed that they were being kicked downstairs."

ECONOMIC INTERPRETATION OF THE MANCHURIAN QUESTION, AN; by Chen Ping-tsang; the *China Weekly Review* (American), Shanghai, November 24, 1928.

"In order to understand the intricacies of international politics in Manchuria, it is necessary to grasp the importance of Manchuria's foreign trade which may be regarded as the sum total of the products of its economic life."

The article gives tables showing the import and export trade of Manchuria and a resume of its history.

ECONOMIC INTERPRETATION OF THE MANCHURIAN QUESTION, THE (with statistics); by Chen Ping-tsang; the *China Critic* (Chinese), Shanghai, November 22, 1928.

"There are certain areas on the political map of the continents which seem to have been predestined to form entangled knots of conflicting interests and to create thorny problems of international relations because of their economic advantages, natural and adventitious. Of such areas a very prominent if not ranking place has been assigned to Manchuria, where the vital interests of three Powers—China, Japan, and Russia—are closely interwoven and in their progressive development are bringing about a delicate international situation. In order to understand the intricacies of international politics in Manchuria, therefore, it is necessary to grasp the importance of Manchuria's foreign trade which may be regarded as the sum total of the products of its economic life."

ECONOMIC QUESTIONS AND THE INTERNATIONAL LABOUR ORGANIZATION; by G. Curcin; *International Labour Review,* Geneva, December, 1928.

EMPEROR'S ATTEMPT TO REFORM THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT IN THE SUMMER OF 1898, THE; by Borton Butcher; *Political Science Quarterly,* New York, December, 1928.

EMPIRE AND THE WORKERS' STANDARD OF LIFE, THE; by Dr. L. Haden Guest; the *Nineteenth Century and After,* London, December, 1928.

FALLING PRICES ON THE FARM; by an economic observer; the *Commercial,* Manchester, November 29, 1928.

The World's Economic Conference called as a result of resolution by the League of Nations to diagnose the economic ills of the world found that the agriculturist complains that he "buys the manufactures which he needs at high prices and sells at low prices the products of the soil." The conference found in many countries a state of depression caused not by lack of production of food stuffs "but because the demand from certain manufacturing communities in Europe is inadequate."

The Conference's decision was that the remedy lay not only in agriculture itself but in industry and commerce.

The recommendations of the Agricultural Report were partly of a general character and partly purely agricultural. Of the general recommendations the most important were those dealing with the removal of hindrances to the free circulation of agricultural products, to the reduction of tariffs, to the abolition of the system of export prohibitions.

In this article "An Economic Observer" comments on the findings of the conference.

FISHES FROM RUSSIAN PACIFIC WATERS; by V. K. Soldatov; *Journal of the Pan-Pacific Research Institution,* Honolulu, January-March, 1929.

FOREIGN OFFICE AND CHINA, THE; by J. O. P. Bland; the *North-China Herald* (British), Shanghai, December 15, 1928.

In this article, reproduced from "Britannia" of November 16, Mr. Bland gives a trenchant exposure of the failure in Downing Street to face facts in the Far East and act with regard for realities.

FORMOSAS BEDEUTUNG FUR JAPAN; unsigned article; *Ostasiatische Rundschau,* Hamburg, December 1, 1928.

FRIENDLY VISITING IN AN ARMORED CAR; by John Palmer Gavit; the *Survey Graphic,* New York, January, 1929.

This article comments on Mr. Hoover's visit to South America in a warship. "It might be possible to make the Monroe Doctrine a welcome and prized thing

from the Canadian border to Terra del Fuego; a bond of fellowship knitting the Western Hemisphere into a unity of vast potentiality. Dwight Morrow in Mexico has shown how easy it is to do it right . . . Suspicion about our further stretching of the Monroe Doctrine is the real reason why no Latin-American nation has as yet accepted the Kellogg Pact. There is a bad past to be lived down.

"Warship or no warship—that is not after all a very serious matter. When we stop barking, Latin America will be quite ready to believe the end that wags. There is, however, an aspect even more important. We can stop thinking of ourselves as bossing the Western Hemisphere, and take instead the attitude of belonging to it. Big Brother, if you like, but the kind of big brother who does things with, rather than to or for, the rest of the family. Which is a very different thing."

Future Status of Shanghai, The; editorial; the *China Weekly Review* (American), Shanghai, December 8, 1928.

German Governmental Influence on Foreign Investments, 1871-1915; by Walter H. C. Laves; *Political Science Quarterly,* New York, December, 1928.

Great Britain and Russia; editorial; the *Spectator,* London, December 8, 1928.

Great Britain, Japan and China; editorial; the *Times Weekly Edition,* London, November 29, 1928.

"The news that successful conversations have taken place between the British and the Japanese Governments on the subject of their diplomatic cooperation in China will be well received in this country. . . .

"There need be no fear that this understanding may lead to the adoption of an uncompromising attitude towards China. Two Powers acting in concert are less likely to be tempted to imprudences than one."

Handicraft Workers in Peking Being Driven to the Wall by the Introduction of Machine Industry; by Dr. L. K. Tao; the *Week in China* (American), Peking, December 1, 1928.

Hongkong—Review of the Anti-British Boycott and Industrial Changes During the Past Year; by Dr. Joseph Hunck; *Ostasiatische Rundschau,* Hamburg, December 1, 1928.

Hopes for the Chinese Church, My; by H. T. Hodgkin; the *Chinese Recorder* (Mission Board), Shanghai, December, 1928.

Impressions of Soviet Russia: The Great Experiment and the Future; John Dewey; the *New Republic,* New York, December 19, 1928.

This is the sixth and last of a series of articles by Dr. Dewey on present-day Russia.

"Not being an absolutist of either type, I find it more instructive to regard it as an experiment whose outcome is quite undetermined, but that is, just as an experiment, by all means the most interesting one going on upon our globe—though I am quite frank to say that for selfish reasons I prefer seeing it tried in Russia rather than in my own country.

"I left Russia with a stronger feeling than I had ever had before of the criminal ineptitude of those statesmen who still play with the forces that generate wars. There is one prediction to which I am willing to commit myself. If there is another European war, under present conditions, civil war will add to the horrors of foreign war in every continental country, and every capital in Europe will be a shamble in which the worst horrors of the days of revolution in Petrograd will be outdone."

Increasing Returns and Economic Progress; by Professor Allyn Young; the *Economic Journal,* the Quarterly Journal of The Royal Economic Society, London, December, 1928.

(Presidential Address before Section F—Economic Science and Statistics—of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, Glasgow, September 10, 1928.)

Independence and Peace; by Sir Charles Hobhouse; the *Contemporary Review,* London, December, 1928.

Internal Conflict in China; by William Prohme; the *Nation,* New York, December 26, 1928.

Japan Fights for Manchuria; by Thomas F. Millard; the *Nation,* New York, December 19, 1928.

"In short, Japan's purpose evidently is to set up in Manchuria a puppet Chinese government behind which Japan will rule that country until a time comes when it can be annexed without opposition from other Powers. That is not an imaginary or trumped-up accusation. The project is spread plainly in the Japanese press and Japan's propaganda organs in China day after day."

JAPANESE RACIAL ORIGINS; by Kazan Kayahara; the *Trans-Pacific* (American), Tokyo December 8, 1928.

JAPAN'S POSITION IN MANCHURIA; by Fang Lo-tien; the *China Critic* (Chinese), Shanghai, November 29, 1928.

JAPAN'S PRESS MAGNATES—Leading Newspapers and What They Stand For; series, the *Japan Weekly Chronicle* (British), Kobe, beginning December 6, 1928.

KOREA (a section under the leading article entitled "A Missionary Survey of the Year 1928"); the *International Review of Missions*, London, January, 1929.

"The depressed condition of trade and agriculture still causes much anxiety to all concerned with the well-being of Korea. There is great poverty both within and without the Church, seriously affecting church life and the maintenance of services. Although agricultural returns show an increase of produce, large quantities of the rice grown is exported to Japan, the rural population subsisting on coarser and less nourishing grain. Many farms are mortgaged to Japanese, and owing to foreclosures are constantly passing out of Korean ownership.

"Complaint is still rife that Koreans have little place in public institutions or in civil administration, the higher posts being occupied by Japanese, while only such posts as that of village headman or county magistrate fall to Koreans. Poverty, unrest, and at the same time the increasing ease of communication and transport, are leading to steady emigration, chiefly to Manchuria, but also to other parts of China and to Japan."

KUOMINTANG TROUBLES AND GOVERNMENT STABILITY; editorial; the *China Weekly Review* (American), Shanghai, December 15, 1928.

LABOUR AND SAFEGUARDING in Great Britain; editorial; the *New Statesman*, London, December 8, 1928.

L'ACTION DES ETATS-UNIS EN AMERIQUE DU SUD—Les Grands Trusts Nord-Americains et les Richesses Petroliferes de la Colombie; by Leon Rollin; *L'Europe Nouvelle*, Paris, December 1, 1928.

LATIN AMERICA, EUROPE AND THE UNITED STATES; by F. Garcia Calderon, Peruvian delegate at the Paris Peace Conference; *Foreign Affairs*, New York, January, 1929.

"Since the war Europe has seemed inclined to come closer to Latin America; but Latin America, without forgetting the bonds, the interests, the sympathies which unite Americans to the Old World, has been drawing away, striving instead to create a new civilization which will harmonize all the various elements in New World tradition and history.

"Vainly did Spanish America copy the Constitution of the United States—the history of a people depends not on its legal institutions but on its racial character! . . .

"This crucible of nationalities, this melting pot of races, is boiling in every zone of the New World. A Mexican statesman, José Vasconcelos, whom all Latin America hails as one of its masters of thought, believes that a new race will be formed in the Americas, the unitary 'cosmic' race. . . . It is the 'divine' mission of the so-called Latin Americans to create the synthetic human being, a being who will give adequate expression to 'the total ambition of the World.' A 'prodigious' race, the Nordic. But it has sinned unpardonably in wiping out the Indian, instead of assimilating him as the Spanish conquerors did. The United States will build, at the best, the 'last empire of the whites.' Whereas in the South, the blood and the genius of all races are fusing in a rich symphony. A vaster vision of the world is growing up. The sense of human brotherhood is deeper and more real. It is for Latin America, the new Atlantic, to create a land of liberty without hatred or contempt alike for yellow, red and European."

LES MISSIONNAIRES FRANCAIS DEVANT LE PARLEMENT; by Gaston Deschamps; *Revue des Deux Mondes*, Paris, December, 1928.

The legislative calendar of the French parliament announces consideration of an article of proposed legislation, connected with the passing of the general budget, which affects the status of missionaries abroad and would render them government support. M. Deschamps in this review quotes the announced purpose of the proposed legislation as having "the sole object to provide for the needs of missions established by the old Capucin friars in Constantinople, Syria, Mesopotamia, Abyssinia, India," etc., etc., "as well as for the missions which may be established in future." The motive seems to be, according to the author of this article, the recognition of services rendered to France in foreign lands by these mission societies, and in citing the history of French Capucins abroad he speaks of it as being "intimately linked with French embassies."

In the words of one minister favorable to the plan, "it is incontestible that the missions contribute not only to spreading the use of our language, but the formation of many and faithful attachments for France. The government of the Republique has always accorded subventions to the Capucins for their work in foreign lands." The departments of Foreign Affairs and the Colonial Office are especially interested in the bill. This article is an exposition of present mission conditions and of past services which seem to the author to warrant the legal recognition of a "moral right."

MANCHURIA—An Exposition of the Japanese Attitude; by Hiroshi Saito, Consul-General at New York—address at Williamstown Institute of Politics, August, 1928; *New Japan* (published by the Japanese Students' Christian Association in North America), New York, October, 1928.

MEDICAL MISSIONS AND THE INDIGENOUS CHURCHES; by C. Frimodt-Moller; the *International Review of Missions,* London, January, 1929.

MEXICO'S PROGRAM: AN OPPORTUNITY; by James Hoffman Batten; the *World Tomorrow,* New York, January, 1929.

A criticism of the United States' lack of "human relations" in dealing with Latin America in general and Mexico in particular. Mr. Batten states there are two problems which might arouse ill feelings between the United States and Mexico. First, the urgent demand of some wrong-headed Americans that the United States government interfere in the religious controversy between Mexico and the church. Second, the question of immigration. Mr. Batten states that immigration from Mexico is decreasing and that Mexico is urging her nationals to return home to develop their own resources. He feels that the proper method of approach is not through ill-advised legislation such as has been urged in Washington but through a commission of inquiry, possibly between the two countries, which may be used as basis for future intelligent action.

MISSIONARIES AND POLITICS IN CHINA—The Taiping Rebellion; by John B. Littell; *Political Science Quarterly,* New York, December, 1928.

MISSIONS AND POPULATION CONTROL IN CHINA; by Maxwell S. Stewart; the *Chinese Recorder* (Mission Board), Shanghai, December, 1928.

MONROE DOCTRINE AND LATIN AMERICA, THE (The relation of the Doctrine to the League Covenant, the Kellogg Treaties, and the Anti-War Pact); *Information Service,* Foreign Policy Association, New York, December 7, 1928.

MOTOR TRAFFIC IN MANCHURIA; by Rodney Gilbert; the *North-China Herald* (British), Shanghai, December 8, 1928.

MUKDEN AND THE CHINESE EASTERN RAILWAY; by Rodney Gilbert; the *North-China Herald* (British), Shanghai, December 8, 1928.

NEW GOVERNMENT TARIFF, THE; editorial; the *North-China Herald* (British), Shanghai, December 15, 1928.

OBSTACLES TOWARDS TARIFF AUTONOMY; by Kan Lee; the *China Critic* (Chinese), Shanghai, December 6, 1928.

"China demands tariff autonomy, not merely because of the legal point that a treaty or conventional tariff is inconsistent to the sovereignty of an independent nation, but also because the nation is sadly in need of revenue. The taxing system remaining as it is, the nation is utterly unable to balance its income and expenditure, thus blocking the way towards all further economic reconstruction and improvement. . . . . Potentially, China is the greatest market that the world has ever had. But the potential market cannot be fully developed without a long reign of peace and order, which in turn cannot be obtained without a strong, well organized National Government. To cut this government away from a sure source of revenue even if such a policy can be effected—would not benefit, but hurt the foreign trading interest. A dog-in-the-manger policy never fails to bring about its own starvation."

OFFICIAL TEXT OF SINO-ITALIAN PACT; editorial; the *Week in China* (American), Peking, December 8, 1928.

PARITY (Between the British and American Navies); editorial; the *Manchester Guardian Weekly,* Manchester, December 7, 1928.

"Disagreement exists over conflicting interpretations of what is called the freedom of the seas. Let the proposed Parliamentary Conference begin with that and it will begin with the only real and substantial cause of difference now existing between the two countries. But do not let it either begin or end with parity."

POST-WAR MOVEMENTS TO REDUCE NAVAL ARMAMENTS; by John C. Shillock, Jr.; *International Conciliation,* New York, No. 245, December, 1928.

PRESENT ORGANIZATION OF THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT, THE—in detail; the *China Weekly Review* (American), Shanghai, December 15, 1928.

PROBLEM OF BRITISH FOREIGN POLICY, THE; by Sir Charles Petrie; the *Nineteenth Century and After*, London, December, 1928.

PROVISIONS OF THE PEACE TREATY EXPLAINED; by Hon. Frank B. Kellogg, Secretary of State; the *Congressional Digest*, Washington, D. C., December, 1928.

RACE SOLIDARITY; by Ernest Rice McKinney; the *World Tomorrow*, New York, January, 1929.

An article against the doctrine of race solidarity for Negroes. Mr. McKinney states that "'the Negro' is a heterogeneous polychrome mixture ranging from white to jet black, from kinky to straight hair, and from the densest ignorance to the highest culture. . . . No living man or group of men knows what type of specialized education is best for the Negro, or any other race for that matter. Finally, I am opposed to this doctrine because the resulting isolation will check the intellectual, social and economic development of the Negro or any other race that tries it."

REFORME ADMINISTRATIVE EN INDOCHINE, LA; La Reforme des Assemblees, Le Regime des Concessions; editorial, *L'Europe Nouvelle*, Paris, December 1, 1928.

REPLY TO CRITICS OF THE SALT GABELLE; by F. Hussey-Freke; the *North-China Herald* (British), Shanghai, December 1, 1928.

A reply to critics of the new arrangement whereby the Ministry of Finance has control of all salt funds but earmarks $10,000,000 annually for loan service. This is a variation of the 1913 agreement and the statement shows why it was accepted and how bondholders stand to profit by it.

SECRET POLITICS IN JAPAN; by S. Nakano; the *Trans-Pacific* (American), Tokyo, December 1, 1928.

SECURITY OF THE NATIONALIST LOANS; by Chen Ping-tsang; the *Week in China* (American), Peking, November 17, 1928.

SENATORS AND INDIANS; by John Collier; the *Survey Graphic*, New York, January, 1929.

Mr. John Collier of the American Indian Defense Association, Inc., gives an appraisal of the testimony given before the Senate Investigating Committee on the condition and treatment of American Indians of three Pacific Coast states. From the thousand pages of sworn testimony he chooses "cases which exhibit the conditions and fix responsibility." He cites one case which describes conditions reminiscent of the horrors of medieval prisons; another infers cooperation between the Indian Service and bootleggers.

Mr. Collier states that the remedy lies with President-elect Hoover, for "the House, by virtue of the oligarchic machinery which dominates it, will remain under control of the Indian Bureau regardless of any facts brought out against the Bureau by the hearings. Presidential action is necessary. Nothing can or will be done unless an administration policy be enforced from the White House."

SOME OBSERVATIONS ON CHINA'S EMIGRATION PROBLEM; by J. A. J.; the *China Weekly Review* (American), Shanghai, December 1, 1928.

STRATEGY OF SINGAPORE, THE; by Nicholas Roosevelt; *Foreign Affairs*, New York, January, 1929.

"When the Singapore project was first discussed in Parliament it was attacked on three grounds: that it was a violation of the spirit of the Washington agreement; that it was an aggressive act against Japan; and that it would involve unwarranted and ever-increasing expenditures. . . . .

"The Americans in the Philippines look with just as friendly an eye on the Singapore base because they, too, care only about the preservation of the status quo in the Pacific. They realize that the provisions of the Washington Conference forbidding the strengthening of the existing island defenses, taken in connection with the distance of the islands from Hawaii, make difficult their defense by the American navy alone. Hence they place much faith in the close community of interests between the Americans, British and Dutch in this section of the world as the best assurance of achieving the mutually desired peaceful goal."

TIME TO TELL THE TRUTH; by Pierre de Lanux; *League of Nations News*, New York, No. 84, December, 1928.

"There is no reason why all matters, even controversial, should not be spread out with utmost frankness, and with a robust confidence that even after knowing things as they are, we can survive, and even after knowing what is in the back of our neighbor's mind, we can collaborate with him."

TRADE UNION MOVEMENT IN COLONIAL AND SEMI-COLONIAL COUNTRIES, THE; by L. Heller; the *Pan-Pacific Worker*, Sydney, December 1, 1928.

"The scramble among the imperialists for markets and for supply bases of raw

materials (petroleum, rubber, cotton, colored metals, etc.) has in recent years become tremendously increased and intensified. . . . This increased imperialistic pressure, coupled with the growing labor movement in the colonial countries, has determined the changed character of the national liberation movement in the countries of the East.

"The struggle . . . against any racial barriers in the trade union movement . . . against all forms of class collaboration, against compulsory state arbitration, against the International Labour Office of the League of Nations—these are the basic slogans which, put together, comprise the programme of action around which should be gathered and organised the proletariat of the colonial and semi-colonial countries."

TWO POLICIES IN CHINA, THE; by Dr. G. Etsujiro Uyehara; the *Trans-Pacific* (American), Tokyo, December 8, 1928.

UNITED STATES AND THE WORLD COURT, THE; editorial; *Bulletin of International News*, London, December 8, 1928.

UNTYING THE SINO-JAPANESE KNOT; by Frank Rawlinson; the *China Weekly Review* (American), Shanghai, December 15, 1928.

"These contiguous peoples need to be cooperative neighbors, not competitive opponents. Neither can afford to stand on the dignity of an assumed self-sufficiency or follow self-centered aims. Even a missionary may venture that much by way of Far Eastern political musing.

"I should like to see Japan aspire a little less strenuously for overlordship in the Pacific and more earnestly for leadership in friendly Sino-Japanese relationships."

YOSHIZAWA ON CHINA—Sympathetic References to the Kuomintang; editorial; the *Japan Weekly Chronicle* (British), Kobe, November 29, 1928.

"'My China policy' is the title of an article by Mr. Yoshizawa Kenkichi, the Japanese Minister to China, which appears in the *Diplomatic Review* of November 15, 1928."

Y. M. C. A., THE—Its Contribution to the Reconstruction Program of China; by David Z. T. Yui; the *China Weekly Review* (American), Shanghai, December 15, 1928.

New Books

Received and Held for Further Examination

AMERICAN POLICY TOWARD RUSSIA SINCE 1917
By Frederick Lewis Schuman. International Publishers, New York, 1928. G. $3.75

ASPECTS OF ANGLO-AMERICAN RELATIONS
By K. Capper Johnson. Yale University Press, New Haven, 1928. G. $2.00

CHINA IN THE FAMILY OF NATIONS
By Henry T. Hodgkin. Geo. Allen & Unwin, Ltd., London, 1928. 7s. 6d.

CHINESE POLITICAL THOUGHT
By Elbert Duncan Thomas. Prentice-Hall, Inc., New York, 1927. G. $12.50

A HISTORY OF THE FAR EAST IN MODERN TIMES
By Harold M. Vinacke. Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., New York, 1928. G. $4.00

THE IMMEDIATE ORIGINS OF THE WAR
By Pierre Renouvin (Theodore Carswell Hume). Yale U. Press, N. H., 1928. G. $4.00

JAPANESE ALL
By J. Ingram Bryon. Methuen & Co., Ltd., London, 1928

JAPANESE ENTHRONEMENT CEREMONIES
By P. C. Holtom. The Kyo Bun Kwan, Tokyo, 1928. 6s.

NIPPON SHINDO RON (or The National Ideals of the Japanese People)
By Yutaka Hibino. Translated by A. P. McKenzie. Cambridge University Press, London, 1928. 7s. 6d.

PROBLEM OF INDIAN ADMINISTRATION
(Report of a Survey made at the Request of Hon. Hubert Work). By Lewis Meriam and his associates. Institute for Government Research. Johns Hopkins Press, Baltimore, Md., 1928. G. $5.00

RISE OF AMERICAN CIVILIZATION (2 volumes)
Chas. A. Beard & Mary R. Beard. Macmillan Company, New York, 1928. G. $12.50

THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION
By James Mavor. George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., London, 1928. 7s 6d.

THE SOUL OF CHINA
By Richard Wilhelm. Harcourt, Brace & Co., New York, 1928. G. $3.75

VITAL FACTORS IN CHINA'S PROBLEMS
By Lee Teng-hwee. The Commercial Press, Ltd., Shanghai, 1928. G. $2.50

Institute Notes

Hawaii Council

The Hawaii Council of the Institute of Pacific Relations has reorganized, hoping to exchange its rather loose connection with the central headquarters for a more definite status, and has applied to the American Council for affiliation as a branch. Its new executive officers are Dr. Arthur L. Dean, chairman; Judge Walter F. Frear, vice-chairman; Lloyd R. Killam, secretary; with Dr. Tasuku Harada and Mr. C. K. Ai as additional members of the executive board. The council plans to undertake definite study work.

China Member

Secretary L. T. Chen of the China Council reports that Mr. Wu Ta-chuan, President of the Salt Industry Bank and proprietor of the Ta Kung Pao (Tientsin newspaper) and the Kuo Wen News Agency, has recently joined the Chinese group of the Institute.

Staff Travel

Dr. J. B. Condliffe, Research Secretary of the Institute, leaves Central Headquarters on February 13 on staff business in New Zealand and Australia. This is the first staff visit to the Antipodes in two years. Dr. Condliffe will meet with the several Dominion and Commonwealth local groups and confer with reasearch leaders. In addition he has been asked to speak on the work of the Institute before the annual Rotary Conference of New Zealand, to be held in Christchurch, February 27 to March 3, when a section of the program is to be devoted to Pacific problems.

Australian Publication

The second publication of the Australian Council of the Institute, looking toward Conference preparation, came off press on December 24. This is "Studies in Australian Affairs," a group symposium. Miss Persia Campbell, secretary of the Sydney branch, informed Central Headquarters of this fact in a letter of December 28. The book will be reviewed in an early issue of Pacific Affairs. The first publication, "The Peopling of Australia," was reviewed in the December issue.

Canadian Research Committee

Dr. Norman MacKenzie, Research Chairman for the Canadian Council, reports on the personnel of the Canadian Research Committee, which is complete except for a representative from the Regina branch. The Committee is as follows: Professor R. A. MacKay, Dalhousie University, Halifax; Professor Angus, University of British Columbia, Vancouver; Principal John MacKay, Manitoba College, Winnipeg; Dean P. E. Corbett, McGill University, Montreal; Mr. C. G. Cowan, Ottawa and Dr. MacKenzie, Toronto.

The Committee expects to study principally Canada's methods of dealing with natural resources, water power, agricultural lands, import and export of capital, immigration, etc., with the expectation that such experience may be of interest to other countries faced with similar problems.

Canadian Membership

Mr. John Nelson, Honorary Secretary of the Canadian Council, sends the names of new members in Regina, as follows: Dr. David Low, G. W. Robertson, A. J. McPhail, Col. A. C. Garner, H. S. Fry, H. J. Galley, A. D. McKenzie, Stewart Muirhead, A. L. McLean, Dr. Stapleford, L. B. Ring, R. W. Shannon, K. C., T. C. Barrie, C. C. Cook, W. F. Ker, J. Collingwood, A. T. Hunter and H. E. Sampson.

Chester H. Rowell

Dr. Chester H. Rowell was a visitor at Central Headquarters in late January, reaching Honolulu from San Francisco on the 16th for a two-week holiday. Dr. Rowell addressed several public gatherings during his stay in Honolulu, one of them being under the auspices of the Hawaii Council of the Institute at Bishop Hall, Punahou, January 31st. On this occasion Dr. Rowell chose as his subject "Looking Out from Hawaii," and took occasion to relate Hawaii's position to the more outstanding Pacific problems which are due to be discussed at the Institute's Kyoto conference.

Dr. E. W. Kemmerer

The Hawaii Group of the Institute of Pacific Relations and the Honolulu Chamber of Commerce united in issuing invitations to a luncheon in honor of Dr. E. W. Kemmerer of Princeton University, at the Commercial Club, Honolulu, on Thursday, January 24.

Dr. Kemmerer, who is internationally known as the American financial expert who has advised various governments in South America, South Africa and Europe on banking and currency questions, was in Honolulu enroute to China where he goes at the invitation of the National Government to assist in the stabilization of Chinese currency and the reorganization of the Chinese banking system. Dr. Kemmerer spoke of the spirit of "scientific vision" with which he hopes that his group of experts will approach this huge task of recommending a new system of finance for China, and likened his relationship in this instance to that of a lawyer or physician called in by a client or patient. This is Dr. Kemmerer's eleventh financial mission, and he expects to remain in China for one year.

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ELIZABETH GREEN
Editor

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No. 3 1929

CONTRIBUTORS

Dr. J. B. Condliffe, who wrote "An Experiment in Diagnosis," is Research Secretary of the Institute of Pacific Relations and was formerly Professor of Economics at Canterbury College, Christchurch, New Zealand. He here reviews some of the ills of the Pacific and considers the proposed agenda for the Institute's autumn conference in the light of a diagnostician's outline.

John Collier, who writes provocatively of the problems confronting the American Indian race in its adjustments toward a superimposed civilization, is Executive Secretary of the American Indian Defence Association, and has been for many years intimately acquainted with all phases of Indian life and with the legal aspects of Indian administration in the United States. Mr. Collier's organization was largely responsible for effecting certain Indian land reforms in Congress in recent years. The *Survey Graphic* says of him that he "more than any other individual has stung the conscience of America over its abuse of the Indian."

Dr. Guy H. Scholefield, who contributed the factual account of Japan's and New Zealand's new Trade Agreement, is Librarian of the New Zealand Library of Parliament at Wellington, and National Secretary of the New Zealand group of the Institute of Pacific Relations. He is the author of "New Zealand in Evolution," "The Pacific, Its Past and Future," etc.

Dr. Rokuro Nakaseko, whose review of "Nippon Shindo Ron" appears in the department, Books of the Pacific, was first Carnegie Professor of International Relations at the University of Hawaii in 1928-29. He has just this month returned to his professorship in Science at Doshisha University, Kyoto, Japan.

Galen R. Weaver, who, under the initials of G. R. W., reviewed the report of the Jerusalem missionary conference on page 141, is pastor of the inter-racial "Church of the Crossroads" in Honolulu and a special student of international affairs in the cultural fields. He was on the conference staff of the Institute of Pacific Relations in 1925 and 1927.

Dr. Herbert E. Gregory, who contributed an initialed review on page 156, is Director of the Bernice P. Bishop Museum of Polynesian Ethnology and Natural History in Honolulu and an authority on the geography of the Pacific area. He is a member of the Advisory Committee of the Institute of Pacific Relations.

PACIFIC AFFAIRS

No. 3 MARCH 1929

An Experiment in Diagnosis

By J. B. Condliffe

Editor's Note: The following article is a background study, in summarized form, of the outstanding trends of discussion now indicated for the third biennial conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations which convenes at Kyoto, Japan, in October of this year. Outline of the proposed agenda, of which this article is an elaboration, may be found in the Institute department of this issue of *Pacific Affairs,* together with other announcements concerning the conference.

The Institute of Pacific Relations has been called many names, including "a lily in the barnyard of politics." Definitions of its work are necessarily subject to amendment since it is still very much in the experimental stage of development. To call it "an experiment in diagnosis," therefore, is merely to draw attention to one of the basic principles of its philosophy. Its task at the present stage, perhaps always, must be diagnostic rather than remedial. In the words of its constitution, it seeks "to study the conditions of the Pacific peoples with a view to the improvement of their mutual relations."

The translation of this rather vague and inclusive aim into actual working procedures is a task calling for the creation of a cooperative unofficial technique never before attempted in international relations. There is much experience in the preparation and conduct of official conferences, particularly those organised by the League of Nations, that is valuable and suggestive; but the Institute of Pacific Relations is thoroughly unofficial and non-governmental. Its conferences are not meetings of plenipotentiaries to defend and forward their country's cause, making or gaining concessions where circumstances demand or allow. Rather are they meetings of individuals expressing personal views and seeking light by the exchange of information and ideas.

Nor do the unofficial institutes of international relations such as Williamstown provide fully comparable experience. The peculiar opportunities and difficulties of the Institute of Pacific Relations arise from the fact that it is a fully cooperative international organisation for mutual study rather than an instrument for the education of citizens of one country in international affairs. This difference carries with it the further distinction that the mutuality of the discussion must be carried to its logical conclusion. The role of the lecturer and the technical expert is at its minimum; exchange of information and friendly discussion of ideas is at the maximum.

Perhaps the closest parallel to the Institute's programme may be found in the unofficial, scientific discussions which have in recent years sprung up to provide a means whereby scientific workers in different countries may get to know one another and keep abreast of new developments in their subjects. The great difference, however, between the Institute and such a body as the Pacific Science Association lies in the nature of the problems which it must discuss. Science has its controversies and some of them generate much heat; but few of them touch the pockets or the politics or the psychology of the man in the street. The Institute of Pacific Relations aims always to preserve the objective, fact-finding, scientific, open-minded attitude in its discussions, but its attention is necessarily centred upon problems which

carry with them in the popular mind large backgrounds of emotion and prejudice. Indeed it is precisely because of these backgrounds that the Institute exists. Its aim is gradually to remove the problems as far as may humanly be possible, from the region of emotion into the region of scientific study.

It follows that the Institute, if it is to live at all, must live somewhat dangerously. Its very reason for existence lies in providing machinery for the friendly discussion of dangerous subjects. When it begins to take on the appearance of a love-feast or to shirk topics of discussion on which feeling appears to run too high, it will begin to lose any importance and value it possesses. If, on the other hand, it persists in opening up topics of discussion often deemed too delicate for diplomacy, it is obvious that only by the utmost frankness combined with tact and care in conference preparation can it hope to avoid disaster.

At this point the Institute gains greatly by having within its councils men of widely differing viewpoints. In particular the men of practical affairs, of whom there are fortunately many who are actively interested in the Institute's preparations, naturally take a different line of approach from that taken by the research men and teachers who are interested in the larger theoretical or general aspects of a problem rather than in the solution of particular issues which may be important at the moment. The combination of these viewpoints indicates a way of preparation by which the particularly hot issues of the moment, those upon which feeling is highest and misunderstanding and friction are most likely, may be discussed as aspects of a broad, permanent problem which by its very nature is capable of more detached study. The research worker approaches such situations from the bottom up. The man of affairs naturally is interested in a succession of particular issues demanding solution. The Institute aims at bringing these two types of approach into harmony. The research worker needs to face up to the practical issues of his theoretical problem; the practical man to realise that immediate solutions which do not take adequate account of the fundamental underlying factors and trends cannot last.

The Institute secretariat in endeavouring thus to develop a research programme that will be directly fruitful in conference discussions and a conference programme that will take adequate account of the fundamental factors in the various issues, has also to discover the lowest common denominator of agreement between its national councils and between the widely differing views of members of those councils. In order to do these things, members of the secretariat in the period intervening between conferences, must conduct what amounts to continuous international discussion concerning the topics to be considered and the preparations to be made. By travelling a good deal and keeping in touch with the groups by correspondence the conference programme, sketched in broad outline below, has been cooperatively determined. The processes of discussion by which it has been determined reach down to the various groupings of members in each country in a way that makes possible a good deal of self-education and is not the least valuable part of the Institute's activities.

Broadly speaking the plan is to discuss the specific topics whose international importance is uppermost at the moment the conference meets, but to discuss them as lying within a wide "frame of reference" which can with reasonable certainty be anticipated in advance. The actual arrangement of the conference programme will be left in the hands of a programme committee which will meet a few days before the conference. This committee will decide the topics to be treated, the proportion of time to be given to

each, the particular questions posed to the round-tables, the informational lectures to be given, the use to be made of the data papers. In this way it is hoped to retain a maximum amount of flexibility in the programme.

The opposite value of adequate preparation, involving not only the massing of material but also the wise selection of personnel, is sought by indicating some months in advance the large subject-divisions into which the problems of the Pacific fall and within which the conference discussions must necessarily be placed. These subject-divisions, which are set out briefly below, have been arrived at after prolonged and thorough interchange of opinion between the various groups, culminating in personal visits of the central staff to all the groups concerned. The great problem is obviously for wise choice and judicious elimination. The problems of the Pacific are the problems of humanity. Selection is necessary, all the more because international problems are normally facets of the domestic problems of the countries concerned. It is impossible to discuss these domestic problems in detail, but it is equally impossible to discuss international affairs without taking cognisance of the impingement of domestic upon international situations. In the same way it is clear that there are technical questions of education which bear upon cultural relations, of agriculture which bear upon food and population problems, of law which bear upon diplomatic relations. The technical questions are outside the Institute's range but their implications cannot be.

The subject-divisions set out below are, therefore, midway between a summary of important Pacific problems and a statement of the conference programme. They do not pretend to be anything approaching an exhaustive statement of important Pacific problems. On the other hand they cover a much wider range than it will be possible to organise for profitable discussion at Kyoto. All that the following statement purports to do, therefore, is to summarise the first process of elimination and concentration which has emerged from the proceedings of the two previous conferences supplemented by the exchange of opinion between the groups in the last two years.

Problems of Food, Population and Land Utilization

By common consent the group of problems arising from the uneven distribution of population and food resources has emerged at the top of the list. The issues to which they give rise are perhaps not as controversial and in some respects not as urgent as the next group of topics relating to the political and economic rehabilitation of China and in particular the international problems which centre in the three eastern provinces (Manchuria). But every council of the Institute has placed the problems of food and population high up on the list and with some it is the topic of first importance.

It is also the group where the research program of the Institute necessarily expands. Fundamental items of information are missing. Estimates of the population of China vary between 583 and rather less than 300 millions. China in any case is such a vast area that there is room within it for great variety of conditions. The regions of over-population are generally known, but there is next to no information as to the extent of population pressure, the possibilities of food production, of international migrations, the trend of birth and death rates and the probable course of population in the calculable future. Western opinion is almost unanimous in regarding China as a country where the pressure of population is severe; but a large section of Chinese opinion demurs from this conclusion. The

authority of Sun Yat-sen is invoked in support of the argument that China needs a much larger population to develop her resources and keep pace with the multiplication of the Anglo-Saxon race.

There are many issues of immediate importance where very little discussion is necessary to reveal the fact that opinions and policies depend ultimately upon implicitly held and unrecognised theories of population. It was from one such issue, the question of immigration restriction, that the Institute first approached the larger problems of population. The breach of an age-old civilisation in China and in Japan by new scientific ideas, and trading organisation built upon them, has caused an unsettlement of population. Consideration of the uneven pressures of population reveals shifts going on within the countries concerned, international issues arising from the search for new population outlets, the "vicarious migration" represented by efforts to industrialise and export goods rather than people, and transport, tariff, and financial problems caused thereby, to say nothing of more fundamental questions of birth control, the right of a people to monopolise territory or the equally debatable right of a people to go on increasing regardless of its territory and resources. In all these respects it is evident that, in a rather different sense from that intended originally by General Smuts, "humanity has struck its tents and is on the march."

Apart from immigration restriction policies there are several questions of urgent international importance in which the population problem is a prime factor. The vexed problems of Manchuria afford an excellent illustration.

A quarter of a century ago at the time of the Russo-Japanese War, the population of the three Eastern Provinces of the Chinese Empire, better known to the outside world as Manchuria, was estimated to be less than 12 millions. The population in 1927 was estimated at 23.5 millions of whom more than 90 per cent were Chinese. During the last year or two immigrants have been arriving from North China at the rate of at least one million a year. The ebb and flow of this great migration is one of the most important movements of people in recent historical times. It is paralleled by shifts of population within China proper particularly by an increasing tendency towards urban concentration and also by a very significant movement of emigrants from south China into the region stretching from French Indo-China, south through the British Malay peninsula to the Dutch East Indies and east to the Philippines. Within the last twenty-five years a new section of the British Empire has been built up in Malaysia, primarily by Chinese immigration. The political consequences of these movements of people north and south and within China itself are at least as important as the economic changes they produce. It becomes, therefore, a matter of more than economic interest to ascertain as accurately as possible the real facts of Chinese population, food supply and land utilisation.

From another angle the facts of population form an integral part of the problem of industrialisation which China is just facing. Great Britain in a similar period experienced a remarkable re-distribution of her people, the chief factor of which was a shift in density from south to north that completely altered her political organisation. The particular issue of immediate importance which provides a point of entry to this great problem of prospective labour supply and markets for industrial development, is the situation in which China is now placed by her resumption of tariff autonomy. The primary drive behind the movement for tariff autonomy has been financial but leading Chinese statesmen have been very clear that freedom to use the

tariff as an instrument of industrial policy is an essential part of China's sovereignty. The leaders of other nations have been equally quick to realise this aspect of the situation. Through all the discussions of this burning political issue there run unstated and implicit assumptions regarding population pressures and trends—assumptions based upon very small bodies of ascertained fact.

It is not only China's population problems that are involved. The trade of other countries such as Great Britain, the United States and more than either of these, Japan, is essentially bound up with the population problems of those countries. Indeed it might be said that population trends in China form the most important unknown factor in the problem of the course of trade development in the Pacific. Australia and New Zealand, as well as the United States, are beginning to realise that there may be a great potential market in the Far East, a market, the demands of which for manufactured goods and possibly for raw materials such as wool, and also for the capital upon which industrial development may be built, are at the present moment incalculable. It may be that the estimates being formed are extremely optimistic, or on the contrary they may be too conservative. Until more facts are known regarding the population and resources of China neither the Chinese nor the other peoples with whom they trade, can form sound and enduring policies of economic and financial and political cooperation.

The economic development of Japan is a stage ahead of China's development and population pressure is, therefore, more obvious if not more severe. The definitely known tendency of death rates to fall faster than birth rates has accelerated the rate of population increase. At the same time standards of living are rising abruptly. The Japanese people are faced with the necessity of providing from their comparatively scanty resources for a population which multiplies rapidly (though not so rapidly as that of the United States and the British Pacific Dominions), and which demands higher standards of living. Emigration provides inadequate relief and this is all the truer because of the immigration restriction policies in force in other countries. Japan must, therefore, find some means of adjusting its economic output to the demands of its population either by checking the increase in population or by industrialisation. To check the increase in population demands social policies such as birth control which are extremely controversial in character and which in any case will not operate for at least a generation. Industrialisation demands technique, capital for development, and above all, markets. It is, therefore, inevitable that the Japanese group of the Institute should have rated this problem of food and population as its major concern and should trace its influence in all Japan's international problems such as migration, tariffs, Chinese affairs, and above all, Manchuria.

China

The first conference convened by the Institute in July, 1925, listened with sympathy and appreciation to the aims and aspirations of the representatives of Young China. The second conference held in 1927, reinforced by the presence of a representative British group, devoted more attention to the problem of China's relations with foreign powers than to any other subject. It was generally felt that notable progress was achieved towards an understanding of the issues involved, and in their private capacities members who attended the conference have translated their understanding into action in various ways according to their abilities and opportunities. Since the conference closed great events have happened in China. After

nearly twenty years of struggle the cause of Nationalism has been triumphant and China today including the three eastern provinces has the measure of unified administration for which the powers stipulated as a necessary precondition of the revision of Unequal Treaties. This fact has been officially recognised by the powers. Tariff autonomy went into effect on the first of February, 1929, only one month behind the date fixed by the Nationalist government nearly two years ago. It went into effect with the assent embodied in treaties of the major powers concerned. Revision of the "unequal treaties" is well under way. The settlement of outstanding international incidents has also been achieved, and the military and naval forces stationed in China have been substantially reduced.

On the positive constructive side a remarkable beginning has been made in the political and economic reorganisation of China. The new government is facing its Herculean tasks with courage and ability. Expert commissions are already at work framing recommendations for engineering development, police organisation, economic and financial rehabilitation.

The 1929 conference of the Institute will undoubtedly await with interest and sympathetic attention a review of the progress already made. It will wish to proceed further to a discussion of the issues still outstanding. The government of foreign concessions and also of the concessions that have recently been returned to Chinese or to mixed Chinese and foreign administration will be the subject of discussion and enquiry. Outstanding international problems and incidents will be taken up and information will be sought concerning the progress and difficulties of China's political and economic reconstruction. This whole group of problems affords a clear illustration of questions which in themselves are primarily domestic in character but which have important international implications and in which people of other countries have a lively and sympathetic interest.

Beyond the immediate problems of the present time there arise issues of the most far-reaching importance in China's future development. The Chinese group of the Institute has expressly called attention to the need for discussing the adequacy of the diplomatic machinery of the Pacific. Is China now that its national unity has been restored, to embark upon a large and costly programme of military and naval expenditure and preparation adequate to protect Chinese interests and to maintain Chinese prestige in the councils of the nations? The traditional policy of isolation and self-sufficiency is no longer possible. China has entered the family of nations. Must she be prepared to participate in inevitable family quarrels, or can she rely upon the evolution of adequate diplomatic machinery for the maintenance of peace and international justice, and will there be sufficient goodwill among the nations to make such machinery work?

The Manchurian Situation

The attention of the western world was first drawn to Manchuria at the time of the Russo-Japanese War a quarter of a century ago. For centuries these three outlying provinces known to the Chinese as the three eastern provinces, have formed an integral part of the Chinese Empire. The Manchus who provided not only the last dynasty but also the ruling aristocracy of China until the inauguration of the Republican era in 1911, had their historic home in this region. They had, however, adopted Chinese culture and had practically lost connection with the nomadic tribes from which they had originally sprung.

The Manchurian region lies north of the Great Wall, but Chinese sovereignty had been extended over it as part of the necessary defence of China proper. Until the eastward expansion of Russia clashed with the continental expansion of Japanese interests, the problems of Manchuria were the domestic problems of China. In the first decade of the twentieth century, however, Manchuria was turned into an arena of international conflict, the reverberations of which extended to Europe and were only stilled by the intervention of the President of the United States. The Russo-Japanese War was the second and most important of the triad of wars which have marked the entry of modern Japan into international politics. The sentimental side of Japan's interest in the Manchurian problem, arising from the successes won and the sacrifices made by her soldiers in what was deemed to be a life and death struggle for their country's existence, is a factor that is sometimes overlooked but is important in Japanese psychology. The Manchuria of the present day is an almost perfect illustration of the conflict that arises when economic development crosses political boundaries. Not only is Manchuria admittedly an integral part of the Chinese state but the overwhelming majority of the population which has more than doubled in the last twenty years consists of immigrants from China proper. Politically there is little or no debate over China's claim to Manchuria.

The economic development of the region, however, is based upon the railway system which has opened up the fertile plains for agricultural production and made possible the exploitation of the rich timber and mineral resources of the country. From Harbin where the Chinese Eastern Railway connects with the Siberian trunk line, to Changchun the railway remained until 1924 in the hands of the Russian administration. After the rapprochement between the Soviet government and Peking in 1924, a new arrangement was begun under which the degree of Chinese control over the railway and its subsidiary enterprises has steadily increased. The main line from Changchun to Dairen is known as the South Manchuria Railway. The railway system with its various branches and feeder lines connects with the Japanese state railways in Chosen (Korea), besides linking up with steamer lines to Tientsin, Chefoo, and Tsingtao as well as Japanese ports. The South Manchuria Railway also operates large industrial enterprises, particularly coal mines and steel works. It has made modern towns in the main centres which it serves and has provided laboratories, hospitals, museums and schools. A small force of Japanese troops protects the Japanese interests in South Manchuria and has enforced the principle that contending Chinese troops must not approach within six miles of the railway zone. Japanese governmental intervention in Manchuria is based upon a lease of the Kwantung area and the railway zone, the duration of which was extended in 1915. The validity of this extension is challenged by Chinese opinion.

Railway and economic development in Manchuria is further complicated by the recent extension of Chinese railways based upon the line which runs up from Tientsin through the narrow Shanhaikwan pass where the Great Wall follows the mountains almost to the edge of the sea, and so on to Mukden. There has within the last two years been a remarkable development of this Chinese railway system, part of which has been carried out with Japanese capital. The existence of these three railway systems is part cause and part effect of the great increase in the economic production which is transforming Manchuria into one of the richest agricultural regions of China. It is probable that the prospects of further development are suffi-

cient to provide freight and passengers for all the railway lines and that the economic problems of competition are in themselves no greater than those presented by competing railway systems in other countries. The economic situation is, however, complicated by political considerations, and it is these considerations that offer a fruitful field for the Institute's technique of frank discussion in round-table conferences. The members of the Institute who meet at Kyoto in November will have before them carefully prepared statements of the economic and political problems involved. Specialists have been at work for some time in China, Japan, and also in Great Britain and the United States analysing the issues and tabulating the facts. The round-tables of the Institute will use this material in an effort not so much to solve the problems at issue as to understand them.

Industrialization, Foreign Investments and International Trade

Any division of Pacific problems into water-tight compartments must necessarily prove to be largely academic. It is part of the philosophy of the Institute of Pacific Relations that it endeavours to avoid separating the economic, political, social and cultural aspects of the problem. The economists and business men meet at the same round-tables as the political scientists and men of affairs, missionaries, educators and philosophers. The problems are studied as far as possible by bringing together the different techniques developed in the various social sciences, in statecraft, business and journalism. Any division of the subject-matter of the conference is, therefore, somewhat arbitrary. For example, the problems of industrialisation will come up in connection with the Food and Population round-tables since industrialisation may provide a relief for population pressure. They are bound to be considered in connection with the financial, economic and political rehabilitation of China. They are equally obviously connected with the Manchurian situation, which may in some ways be regarded as part of the industrial development of Japan. In the same way no discussion of cultural contacts between Occident and Orient can ignore the important social consequences of the industrial development now proceeding throughout the Far East.

There are, however, important economic problems connected with industrialisation which are deemed worthy of separate consideration. The extent of industrial development in different Pacific countries, the character of its organisation, and its mode of introduction are matters upon which adequate information is largely lacking. Industrialisation is a moving process. What was true ten or even two years ago is no longer true today. It is of considerable significance that in the preliminary discussions of conference agenda, several groups have indicated that the central problem to be considered under industrialisation should be a consideration of ways and means by which these countries which are just embarking upon industrial development may be enabled to avoid the human suffering which has resulted in the past from the social changes incidental to the transition from agricultural to manufacturing organisation. It is possible that discussions of this character may provide for Japan and China the kind of memory which the Queen explained to Alice as common in the "looking glass" country:

> "There's one great advantage in it, that one's memory works both ways."
> "I'm sure mine only works one way," remarked Alice.
> "It's a poor sort of memory that only works backward," said the Queen.
> "What sort of things do you remember best?" asked Alice.

"Oh, things that happened the week after next," the Queen replied in a careless tone. "For instance now," she went on, "there's the King's messenger. He's in prison now, being punished, and the trial doesn't even begin till next Wednesday; and of course, the crime comes last of all."

"Suppose he never commits the crime," said Alice.

"That would be all the better," the Queen said.

Besides the domestic consequences of industrialisation there are definite international implications in the problems which group themselves around the standard of living, the conditions of labour, the housing and similar problems of the industrial workers of the Far East. The International Labour organisation at Geneva has been developed precisely because the advancement of labour conditions in the most advanced countries is retarded or thought to be retarded by competition from countries with lower standards.

On the commercial side the problem of industrialisation enters into any consideration of the increase in international trade which is linking the Pacific peoples more and more closely together in economic interdependence. The mere mention of this increase brings up the whole series of problems connected with tariffs and other hindrances to economic intercourse. The recent discussion of these problems promoted in Europe by the Economic and Financial Section of the League of Nations will be made available for members of the Institute at Kyoto, together with statements by the League Secretariat concerning the methods and procedure used in promoting the discussions. Since economic factors loom so large in modern international intercourse, it is inevitable that any meeting of persons interested in surveying the means and the difficulties of international contacts, and of discovering the possible sources of conflict and misunderstanding must sooner or later take account of the problems of international trade.

The exchange of commodities has more and more been accomplished by international transferences of various forms of capital involving often political as well as economic complications. The machinery of international credit is not yet very highly developed in the Pacific, but it is probable that future investment possibilities may be much greater. It is sufficient to recall the voluminous literature concerning what has come to be called or miscalled Economic Imperialism, to realise that there is room for a considerable amount of discussion concerning the actual methods by which international, financial and commercial cooperation may best be secured for the Pacific.

Diplomatic Relations in the Pacific

The final point towards which the discussions of both the conferences so far held by the Institute have inevitably trended, is the adequacy or inadequacy of the diplomatic machinery available in the Pacific for the peaceful settlement of international disputes. When the various problems of food and population, of industrialisation, of China or of Manchuria have been discussed, and the possibilities of international misunderstanding and conflict latent in them have been revealed, the question inevitably arises: what machinery is available by means of which the Pacific governments may eventually come to an understanding upon these issues.

The first problem that arises concerns the organisation of constitutional arrangements by which the different countries manage their international affairs. A considerable amount of explanation is necessary still before the nationals of other countries understand the new constitutional arrange-

ments under which the foreign policy of the British Commonwealth is conducted, the constitutional division of powers in the United States, or the exact location of responsibility for foreign affairs in the Japanese Empire. Proceeding from this point it becomes necessary to consider the existing international machinery in the Pacific. The League of Nations functions actively in many important matters, but two of the most important Pacific powers, the United States and the U.S.S.R., do not belong to the League and a third great power, China, has been prevented by internal disunion from taking its full share in League responsibilities. Treaties entered into at the Washington Conference are regarded in many quarters as the real working basis of diplomatic relations in the Pacific. These treaties provided for the appointment of international commissions which might possibly have developed into more or less continuous means of international consultation and conciliation, but the commissions so far set up under the treaties have met with great difficulty and have not functioned very smoothly. There are also the Bryan arbitration treaties, and within the last few months, the Pact of Paris renouncing war as an instrument of policy. The possibilities of this pact were discussed at the 1927 conference before the pact had actually become an international agreement. It is probable that in 1929 this discussion will be carried a stage further.

The Australian group in particular has carried this discussion one stage further by introducing disarmament and defence policies as subjects worthy of exploratory discussion, and by including in their already published conference preparation, an article by a military authority on Australia's defence policy, thus introducing a note of realism into what may be regarded by some people as a somewhat academic discussion. The Institute conferences make no pretence of capacity to discuss the technical aspects of practical disarmament policies. They are, however, interested in the study of public opinion concerning disarmament and diplomatic relations generally.

The Government of Pacific Dependencies*

Within the Pacific area there are a great variety of possessions and dependencies. Many of these possessions consist of small islands with but a scanty population. Some of these island peoples are rapidly dying out, others are increasing in numbers. The Territory of Hawaii shows great progress in economic development, stimulated by American capital, organisation and tariff preference. In other islands economic development has been much slower. The forms of government in these dependencies vary from the light protectorate over the nominally independent kingdom of Tonga, through such forms as the Australian, New Zealand, British and Japanese, "C Class" mandates, and the Anglo-French condominium in the New Hebrides, to the absolute possessions of the great powers such as Fiji and Hawaii. Somewhere along this line, the Philippines with its own peculiar problems must be placed. Nor are the Pacific dependencies confined to the islands of the South Pacific Ocean. In the far north the Russian government has responsibility for important minority peoples and has conducted some remarkable anthropological work among them. In the far south New Zealand has gone a long way towards solving its Maori problem. Its great Maori leader, Sir Apirana Turupa Ngata has recently contributed to the Australasian Journal of Philosophy an article which only a "native" could

* Material is in preparation by several groups on the administration of Pacific dependencies. The best use of this material will be decided by the program committee at Kyoto.

have written, on "Anthropology and the Government of Native Races." The Dutch island empire with its population running into tens of millions has made a series of important experiments in government and racial adaptation. Just to the north of Java there lies the new section of the British Empire which has been built up by Chinese migration in the last twenty-five years. On the mainland of Asia there lies an important section of the French colonial empire. China herself has long centuries of experience in the government of outlying peoples. It is of some interest to remember that Chinese authorities in their discussion of imperialism devote a good deal of time to the discussion of Chinese imperialism in the past.

Obviously the government of the Pacific dependencies involves questions of economic development, labour conditions, migration, land tenures and the treatment of subject races, beyond the usual political problems of government. The peoples concerned are, in the very nature of the case, too weak to make effective protest. Their problems, therefore, are by many people regarded as of little immediate or urgent importance. On the other hand several of the countries concerned take their responsibilities seriously enough to regard this as a major Pacific problem. It clearly has a place in any picture of international relations in the Pacific, if only because the Pacific Ocean has been one of the main theatres of imperialism.

Cultural Contacts in the Pacific*

Underlying all the political and economic problems outlined above and liable to be thrust into the background by their immediacy, there is the fundamental problem which has on occasion been called the clash of civilisations. The other phase of contact between European countries and the Orient may be described as the impact of scientific, industrial and militaristic ideas of the West upon the stationary civilisations of China and Japan. Reluctantly, first China and then Japan were forced to take account of the persistent foreign traders backed as they were by armed forces. With the traders came new ideas of industrial organisation and trade. They brought with them indeed all their cultural background focussed in one of its most significant forms of activity. The activity of aggressive missionary enterprise was also part of the impact of the West upon the East. Missionary work has obviously had far more than a simple religious significance. Religious practices are so bound up with the observance of customary *mores,* and it is so difficult for the missionary to distinguish accurately and consistently between the religious teaching he brings and the cultural traditions which he has absorbed in his youth, that even without formal teaching or educational organisation missions inevitably have large social consequences. Modern missionaries have given great attention to teaching and particularly to university work. They have been at least as important as the traders in promoting the "commerce of ideas" between the East and the West.

More recently the increasing growth of communication has added other factors of cultural importance in the relations between the East and the West. One need only mention the recent development of various sports in Japan. Baseball, rugby and association football, tennis, and indeed all such forms of sport have their tens of thousands of followers in modern Japan. It is extremely significant that the heir presumptive to the Imperial throne should be popularly known as the "prince of sports." A cultural

* It has been suggested that the important question of Cultural Contacts in the Pacific should be handled by publications of an historical and interpretative character, by several formal lectures, and by first-hand study in Kyoto itself.

factor of even greater importance is the cinema, the advantages and disadvantages of which may be readily imagined. As radio develops also, broadcasting and amateur communication become increasingly important. One of the most extraordinary impressions to be gained from a first visit to Japan is that of the forest of radio aerials that rises from the low roofs of the houses in Tokyo.

The first phase of this impact of western culture has passed in Japan, and there are signs that it is passing in China. The problem of cultural contacts therefore goes far beyond the question of controlling the presentation of western ideas to the eastern countries. A second great problem, far more important in many ways, arises from a consideration of the rapid and largely successful adaptation which the Japanese people have made to modern life. What were the elements in Japanese social organisation which provided the stability and the leadership necessary for this amazing transformation? Even a superficial view of the problem is sufficient to lead to the belief that Japanese industrial life must have contained within it elements of great strength and flexibility. It is difficult to think of any other country which could, in so short a time, have absorbed so many new ideas with so little revolutionary change in social structure. What were the criteria by which the leaders of Japan selected the ideas and forms which they ingrafted upon their ancient culture? An hour spent in wandering through a Japanese university library brings one to realise the fact that in her re-organisation Japan has drawn upon the heritage of many peoples. Japanese and Chinese books are on the shelves in large numbers but there are also shelves upon which English, French, German and Italian books and periodicals jostle each other indiscriminately. One wonders where the legend arose that the Japanese are not good linguists. One wonders also what is meant by the statement still occasionally heard that the Japanese are imitators. To imitate successfully methods of organisation derived from so many different cultures and to graft them all firmly onto their own characteristic civilisation requires a power of discrimination and of synthesis such as only the most firmly rooted civilisations ever possessed. Western scholars interested in the question of cultural contacts between East and West must get beyond the question of controlling the impact of western forces upon the East, and begin to ask what it is in Japanese life that has enabled her very new universities to produce such men as Noguchi. It is after all, a very brief space of time since the Japanese doctors spelt out word by word the mystic symbols of the forbidden Dutch book of anatomy. From that stage to a medical training which can produce such a scientist as Noguchi is a very long development to be covered in such a brief space of time.

The further question arises as to the values in Japanese and Chinese cultures which can be profitably utilised in the modern life of those countries and perhaps in the West also. It may well be that a thorough discussion of cultural contacts may reverse the question from which such discussions usually start and ask what influence the civilisations of China and Japan are going to exert upon social life in western countries.

Communications in the Pacific*

The technical questions of communications by newspaper correspondents, cables, radio broadcasting and amateur radio communication is an important

* It is proposed that the International Research Committee, meeting at Kyoto, consider the subject of Communications in the Pacific in order that adequate preparation be made for discussion of this topic at the 1931 Conference.

phase of the problems outlined above and has particular importance in connection with diplomatic relations in these days when public opinion must be taken into account. It is the most obvious aspect of a whole series of problems involving educational and commercial contacts as well as the exchange of news. The rather poor facilities for the circulation of books published by the different Pacific countries, the restricted range of important periodical literature, the beginnings of international conferences of scientific, vocational and educational character, the visits of scholars, the interchange of students,—all these are problems of communication. Of them all the problems of news transmission are most urgent. Who decides what is the news to be cabled across the Pacific? What principles of selection are employed, the proportionate attention given to the different subjects, the identity of the powerful individual concealed under the phrase "from our own correspondent," the actual physical limitations restricting the volume of news that is sent back and forth, the international complications arising from cable and wireless arrangements,—all these are bound up in the problems of communication.

The program committee meeting a day or two in advance at Kyoto will have before it the difficult task of selecting from the vast problems sketched above the most important issues that can profitably be discussed in the limited time available. The discussions, it should be emphasised again, are primarily for the information and education of those who participate in them. The papers prepared as a basis for the discussions will be printed in due course and should provide a good amount of accurate information. The main trend of the discussions may also be made available after the conference, but it is no part of the Institute's purpose to use the actual round-table discussions as means of propaganda or even for the spread of information. Previous conferences have shown that information obtained in the private round-table discussions is best translated by the subsequent addresses, writings and other activities of the members who participated. The Institute as such bears no responsibility for the individual interpretations made by its members of the problems in which they are interested. The different national groups have each their own methods of utilising the results of the conference, but as yet, the informational side of the Institute has been little developed. It is essentially an experimental organisation of private individuals trying out a new method of diagnosis in the sphere of international relations. Its success will depend upon the calibre of the men and women who participate in the experiment and upon the frank honesty with which they face difficult issues. It will be time to develop the informational activities of the Institute when its research methods and diagnostic discussions have been tested out more fully.

Amerindians

Problems in Psychic and Physical Adjustments to a Dominant Civilization

By John Collier

The United States contains but a fraction—perhaps five per cent—of the Indians in the two continents. Among the 350,000 United States Indians are, however, representative groups and tribes who may stand for the Amerindian race. They include tribes whose archaic culture is pure, whose blood is unmixed, and who (this is the circumstance of dramatic and philosophic importance) are facing a problem chasmic in its implications. Can they, as civilizations, continue; can they reconstruct, reorient, and still remain Indian? The tribes (some of them) face this question with a profound and, in individual cases, agonized self-consciousness.

Mr. Keesing's fine article in *Pacific Affairs* for October, 1928, on the Maoris, can be transposed almost wholly to apply to the American Indians. Comparative study of the history of the present situation of "primitives" might have averted many blunders by dominant governments in the past. It might point toward unguessed solutions for the future. I shall explain certain complicating factors in the aboriginals' problem under the United States, which apparently do not exist in New Zealand.

The 350,000 Indians (reference henceforward is to the United States exclusively) include about 160,000 pure bloods. The probable number of Indians dwelling in what is now the United States, when Europe discovered America, was 825,000. The decimination of native languages (i. e., of culture systems and entire tribes) would be more striking if recited. In California, the 110,000 Indians of 1848 had dwindled to 20,000 in 1880; they number today 18,000. Apparently a renewed destruction of Indian life has begun. The United States census for the registration area (thirty-three states with Indian populations) revealed a 62 per cent increase in the death-rate of Indians in five years ending 1925, the latest year of completed tabulation. The death rate was 28.5 per 1000 per year. The death-increase had been steady and at the last census showing had gone ahead of the birth-rate. The Bureau of Indian Affairs, which holds exclusive charge of the Indians and absolute power over them, disputes the census findings but concedes an Indian death-rate about 95 per cent higher than the general death-rate including that of the Negroes.

The Indians are situated on more than 200 bodies of land, called reservations, from New York State to California and from the Canadian to the Mexican boundary. The total reservation area is nearly 120,000 square miles. Much of the land has only a landscape value. Some, which was believed worthless, has been proved valuable through the finding of oil and minerals. Some is good agricultural land; and there are forests valued at more than $100,000,000, and water-powers of enormous potential value. A reservation and its produce belong, in theory of law, to the tribe or tribes which have been located on it; hence, some tribes are in theory very rich and others are in theory very poor. In practice, all save a few thousand of the Indians—96 per cent of them all—are at or below the poverty line, and thousands, including whole groups of tribes, are destitute.

The system of government under which Indians live must now be described. They are (since 1924) full citizens of the United States; but unlike all other citizens, they are subject, and their property is subject, to the plenary authority of Congress. The control exercised over them by the government is "political," hence in effect supra-constitutional and beyond and above review by the courts. Congress through historical processes has delegated much of its plenary authority to the Indian Bureau of the Department of the Interior. This bureau, whose Commissioner is named by the President, has described itself as being a government within a government. It is guardian over the Indian property valued at $1,650,000,000, the Indian income totaling more than $60,000,000 a year, and the Indian person. It makes accounting to no agency juristic, legislative or administrative. (Just at this time, Congress through the Comptroller-General is demanding of the Indian Bureau the first accounting that agency will ever have made.) The Indian Bureau on the reservations rules by a system wholly personal. Its monopoly is complete, to the exclusion of all other agencies federal, state or private. It enforces an unpublished penal code, arrests at will, tries without record or protection of counsel to the defendant, fines and imprisons without court review. Its ancient warfare against the family life of Indians has been intensified of late years, and at present it holds 27,000 Indian children by compulsion in boarding institutions remote from their homes, of which more will be told anon. Among the powers asserted by the Indian Bureau are the censoring of the religious observance of the Indians and the arbitrary determination of the descent of Indian property. Religious observances which encourage "wasteful generosity" are forbidden to Indians; and an Indian's last will and testament is invalid unless approved by the Bureau, and can be nullified by the Bureau. No contract made by an Indian or Indian tribe has validity unless approved by the Bureau. The Bureau, and not the parent, is guardian over the Indian child whenever the Bureau chooses to assert its authority.

The reasoned sanction for the official policy of destroying the Indian tribal life, tribal institutions, language and tribal "values," was originally one of military necessity or convenience. The Indian whose social system was destroyed became powerless in war. Since 1851, Indian administration, transferred from the War Department, has been conducted on a peace-time basis, and Indian wars are far away as the Crusades. The policy of destroying Indianhood has been furnished with a different sanction. Tribal and ancestral loyalties, superstitions, taboos, values, and heritage generally including the traditions of art and craft, are barriers against the facile peace-time administration of Indians, and cause the Indians to be at least selective toward the influences of white civilization. The Indian family—the parent-child relation—is the most universal and potent of these "dead-hand" influences. Hence, for the Indian's own sake and to facilitate easy administration, all, even the native family life, must be dislocated or destroyed. The Indian Bureau, with powers absolute such as have been described, and with an employed force of 5,200 subordinates, has proceeded to the destruction, and the zeal of its work is not diminished as yet.

As among the Maoris, the system of common ownership of land, cooperative working of land and individual possession solely of the goods created by the individual or his family, has been attacked with exhaustive determination, both by Congress and by the Indian Bureau. The compulsory allottment of the tribal lands to individuals became the guiding economic policy toward Indians, and the law was so amended in 1910 as to necessi-

tate that allotted land, on the death of the original allottee, should be sold. Thus, the disinheriting of the Indians from what remains of their agricultural lands is now proceeding apace. Exception, through causes too complicated to recite here, has been made in the case of certain of the desert tribes of the great south-west—the Navajo tribe of 35,000 members, and the Pueblos numbering 13,000. These tribes, deep in their archaic traditions, and self-supporting on their meagre but unallotted lands, now increase in numbers, and it is they alone who have preserved undiminished the splendor of Indian ritual observance, and the unwritten literary tradition, the pottery, basket-making, weaving, silverwork, and those profoundly potent disciplines of adolescence which formerly were practically universal among Indians. But even these tribes have not been exempted from attempted compulsory "Americanization," save in the matter of their lands.

An American, writing for a public in other lands, must furnish an explanation needless if he were addressing Americans. What has been told above, and details which follow, might seem to exhibit a depravity in the American body politic as such. For the facts are generally known. Millions of white Americans are in a more or less daily contact with afflicted Indians. The press, from local dailies to the largest magazines, publishes intermittently the story of Indian woe. At every session of Congress there are bitter denunciations of the governmental system of crushing Indian life and despoiling Indian property. All of the great churches conduct activities on the reservations and are acquainted with the realities. Secular organizations devoted to the winning of life-opportunity for Indians are constantly at work. Yet the doom thrust on the aborigines by the will of their governmental guardian is not lifted; indeed, conditions are generally conceded to have become worse with each year since 1920. What is the explanation?

It is that factor which has operated largely in Africa but perhaps never, in a controlling way, among the Pacific island groups. The Indians are victims of a huge property held in their name, which includes coveted natural resources of practically all classes. The original system of non-responsible and bureaucratic government, uniquely freed from accountability, which was evolved in the period of Indian wars and under the control of social ideas now outgrown, forgotten or even indignantly rejected in white life, has been perpetuated because it is the most efficient possible instrument for the exploitation—the looting, to use true language—of the rich Indian estate. The Indian Bureau is the nexus of a conspiracy of robbery under quasi-legal forms—a conspiracy in which numerous great corporations and local voting constituencies are receptive or active partners. This conspiracy has been enabled to continue itself, and even to become more nakedly predatory, across years of intensifying popular indignation, by virtue of the machinery for blocking legislative action with which the House of Representatives is equipped in a measure probably unknown in any other parliamentary body among the nations.

Being not an issue between political parties, the only hope of the Indians is that they shall become an issue in the mind of a President of the United States who, adopting a new Indian policy as an administrative policy, could force it through the lower house of Congress, using his constitutional and *de facto* powers in that irresistible way possible to a strong President. This article will not verge nearer to politics than to say that the Indians and their friends are now hopeful. The American people want justice for the Indians, and in this day have an affection, even a respect and admiration for them.

Concluding this article, I shall shift from the Indian in governmental relations to the Indian in relation to his own body and soul. But first it is necessary to speak of the government's educational system which, more even than the diversion of their property and the outlawing of tribal communal life, is the affliction of Indians.

There are seventy-five institutions, called boarding-schools, where Indian children are confined. The compulsory school age for Indians is six to eighteen years. Where day schools near the homes are not provided, the boarding schools are mandatory. They are mandatory for 27,000 children including, for at least some of their school years, all the children from tribes with a rich surviving culture—the Navajos, Pueblos, Apaches, Papagos, Mojaves and Pimas. Usually these schools are from fifty to one thousand miles away from the inmates' homes. Children are enabled but not encouraged to return to their families once in three years, for a summer period. Half of their time in the schools is devoted to study, and half to labor. The state laws regulating child labor are disregarded wherever the Bureau boarding schools are located. Medical service is inadequate, to the extent that, according to the most recent authoritative report, "contagions have practically free scope." The food allowance for the children is eleven cents a day, supplemented in a few cases by provender from school gardens and dairies. The curriculum is uniform for all schools and for children from whatever tribe, being, roughly, the type of curriculum cast off by white schools forty years ago. Annihilation of the child's pride as an Indian, and of his Indian aptitudes, and oblivion for his language with its religious, poetic and ethnic content, and compulsory Christian teaching, are enforced as policies by the chiefs of the Indian Bureau. The institutions in nearly all cases are grievously overcrowded.

It is these school prisons, more than any other single factor, which causes the excessive morbidity and mortality among Indians. About 60,000, or about 19.5 per cent of all Indians (Indian Bureau statistics), are now suffering from infectious trachoma, a disease leading to blindness. The Indian tuberculous death-rate is about 7.5 times the general death-rate; but in Arizona, the state with the second largest Indian population and with nearly all its Indian children schooled in boarding schools, the rate is seventeen times the general rate, while in Wisconsin it is forty times the general rate. The tuberculosis statistics are those of the Institute for Government Research, which published in 1928 an exhaustive survey of the condition of the Indians made at the request of the Secretary of the Interior.*

The Indians' present-day environment has now been sketched. What of the Indians?

As is well known, they are Mongoloid stocks. Presumably they trickled from Asia, in sporadic migrations, across many thousand years, and brought with them a diversity already ancient. Diversification had continued for perhaps ten, perhaps thirty thousand years before European contacts began. Unquestionably, cultural factors diffusing from Central America northward had been more potent in creating such uniformities as existed, than any cultural factors brought from Asia. Root languages, having nothing in common, coexisted within thirty, fifty miles of one another, and endogamous tribes within fixed boundaries rubbed elbows for thousands of years without blending. Even in California, whose cultural richness was perhaps least among the major areas, the primitive vocabularies (hundreds in number) contained on

* *The Problem of Indian Administration*, Lewis Meriam and Survey Staff, the Institute for Government Research, Johns Hopkins Press, Baltimore, 1928.

an average more than 8,000 words. The Southwest deserts were divided between predatory nomads and city-dwelling tribes who cultivated by intricate irrigation. The vast plains-area was owned by buffalo-hunting tribes. Quasi-sedentary agricultural tribes who also were hunters divided among themselves every square mile of the Appalachian and Atlantic Coast country.

Upon these many civilizations fell the white invasion. Today, after three centuries, a tithe of a tithe remains of that which once colored America as a rainbow with its mythopoec endowment. One citation I give, as a suggestion, chosen because it is from the ritual (as yet being continued with perfection) of the one-time bloodthirstiest of American tribes, the tribes whose material apparatus of civilization even today, by free choice, is the horse and the hogán. The hogán is the dwelling, and looks to white men like a child's round mud-house built large. The Navajo song and its words are prehistoric; the translation, by Washington Matthews, is a literal one. It is a song addressed to the Spirit—the tribe's, nature's and God's, which the Indians always conceived as a blend; to the cosmic Mana.

"O you who dwell
In the house made of the dawn,
In the house made of the evening twilight,
The path to which is the rainbow:
Happily I walk,
Impervious to pain I walk,
Feeling light within me I walk;
May it be happy before me,
May it be beautiful behind me,
May it be beautiful before me,
May it be beautiful above me,
May it be beautiful around me.
In beauty it is finished."

I revert to the opening paragraph of this article. Sixty thousand at least of the surviving Indians continue to live tribally. They are immersed in their ancient life, which to them is wholly present. They are, not by accident, the healthiest of the Indians, the most industrious, and in their dealings with the white world, the most practicable. One such group, numerically the largest, is the Navajo tribe in Arizona and New Mexico (35,000). That tribe lives by shepherding, by weaving and silversmithing for which the market is inexhaustible, by stock-raising on a smaller scale and by farming in those rare places where water can be put on the land.

Still more promising as laboratories of race-adjustment, are certain of the Pueblos.

These city-dwelling Indians were left undisturbed by the Spaniards and they now irrigate from their prehistoric ditches. They keep in its fullness their ancient religion but in addition, 300 years ago, they embraced Catholicism—in the spirit of the later Renaissance before the counter-Reformation. They use their own archaic languages, and Spanish, and today largely English as well. Spain and Mexico dealt with them as bodies corporate, and under the laws of the territory of New Mexico after 1848 they became legal corporations, and they remain such, though with functions greatly restricted through recent encroachments by the Indian Bureau. Internally they are self-governed according to their ancient ways. These tribes prehistorically had developed their ritualism to a complexity beyond any known north of the Rio Grande, but they were, as they remain, small tribes. Their characteristics are those of "primary social groups," or groups all of whose

members meet face to face, and in which caste distinctions have not arisen. Their organization, however, is complex almost beyond description; beyond complete discovery, even, in the case of the Rio Grande pueblos, where the rule of secrecy is severe to the point of meting death to him who violates it.

It is from an eight-year intimate working relationship with the Pueblos that I speak of their practicability. Their passive resistance seems to be unconquerable. Their power to re-assimilate into the tribal life, into the tribal modes of feeling and world-view, the member who has been psychically torn away (as through the boarding-school experience), is noted by all observers. They are aristocrats, their self-reliance as tribes is great, and their sense of humor is never-failing. It is precisely these attributes which free them to be practicable. The suspicion of inferiority has never come to them; and being, however delusively, in imminent contact with gigantic powers through a religion which is a system of discipline toward self-transcendency, and a fine art, but not a body of dogma: being thus conditioned psychically, they are free to be hospitable toward anything. They are most hospitable toward any device for material betterment.

Eighteen of the New Mexico pueblos have been, since 1922, confederated for mutual aid. Aggressions by whites, helped by the Indian Bureau, have forced the Pueblos, in recent years, to deal in their counsels with questions of law (the laws of property) as intricate as any, and with questions of engineering and reclamation on a large scale. Hordes of whites who are "archaeology alive" now visit the pueblos. The pueblos have been forced to study means for receiving the whites without being hurt by them. Briefly, the great experiment is well under way: the experiment of a conscious, group-directed adjustment, conducted by primitives organized as bodies corporate and most centrally concerned with preserving communal values held dearer than any personal life. Whether the United States shall tolerate the experiment or crush it will depend, as above explained, not on the friendly disposition of the American people but on the dislodgment of the Indian Bureau system.

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CONTEMPORARY PROBLEMS OF THE INDIANS

This must be studied chiefly through reports and periodical publications.

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THE AMERICAN INDIAN DEFENSE ASSN., INC.
37 Bliss Bldg., Washington, D. C.

Japan and New Zealand

An Interesting Trade Agreement

By Guy H. Scholefield, D. Sc., F. R. Hist. S.

The commercial understanding between Japan and New Zealand, which was referred to in the issue of *Pacific Affairs* for November, is a development which calls for more than passing notice. It marks a definite forward step in the relations between the British Dominions in the Pacific and the leading Asiatic power, and the circumstances in which it was brought about are worthy of being recorded.

The basis of recent relations between Great Britain and Japan is the Anglo-Japanese Convention of 1894. By this instrument, which replaced the understandings of earlier date, and notably the treaty of August, 1858, Great Britain led the western powers in assenting to the abolition of consular jurisdiction over her nationals in Japan, who thereupon became subject to the ordinary law of the country. This treaty, as Mr. Ker has shown in the November issue, was the forerunner of a series of agreements with various other powers, the effect of which was to admit Japan to the comity of nations in a very favourable position. By her frank and trustful recognition of Japan's position, Great Britain induced the other leading powers to acknowledge the new star in the East. Nor was this step taken without incurring the censure of many of those who were best qualified to give opinions on the subject. As Mr. Ker says, Britain's action was severely criticised by foreigners resident in the Far East as an abandonment, without due safeguards or conditions of the special privileges upon which the trade of the west with Japan was based. "But since the fall of the Shogunate in 1869," says Mr. Ker, "Japan had given ample evidence that the political and social revolution then effected was of a constructive—not destructive—nature, and that the reforms, social, political, administrative and judicial, were being carried out with energy and sincerity. . . . It must be admitted that little or no material advantage accrued to Great Britain from the Treaty: the opening of the whole country to mixed residents was the chief ostensible *quid pro quo* for the cessation of consular jurisdiction, but the country was already accessible to merchants by the passport system, and trade centres and trade routes were already fixed. The moral advantages, however, gained by both countries by treaty revision were out of all proportion to any such narrower considerations. In the words of Mr. Gubbins, who was closely associated with the negotiations for treaty revision both in Tokyo and London, 'by being the first to revise her treaty on terms practically identical with those she had herself offered two years before, Great Britain showed her frank recognition of the changed conditions resulting from the steady progress of more than thirty years. And she thereby retained her position as the leading western power in the Far East, and gained the good will of Japan, thus paving the way for the future Anglo-Japanese Alliance.' "

The only self-governing colony which declared its adherence to this Treaty (as apart from Great Britain) was Queensland. When that colony announced to the British Government its desire to adhere to the agreement, the Secretary of State, who was already thoroughly apprised of the delicacy of the question of admitting Asiatics to the tropical territory of Australia, solemnly warned the Queensland government of all the implications of such adherence. Nevertheless Queensland in 1897 accepted the advantages and disadvantages of the Treaty under a protocol which allowed her to prohibit the entry of Japanese of the labouring class into her territory. Under a special convention concluded by Great Britain in 1906 Canada, too, enjoyed

the advantages of most-favoured-nation treatment under the Treaty. The Australian colonies having federated at the end of the century, the question of immigration then became one for the Commonwealth, and in 1908, at the request of the Commonwealth Government, steps were taken to terminate the obligations which lay upon the Commonwealth by reason of Queensland's adherence to the Treaty.

The next step in the treaty relations of Great Britain and Japan was the new Treaty of 1911, signed at London on April 3 of that year. This is the instrument which practically survives to the present time. Alterations were certainly made by a supplementary convention signed on July 30, 1925, but substantially the agreement of 1911 remains in force. Article I of this Treaty reads as follows:

> The subjects of each of the High Contracting Parties shall have full liberty to enter, travel and reside in the territories of the other, and, conforming themselves to the laws of the country,—
>
> 1. Shall, in all that relates to travel and residence, be placed in all respects on the same footing as native subjects.
>
> 2. They shall have the right, equally with native subjects, to carry on their commerce and manufacture, and to trade in all kinds of merchandise of lawful commerce, either in person or by agents, singly or in partnerships with foreigners or native subjects.
>
> 3. They shall in all that relates to the pursuit of their industries, callings, professions and educational studies be placed in all respects on the same footing as the subjects or citizens of the most favoured nation.
>
> 4. They shall be permitted to own or hire and occupy houses, manufactories, warehouses, shops and premises which may be necessary for them, and to lease land for residential, commercial, industrial and other lawful purposes, in the same manner as native subjects.
>
> 5. They shall, on condition of reciprocity, be at full liberty to acquire and possess every description of property, movable or immovable, which the laws of the country permit or shall permit the subjects or citizens of any other foreign country to acquire and possess, subject always to the conditions and limitations prescribed in such laws. They may dispose of the same by sale, exchange, gift, marriage, testament or in any other manner, under the same conditions which are or shall be established with regard to native subjects. They shall also be permitted, on compliance with the laws of the country, freely to export the proceeds of the sale of their property and their goods in general without being subjected as foreigners to other and higher duties than those to which subjects of the country would be liable under similar circumstances.
>
> 6. They shall enjoy constant and complete protection and security for their persons and property; shall have free and easy access to the courts of justice and other tribunals in pursuit of and defence of their claims and rights; and shall have full liberty, equally with native subjects, to choose and employ lawyers and advocates to represent them before such courts and tribunals; and generally shall have the same rights and privileges as native subjects in all that concerns the administration of justice.
>
> 7. They shall not be compelled to pay taxes, fees, charges or contributions of any kind whatever, other or higher than those which are or may be paid by native subjects or the subjects or citizens of the most favoured nation.
>
> 8. And they shall enjoy a perfect equality of treatment with native subjects in all that relates to facilities for warehousing under bond, bounties and drawbacks.

Article 26 of the Treaty says:

> The stipulations of the present Treaty shall not be applicable to any of His Britannic Majesty's Dominions, Colonies, Possessions or Protectorates beyond the Seas, unless notice of adhesion shall have been given on behalf of any such Dominion, Colony, Possession or Protectorate by His Britannic Majesty's Representative at Tokyo before the expiration of two years from the date of the exchange of the ratifications of the present Treaty. . . .

In Article 27 it is further stipulated that

> As regards the British Dominions, Colonies, Possessions, and Protectorates to which the present Treaty may have been made applicable in virtue of Article 26, however, either of the High Contracting Parties shall have the right to terminate it separately at any time on giving twelve month's notice to that effect.

Canada's special arrangement concluded in 1906 was reaffirmed after the signing of the new Treaty by an exchange of notes on July 7, 1911. The Treaty was in due course transmitted to New Zealand by the Secretary of State for the Colonies with a request to be informed whether the Dominion desired to notify its adhesion. The matter was carefully considered, and on February 26, 1912, the New Zealand Government advised the Governor that it had decided "not to adhere at present." Newfoundland adhered to the Treaty forthwith, and the Imperial Government adhered on behalf of about thirty Crown Colonies, but none of the other Dominions made any rapprochement. Canada alone continued to enjoy the most-favoured-nation treatment secured for her under the earlier arrangement, and in 1913 adhered to the Treaty in her own right. It is interesting to note that this particular arrangement it was that prompted New Zealand to take notice of the possibilities of the Japanese market for her products.

The supplementary Convention by which the Treaty was modified was signed in London on July 30, 1925. Of this instrument the significant Article is No. 6:

> The stipulations of the Treaty signed at London on the 3rd April, 1911, as modified by the present Convention, may be made applicable to any of His Britannic Majesty's self-governing Dominions, Colonies, Possessions or Protectorates on behalf of which notice of accession has not been given under Article 26 of the said Treaty, and to any British leased territory or any territory in respect of which a mandate on behalf of the League of Nations has been accepted by His Britannic Majesty if notice is given by His Britannic Majesty's Representative at Tokyo of the desire of His Britannic Majesty that the said stipulations shall so apply to any such territory, and the right of either Party under the second paragraph of Article 27 of the Treaty to terminate it separately at any time on giving twelve months' notice shall be understood to extend to separate termination of the Treaty as modified in respect of such self-governing Dominion, Colony, Possession, Protectorate or Territory.

The exchange of notes between New Zealand and Japan in July last places New Zealand on the same footing that Canada has occupied for the past twenty years. The movement arose from both sides in promptings of a commercial nature. New Zealand, cognisant of the market enjoyed by Canada in Japan for one of her own leading products, in which Canada is her competitor in the British market, indicated in 1926 her willingness to discuss the matter of adhering to the Treaty and the supplementary convention, and negotiations have been going on for some time through the Imperial Government. While these negotiations were proceeding the butter exporters of New Zealand, who have for some years past been sending steadily increasing shipments to Japan, urged the Minister of Customs (Hon. W. Downie Stewart) to expedite the matter in order to obtain for them the benefit of the forthcoming dairy season. The discussion generally was slow and tedious, as such matters necessarily are when they have to be carried out through an administration at the other side of the world and with a country also a hemisphere distant. "The position was," said Mr. Stewart in the House of Representatives, "that Canada was in a better position than New Zealand with respect to exports to Japan by reason of the fact that the Japanese Government had made a treaty with France, and as the benefit of that Treaty was, after negotiations, extended to Canada and certain other countries, our exporters were anxious that they be placed on as favourable a footing as Canada with respect to the export of butter to Japan. I asked the Prime Minister to cable to the Home authorities indicating the urgency of the matter, and intimating that as we were anxious to catch the season's output we would like the acquiescence of the Home

Government with regard to the exchange of informal notes in connection with the matter. We desired the immediate advantage of the proposal. The Home Government readily acquiesced, and that is how the matter came to be dealt with by the exchange of notes instead of waiting for the formal adhesion to the Treaty to be signed by Great Britain. As a matter of fact this Treaty places New Zealand in a better position than Australia. I was told that quite recently the Australian papers were reproaching their Government for allowing New Zealand to get ahead of them in this important matter. The main object we had in view was to improve the position of our butter exporters, who were developing a trade with Japan and who found themselves in a less advantageous position than Canada."

The negotiations were also hurried to a conclusion in the exchange of notes by the arrival in New Zealand of Mr. I. Tokugawa, the Consul-General for Australia and New Zealand, whose post is in Sydney. Mr. Tokugawa specially desired that the matter should be brought to a conclusion while the Japanese squadron was in New Zealand waters, and the negotiations were finalised accordingly on July 24. The notes were as follows:

Prime Minister's Office,
Wellington, New Zealand,
24th July, 1928.

Sir:

I have the honour to inform you that pending the eventual adhesion of New Zealand to the Treaty of Commerce and Navigation between Great Britain and Japan and the Supplementary Convention thereto, signed at London on the 3rd April, 1911, and the 30th July, 1925, respectively, the New Zealand Government are prepared to accord to Japan, on and after the 9th August, 1928, the same treatment in matters of commerce, Customs and navigation as is or may be accorded to the most favoured foreign country, provided that the Japanese Government grant to New Zealand the same treatment in matters of commerce, Customs, and navigation.

It is understood that the aforesaid treatment shall continue in force until the expiration of three months from the date on which the New Zealand Government shall have denounced it.

I have, etc.,

J. G. COATES,
Prime Minister.

Iyemasa Tokugawa, Esq., O. B. E.,
Japanese Consul-General.

Wellington, New Zealand,
24th July, 3 Showa (1928).

Sir:

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your note dated the 24th instant, on the subject of the treatment to be accorded by the New Zealand Government to Japan in matters of commerce, Customs and navigation, pending the eventual adhesion of New Zealand to the Treaty of Commerce and Navigation between Japan and Great Britain and the Supplementary Convention thereto, signed at London on the 3rd April, 1911, and the 30th July, 1925, respectively.

Under instructions from my Government I beg to inform you that the Japanese Government are prepared on their side, to accord to New Zealand, on and after the 9th August, 1928, the same treatment in matters of commerce, Customs and navigation as is or may be accorded to the most favoured foreign country, provided that the New Zealand Government grant to Japan the same treatment in matters of commerce, Customs and navigation, it being understood that the aforesaid treatment shall continue in force until the expiration of three months from the date on which the Japanese Government shall have denounced it.

I have, etc.,

IYEMASA TOKUGAWA,
Japanese Consul-General.

The Rt. Hon. J. G. Coates, P.C. M.C.
Prime Minister, Wellington, New Zealand.

It should be remarked that Australia has neither adhered to the Treaty nor to the Convention, nor concluded as yet any informal agreement with Japan. She is, therefore, now at a distinct disadvantage in the Japanese butter market, which is every month becoming of greater importance.

The butter exporters of New Zealand have good reason for looking forward hopefully to the development of their new market in Japan, if not in China also. For fully forty years they have been encouraged from time to time by reports on the markets of the East, most of which have led them to believe that a golden age will dawn for them when the Chinese and Japanese fall away from their old-time dietary and under western influences gradually turn to the western style of diet. What with the increase in the numbers of westerners living in China and Japan, there has already been a steady adoption of European habits of living amongst a large number of Chinese and Japanese; and the result is evident in the increasing export of foodstuffs from Australia and New Zealand to the Far East. According to information which has not yet received wide publicity, recent developments in Japan have provided a fresh and very emphatic stimulus to the use of our products. Independent experiments conducted by the Empire Marketing Board are said to have shown a very remarkable preponderance of vitamin qualities in the butter of New Zealand, as compared with butters from other countries which are favoured with a shorter duration of sunshine in the year. Almost at the same time an investigation into the dietary of the Japanese army prompted by the undue prevalence of certain disorders in the soldiers has led to a recommendation that a daily ration of butter should be added to the dietary of the troops. Whether this is adopted or not it is obvious that the investigations must give a great fillip to the consumption of butter in Japan. Indeed, the figures of the last year or two show that the demand has already arisen and that the concession by the Japanese Government in the tariff on our butter is merely meeting an economic need which will benefit both countries. For years past Japan has been a regular purchaser of wool at the New Zealand wool sales.

In introducing the agreement to the House of Representatives on the same day on which it was concluded, the Minister of Customs said:

> Japan has commercial and similar treaties with other countries under which lower rates of duty are at present charged on certain articles produced in those countries than on similar goods of New Zealand origin. So far as this Dominion is concerned, the chief advantage will be a reduction in the duty on butter of about ½d per pound. It may be of interest to members to know that Canadian butter has for some time past been admitted at a lower rate. In this connection the following figures showing the exports of this commodity to Japan from New Zealand, Canada and Australia may be of interest:
>
> Exports of butter from New Zealand to Japan—1926, 1886 cwt., value £14,923; 1927, 2844 cwt., value £22,430.
>
> Exports of butter from Canada to Japan—1926, 4774 cwt., value £37,480; 1927, 3662 cwt., value £29,410.
>
> Exports of butter from Australia to Japan—1920-5, 802 cwt., value £6511; 1925-6, 1169 cwt., value £9897.
>
> Tariff reductions are also made in Japan on a limited number of other articles similar to those produced in the Dominion, namely certain preserved vegetables and fruit, worsted yarn and wool tissues. The arrangement has the further advantage that if in future any reductions in duty are made in favour of any other country they will, automatically, apply to New Zealand. This Dominion has always admitted Japanese goods at the same rate as that charged on the goods of any other foreign country. This no doubt has induced the Government of Japan to enter into the present arrangement with New Zealand. There is, further, the point that if New Zealand in the future reduces the duty on the goods of any foreign country, whether by way of a tariff treaty or

otherwise, the benefits of such a treaty, while the present arrangement with Japan continues, automatically apply to the goods of that country. So far as commerce and navigation are concerned, New Zealand already accords to Japan treatment as favourable as that accorded to other foreign countries.

The only criticism made in the House against the announcement was the short notice at which it was brought down. Mr. W. A. Veitch, a member of the Nationalist Party, who has since become Minister of Labour and Mines in the New Government, expressed great pleasure at the conclusion of the agreement, which he considered would be received with great satisfaction by the public of New Zealand. "Japan is a very powerful and influential nation," he said. "She is a very close neighbour of ours. When we look back over the record of the last ten or fifteen years we recognise that we owe something to Japan; and I believe that the people of New Zealand will welcome this agreement from the international point of view and will not be inclined to cavil over its details. They will welcome it as a means whereby we may strengthen the goodwill which already exists between the people of New Zealand, as a part of the British Empire, and the people of Japan."

The Minister, in replying, stated that as far as reciprocity was concerned no concession had been given to Japan, who already enjoyed the same advantages as other countries under our foreign tariff. "Her object in acquiescing in the matter was partly due to the fact that she recognised that for many years we had given her most-favoured-nation treatment, and partly owing to the fact that other concessions which might be given to other countries in the future would be automatically extended to her. . . . Japan enjoys the same tariff as she has enjoyed all along, that is, our ordinary foreign tariff. The authority under which the notes are signed is simply the general sovereign power of New Zealand, and if the Treaty were rejected by the House the only effect would be that the existing customs law would stand, and we would lose the benefit of the arrangement."

The House accepted the motion that the paper be printed.

In a statement on the subject of the agreement kindly prepared for me by the Comptroller of Customs (Dr. G. Craig, C. M. G.), he says:

> This Dominion has always admitted Japanese goods at the same rates of duty as those charged on the goods of other foreign countries. It has also extended to Japan, as far as commerce and navigation are concerned, treatment as favourable as that accorded to other foreign countries. No alteration has been made by the exchange of notes between the two countries in the treatment of Japanese goods or in connection with commerce and navigation, but if, in the future, New Zealand reduces the duty payable on the goods of any foreign country, whether by means of a tariff agreement or otherwise, the benefits of such an agreement will automatically apply to Japanese goods so long as the present arrangement continues. No immediate advantage has therefore been obtained by Japan under the arrangement, but certain New Zealand goods, when imported into Japan, are now charged with lower rates of duty than the products of countries to which most-favoured-nation treatment has not been accorded. Japan had, as a result of treaties or arrangements, granted to some countries (e.g., Canada, Italy and France) certain tariff concessions, and these will now apply to New Zealand products. The principal item affected by the exchange of notes is New Zealand butter, the duty on which has been reduced by approximately ½d per lb. Tariff reductions have also been made on a limited number of other articles similar to those produced in this Dominion, viz., certain preserved vegetables and fruit, worsted yarns and wool tissues. If in the future any decreases in duty are made by Japan in favour of any other country, they will automatically apply to New Zealand. The following table shows the total values of the exports from New Zealand to Japan and of the imports into New Zealand of Japanese goods during 1914 and recent years:

	Exports to Japan	Imports from Japan
	£	£
1914	59,508	232,364
1924	330,736	496,835
1925	232,213	693,632
1926	162,832	582,352
1927	251,547	591,963
1928 (10 months)	581,668	497,381

The exports from New Zealand to Japan, which have in recent years shown no marked fluctuations, increased noticeably during the past ten months. While the average annual value of our exports during the past six years has been £232,430, the total for the ten months ended October 31, 1928, was £581,668. Of this figure wool, which has always been our largest item of export to Japan, accounted for £528,861, as compared with an average annual value for previous years of £173,000. The following figures show details of the principal exports from New Zealand to Japan during the last three years and the first ten months of 1928:

	1925	1926	1927	(10 months) 1928
	£	£	£	£
Wool	214,736	118,738	150,305	528,861
Butter	6,154	14,923	22,430	10,585
Casein	9,218	27,139	44,587	31,599
Sheepskins	.....	.....	31,374	1,987
Pelts	.....	.....	1,457	571
Hides	.....	.....	.....	5,115
Other goods	2,105	2,032	1,394	2,950
	£232,213	£162,832	£251,547	£581,668

New Zealand buys from Japan principally silk piece goods, oak timber, cotton piece goods, apparel, and fancy goods. Approximately one-half of the imports from Japan consist of silk piece goods, the annual average value of which is over £300,000, and which reached the total of £378,000 during 1927. The following table shows the total values of the principal imports of Japanese goods during recent years:

	1925	1926	1927	(10 months) 1928
	£	£	£	£
Silk piece goods	311,921	323,720	377,832	324,224
Apparel	22,101	23,371	22,501	23,174
Cotton piece goods	171,887	64,007	61,347	46,116
Timber	71,729	58,247	47,625	45,376
Fancy goods and toys	18,999	19,836	15,572	13,351
Other Goods	96,995	93,171	67,086	45,140
Total	£693,632	£582,352	£591,963	£497,381

As a result of the arrangement New Zealand butter is no longer handicapped so far as duty is concerned in competition with Canadian and other imported butters in Japan; no conclusion can, of course, yet be arrived at whether the trade in other goods will be appreciably affected. Indirectly, however, the friendly relations established by the arrangement between this Dominion and Japan will no doubt be of advantage to both countries.

Discussing the matter at my request from the Japanese point of view, Mr. Tokugawa said:

It is somewhat difficult, so soon after the conclusion of the new agreement, to forecast the future development of the trade between the two countries. The opening of a direct shipping line between New Zealand and Japan would greatly encourage commercial intercourse between them. However, the possibility of such a line depends in turn on the prosperity of trade.

The actual benefit New Zealand will enjoy from this agreement is in the tariff on butter. The rate of duty in the Japanese general tariff on butter is yen 36.90 per 100 kin (1 kin equals 1.32277 lbs., or 0.6 kilogrammes). There is a conventional tariff between Japan and France on butter, and it is yen 33.65 per 100 kin. On New Zealand butter the general tariff rate had to be paid before the taking effect of the present agreement, and now, in consequence of the new

agreement New Zealand butter can enjoy the conventional tariff rate above referred to.

As the matter stands at present no Japanese goods will enjoy special treatment in the matter of customs duty from New Zealand. In the event of New Zealand fixing in future any conventional rate with any other foreign country on any goods which are or may be imported into New Zealand from Japan, Japan will be able to enjoy the benefit of that conventional rate.

It is always the definite policy of Japan to extend her commercial intercourse with any countries in the world with which she can trade profitably. Japan will always welcome the adhesion to the commercial treaty and supplementary convention of any British Dominions not having adhered to them.

Apart altogether from these opinions expressed upon the agreement from the national and the commercial standpoint, it is scarcely possible to exaggerate the importance of the rapprochement from the point of view of Pacific relations generally. The exchange of notes does not break any new ground, it is true, but it brings together for the first time one of the British Dominions in the South Pacific with the leading Asiatic Power in a friendly intercourse which is likely rapidly to develop. Behind it all we see, in the mutual needs that have given rise to the agreement, the steady assimilation of the standards of east and west as they appear face to face in the Pacific. Every evidence of that assimilation, every modification of eastern habits under the influence of the west, or vice versa, is a step towards the solution of antipathies and clashing interests which at one time appeared irreconcilable. This assimilation of wants, hand in hand with the assimilation of races which is so active in the Pacific today, will help year by year to mollify the differences and to solve the problems that the Institute of Pacific Relations exists to study.

Pacific Items

Japan-China Tariff Agreement

At the last hour before the date on which, according to a proclamation by the Nanking government, the principle of tariff autonomy was to be put into effect by China, the Japanese government gave its approval to a customs tariff agreement which had been the subject of a prolonged and somewhat tempestuous series of negotiations between Japanese and Chinese official representatives. This agreement, which it is stated constitutes a recognition of the Nanking regime as the de facto government of China, was signed on January 30. Almost until the date of its signing conflicting reports concerning the progress of negotiations had appeared in the press of China and Japan. If an agreement had not been reached when it was, February 1 would have found Japan the only major power which had failed to recognize by treaty agreement the Chinese government's announced policy of tariff autonomy to begin on that date. Further negotiations for the settlement of other Sino-Japanese problems are reported to be proceeding.

The China Foundation

The seventh annual meeting of the China Foundation for the Promotion of Education and Culture, which has under its supervision the allocation of the remitted American Boxer Indemnity funds, considered some revision of its constitution, adopting some few verbal changes, but retained the article which states the principle of self-perpetuation for the board. There were some changes in the personnel of the board, following several resignations, but the principle of freedom from political interferences was maintained, according to a signed article by Dr. Hu Shih, member of the board.

Military Disbandment in China

The military disbandment and reorganization conference, which came to an end on January 25 at Nanking, was successful in adopting a program for the reduction of the military forces, the centralization of military control and finances, and for uniform currency. Outstanding features of the program call for a disbandment commission which will have supreme control of all disbandment matters, the abolition of the position of commander-in-chief and the heads of the four "group armies," the centralization of military authority and the abolition of separate identities for the various armies and army groups. It is proposed that the total expenses for military purposes are to be kept within a budget of $192,000,000 (Mex.) a year. The first army cut will be to a total of 65 divisions with 11,000 men in each.

China Customs Service

On January 8 last the executive Yuan of the Chinese National Government accepted the resignation of Mr. A. H. Edwardes, Officiating Inspector-General of Customs. On January 10, Mr. F. W. Maze, long in the China Customs Service, assumed his new post as Inspector-General, under appointment from the Chinese government.

Chinese Agricultural and Mining Conference

The Ministry of Agriculture and Mining at Nanking announces a national conference on mining and agriculture, to be held at the capitol, in April, 1929. The purpose of the conference is to provide for centralizing the administration of agricultural and mining enterprises in China and of formulating measures for development in these fields. Improvement of living conditions of peasants and miners will come upon the agenda. The provincial departments will be represented at the central conference, together with a number of agricultural and mining experts.

China's Woman Magistrate

Hupeh province has the distinction of appointing China's first woman district magistrate. Miss Kuo Fung-min was the successful one amongst several hundred candidates who took examinations for the appointment in January.

Peking Legation Quarter

Mayor Ho Chi-kung of Peking has petitioned the Nanking government to open negotiations with foreign powers, looking toward the bringing of the legation quarter under the jurisdiction of the Peking municipality. This raises the question of the presence of foreign armed forces in Peking, as under the Boxer protocol of 1901.

Foreign Press in China

The national government at Nanking has taken the first step in a plan to assume jurisdiction over the foreign newspapers published within Chinese territory. On February 6 the Postal Commissioner at Tientsin was instructed by the Chinese Minister of Communications that mailing privileges would henceforth be refused to the *North China Star,* an American newspaper published in Tientsin by Charles Fox. This order was on the ground that the paper had published rumors detrimental to the Kuomintang and the National Government.

Russia and the C. E. R.

It is reported from Harbin, in Japanese newspapers, that the Soviet government is seeking to negotiate for a transfer of her rights in the Chinese Eastern Railway. This railroad has previously been under the joint managership of China and Russia.

Remission of Nanking Indemnities

It has been proposed that indemnity funds waived by American missions in Nanking, following the settlement by the Sino-American commission which investigated the Nanking Incident, be used by the National Government to endow chairs of Chinese History and Civilization in American colleges and universities. Several American missions with interests at Nanking have refused to accept the sums proffered to them by the Chinese government, as reparations for damages suffered by their institutions during the hostilities at Nanking in the spring of 1927. The total amount of the claims waived reaches over $300,000. Dr. C. Kuang-son Young, Princeton graduate and a former attaché of the Chinese legation at Washington, recommended the above-mentioned use of these remitted funds as "an intelligent manner in which to spend the money and at the same time demonstrate to the people of the United States something of the friendship we feel toward them."

Cooperation in Manchuria

General Chang Hsueh-liang, governor of the Three Eastern Provinces, stated in a telegram to the Nanking government, on January 13, that he had notified the various foreign consular authorities in his territory to the effect that hereafter all matters relating to diplomatic questions must be taken up directly with the foreign minister at Nanking, instead of being regarded as local issues.

Manchurian Crop Estimates

The statistics of the South Manchuria Railway research offices at Mukden indicate in 1928 a yield above the average for staple crops in Manchuria. The bean crop, which is by far Manchuria's largest, and the product most in demand, is estimated at a grand total of 500,241 short tons, this representing a value of between 450 and 500 million dollars (Mex.). The total area of land under bean cultivation is estimated to be the equivalent of 9,241,000 acres.

Japan's China Policy

In the face of Premier Tanaka's continued policy with regard to China, the National Shinto Club of Japan, a non-government party, at its national convention at Tokyo during January last, passed resolutions looking toward a change in governmental policy with regard to China and intended to shape the party's own policy in that direction. According to a Toho news dispatch, the resolution said:

> Japan and China should cooperate with each other for the promotion of their cultural interests and welfare, and yet at present the relations between the two countries are in an abnormal condition. We present the following proposals as constituting the wisest course in remedying the situation:
>
> 1. Recognize the Nationalist government of China.
> 2. Withdraw Japanese troops from Shantung immediately.
> 3. Revise the commercial treaty between Japan and China in accordance with the spirit of international equality and in cooperation with the powers.
> 4. Devise some rational methods of solving the Manchurian railroad problem and seek economic expansion in Manchuria, at the same time respecting the territorial integrity of China and protecting the interests of Japan.
> 5. Prevail upon the Chinese to look into cases of any improper action on their part. Immediately restore amicable relations between China and Japan and establish economic intercourse.

Japan and the International Wireless Treaty

The International Wireless Treaty concluded at Washington in the autumn of 1928 went into effect, so far as the Japanese government was concerned, on January 1, 1929, according to an official report from the Japanese Communications office in the *Osaka Mainichi*. This treaty super-

sedes the London treaty of 1912, which, because of the extraordinary development of wireless telegraphy within the last sixteen years, has become antiquated. Salient stipulations in the new treaty have to do with the control over wireless telegraph, wireless telephone and radio broadcasting stations, whether on land or sea, for all of which stations the wave length is specified in order to prevent international wireless confusion. The new treaty also makes it obligatory upon any third-party nation to permit the passage of wireless messages through its territory, en route between two other nations. There is a compulsory arbitration clause which provides for the reference of any international dispute regarding wireless to a court of arbitration.

World Conference on Adult Education

An announcement, containing provisional program, is being circulated concerning the Cambridge Conference of August 22-29, which is being organized by the World Association for Adult Education (headquarters, 16 Russell Square, London, W.C.1).

Pan-Pacific Surgical Conference

The agenda for a proposed Pan-Pacific surgical conference to be held in Honolulu during August, 1929, is being distributed to surgeons and medical men throughout the Pacific. It is expected that ten delegates from each of the important Pacific countries will be in attendance. The conference has been planned by the Pan-Pacific Union of Honolulu.

Mexican Soldier Schools

The Mexican government has established throughout the Republic special schools for soldiers, 78 of which have been functioning since 1925. The latest annual report issued by the Ministry of War and Marine points to the growing success of this scheme for reducing illiteracy amongst federal troops. The subjects are elementary, and it is estimated that one-quarter of the enlisted Mexican men have already been taught to read and write.

New Zealand Butter Trade

Reports from the *New Zealand Herald* of Auckland, show a remarkable growth in New Zealand butter trade with Canada and the United States. The report cites the dispatch of 69,537 boxes of butter to Canada in a single shipment. An explanation of this growth is offered by the fact that Canadian dairies are seeking to supply the ever-growing demand for fresh cream and its products in the United States, and leaving the butter industry to New Zealand.

High Canadian Mine Output

The official estimate of the chief of the Mining and Metallurgical division of the Dominion Bureau of Statistics indicates that 1928 was the third successive year in which Canada's mineral production reached a new high record. The value of the 1928 mines' output is set at $271,000,000, an increase of ten per cent over the preceding year.

Canadian-U. S. Pact

On January 2, 1929, a treaty was signed between the Canadian and United States governments, relative to scenic improvements and the extension of economic works at Niagara Falls. The treaty is the outcome of an extensive investigation of the subject, made by an international board created in 1926. Increased diversion of water for power plants on both sides of the international boundary is provided for as well as the institution of remedial works for the preservation of the cataract.

Assisted Immigration in Australasia

There is in the Pacific area a measure of familiarity with the so-called "big brother movement" in Australia, which has been inaugurated to assist in the immigration of British youths into Australia, and by the provisions of which adult individuals of repute in various sections of the Commonwealth make themselves responsible for the welfare of young lads who are brought into the country and apprenticed to the larger ranches or stations.

A somewhat similar movement in New Zealand is being initiated according to recent news reports. In January the first party consisting of a dozen British boys went to New Zealand to become pupils at a private school at Camaru. The boys who accept such assisted passage must agree to remain in New Zealand for five years and to engage in farming after their school term of one or two years is completed. In experimenting with this plan of "immigration" New Zealand is attempting to govern the type of immigrant to her shores and particularly to attract the "public school type" which, when young enough, can be directed toward agricultural training and pursuits.

Canadian Immigration

The British Ministry of Labor has been seeking to stimulate the movement of British unemployed to Canada. Lectures, movies and traveling exhibitions throughout the distressed mining areas in England, have been used to encourage such migration. It is hoped that the movement of these men may fill a double purpose, to relieve the unemployment situation in Britain itself and to furnish harvesting labor for the Canadian farmers. A slow but steady movement is reported.

United States Immigration and the Negro

According to a Federated Press dispatch from Washington, in the *New Leader* of January 5, immigration restriction by the United States has created an "industrial vacuum" which the Negro is filling. "Not even the reluctance of the trade unions to admit him into membership has stopped his steady advance in status, in response to the opportunity offered by the shortage of the cheap white labor." This, according to the dispatch, was brought out at the National Interracial Conference, in December last, by Professor Niles Carpenter of the University of Buffalo.

Monroe Doctrine Discussion

At a meeting of the Foreign Policy Association of America in New York, on January 5, the Monroe Doctrine was debated. Professor Salvador de Madariaga of Oxford University characterized the doctrine as the most formidable obstacle to the peace of the world. Brigadier-General Charles H. Sherrill, on the contrary, described it as "the cornerstone of our foreign policy." Professor Madariaga's chief point was that while the doctrine may have served a useful purpose at the time of its inception, a century had elapsed to make of it an outworn instrument in a fundamentally changed world. From the point of view of the Latin-American nations, he declared that the doctrine and its application constitute a "unilateral principle" by which those nations' most important foreign policies would be determined without their consent. General Sherrill contended that it was vital to the United States to retain sole control over the application of the Monroe Doctrine.

Reflections

Editorial Opinion on the Pacific

JAPAN'S EXAMPLE FOR CHINA

From the *Kuo Min News Bulletin,* Nanking, January 2, 1929

Comparing the present military situation in China to the Shogunate system in Japan previous to the period of the Reformation at the ascension of Emperor Meiji, President Chiang Kai-shek, in a speech delivered at the Inauguration of the National Military Reorganization and Disbandment Conference, urged the country's foremost military leaders to follow the patriotic example of the Japanese Shoguns in surrendering their military authority to the Central Government for the cause of Unification and Centralization.

"Whenever we think of Japan," said President Chiang, "we cannot help feeling indignant against her aggressions at our expense. I need not remind you that there is no use in our feeling indignant; we must find out why Japan is so much stronger than we are and how Japan effected her reforms which have today made her one of the foremost countries in the world. The secret of Japan's success lies in her ability to unify and centralize her government power in building a sound foundation for her country."

President Chiang pointed out to his auditors that a comparison of the devotion of the Japanese feudal leaders to their Central Government since Emperor Meiji's reign with that of the Chinese military leaders since the Revolution in 1911 will suffice to explain why Japan progressed by leaps and bounds whereas China has become weaker and more disintegrated.

"Starting from Yuan Shih-kai, who personified the Peiyang spirit of militarism, our military leaders always aimed at personal ascendancy through militarism and feudalism, the territory of the Republic of China has always been regarded as being legitimate spoils for their personal armed contests. The minor military leaders soon followed the major militarists and formed cliques for their own benefits. Thus the confused situation became further confounded.

"At this juncture of our national unification," President Chiang continued, "the question we have to face courageously is whether we shall once more tread the beaten path of the Peiyang militarists or head for a new direction which has been pointed out to us by the shoguns of our neighbor. The former path will eventually lead us to destruction and extinction; and if we prefer to be militarists and counter-revolutionists, we might as well cut short all our pretenses. On the other hand, if we wish to lay a sound foundation for our nation, let us look to our worthy and patriotic Japanese counterparts and learn their methods of reform so as to preserve the glorious history of the Kuomintang as well as fulfil our duties as true Revolutionists. In the Japanese process, it was first necessary to suppress all feudal lords before, secondly, concentration of authority was possible. The third step was abolition of individual dictatorship over certain territorial divisions, and the fourth, the transformation of various feudal forces into a national army under the control of the Central Government. We have, I may say, accomplished the first two measures and the realization of the third and fourth steps is the aim and mission of the present Military Conference, that is to say, it is the duty of this Conference to devise military reorganization measures for our unification and the centralization of Government Authority."

OPTIMISM OVER CHINA

From the *Osaka Asahi*

Translated in the *Trans-Pacific,* January 12, 1929

The development of China's political situation in 1929 will depend considerably upon Japan's attitude. Optimism is the characteristic trait of America's China policy and that of Great Britain, though conservative in comparison, is yet optimistic to a considerable extent. Japan alone takes a pessimistic view of China's future and refuses to place confidence in the National Government.

Japan will have to adjust its China policy radically in order to improve relations with that nation. We regret that our leading statesmen are prone to formulate a China policy in expectation of the worst eventualities. We attribute the unsuccessful policy of the Tanaka Government to its pessimistic view of China. If it had recognized the main currents in the political world of that nation and undertaken to lead rather than obstruct them, the present difficulties could have been averted.

Let bygones be bygones; we should look to the future. The National Government has decided to hold a military conference to consider the reduction of armed forces. It has already demobilized 200,000 troops, and intends to increase the number by 600,000. The public doubts the power of the National Government to do so, but we are confident of its success. It is our earnest hope that our government will make due preparations for an improvement in our relations with China.

A question of greater moment is the third National meeting specified for March 15. It is an occasion that will test the statesmanship of the Nationalist leaders. If confidence in them is voted, the establishment of permanent peace will become hopeful; otherwise a political change will be inevitable. It is strange but true that some statesmen of Japan no longer undertake to support the Nationalist leaders and are still suspicious of the National Government. Japan must be ready to recognize that government and to cooperate with it.

WHAT IS THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE NEW TREATIES

From the *Journal de Geneve,* January 7, 1929

As we have said before, the treaties signed by the henceforth famous Foreign Minister, C. T. Wang, and the representatives of eight foreign nations are not, properly speaking, treaties of commerce and navigation; they are at the same time more and less than that, more, in that they abolish or look toward the abolition of those laws of exception and privilege which have placed China in a position of very real inferiority before the other powers; less, in that they are not more than a preface to more detailed treaties of commerce and of navigation.

The most-favored-nation-clause figures here, without doubt, as a recompense for the abolishment of extraterritoriality which the Chinese place above all else.

If one may believe the glamour of opinion and of the press in the foreign communities in China, this abandonment has seemed somewhat premature, in view of the actual state of the legislative system and, above all, of the personnel of the Chinese charged with its administration. But if one knows how to read between the lines of the articles and annexes to the treaties, one sees that this abandonment is far from being absolutely definite, since it is made contingent upon many things and since after all Italy, Belgium and the other countries which have subscribed to it are intrenched behind the attitude of the larger powers, on the subject.

Be that as it may, these treaties are, first of all, of a nature to flatter profoundly the self-respect of the Chinese, and consequently to give something of authority to the government which have concluded them; they are a tangible proof of the goodwill of the powers toward China; but they do not look to the bottom of the differences which exist between China and the treaty powers—far from it. On the part of the latter, they constitute a mark of confidence; it depends on none other than Chinese themselves, according to the manner in which they pursue their own reconstruction, to prepare a sequence to this preface by concluding treaties of commerce and navigation and by the liquidation of those redoubtable problems posed by the perpetual concessions and the lease holds.

CHINA'S FINANCIAL CRISIS

From the *North-China Herald,* January 19, 1929

For the third time in eight months Mr. T. V. Soong has memorialized the national government on the really appalling state of China's finances, each time with greater detail and urgency. Last May, in anticipation of Peking's approaching collapse, he asked that steps should be taken to frame two budgets directly the war should be over, one covering the military situation and the needs of disbandment; the other ordinary administrative charges. In August Mr. Soong addressed another memorandum to the abortive plenary session of the Kuomintang central executive committee. The third statement, presented to the disarmament conference now sitting, is, however, by far the most explicit and cogent of all. So it should be. As the presence of the "Big Five" in Nanking offers for the first time some possibility of reform, so also it calls for the plainest speaking. The outstanding fact of China's situation is that even if all the anticipated revenue could be realized, and if the army were cut down to fifty divisions and military expenditure limited to $192,000,000 annually, there must still remain a deficit of $60,000,000 unless the present system, or rather lack of system, can be radically changed.

Nothing could more vividly show how entirely the whole structure of centralised government has been shattered by the events of recent years than Mr. Soong's description of affairs. Even the estimate of national revenues at $497 millions is largely guesswork, as only four provinces make even passably accurate returns of their income to Nanking. To increase taxation is impossible. Warfare, drought, famine and other

catastrophes have reduced the country to such a pass that it can with difficulty shoulder the burdens it has actually to carry. Equally vain are the anticipations of a foreign loan, while China is still defaulting on some already raised. Besides, as Mr. Soong clearly shows, further borrowing is merely to accelerate the downward course to ruin. "How long can the government maintain this hand-to-mouth policy?" Mr. Soong asks. To avert otherwise certain bankruptcy only one course is possible. The Ministry of Finance must be given plenary control over all national revenues. It must have the right to put in its own collectors unquestioned and to dismiss the incompetents. It must be protected against military encroachments on the one hand, and, on the other, from attempts by provincial civilian officials to impose surtaxes on the national taxes. If this reform can be secured, he guarantees to meet all expenses, including those of disbandment, for which at present there is no provision, not only without additional taxation, but with relief of the people's present burdens. . . .

. . . We take it that all the leaders in China today are agreed that the army must be curtailed, that further warfare would be a wickedness beyond words and that the national finances and administration must be pulled together. We believe there is no doubt about this consensus of opinion among all the most prominent men and it is a hopeful sign. Against it is arrayed the deadweight of provincial insularities. So long now have the different provinces enjoyed the liberty to paddle their own canoe that, with the best will in the world, even the "Big Five" will find it hard to break them of the habit. . . . To many thinkers centralization as foreseen by Mr. Soong is an impossibility. Many people believe that the ultimate constitution for China is a series of regional governments, such as indeed existed in fact, if not in name, under the Viceroys. This system is, of course, against the present ideals of Nanking, but as a matter of practical politics it seems more workable in so huge and disparate a country as China. Two points, however, may be stressed. The facts of the situation as set out by the Minister of Finance cannot be evaded, and brook no delay. In the second place, whatever remedy is applied, there must be, as Mr. Soong warns his audience "an intervening period of privation and self-sacrifice." It is not only soldiers who must face disbandment and loss of emoluments, but thousands of bureaucrats and civilian hangers-on.

CHINA: THE NEW PHASE

From the *Commercial,* Manchester, January 3, 1909

Great Britain, and especially the British textile industries, are so intimately concerned in the recovery of the China market that there will be general satisfaction at the report that a Commercial Treaty with China was signed at Nanking on December 20. The treaty is the more welcome as there was last year some anxiety among business men lest the British government should unduly delay the negotiations for a treaty, the road for which had been cleared after the settlement of the Nanking episode last August. We ventured last October to suggest that although the writ of the Nationalist government did not run through the length and breadth of China, the time had gone by when the foreign powers could stand passively by until China had completely stabilized her domestic affairs. Domestic stability in China depends to an important degree upon financial reconstruction, which in its turn depends upon treaty or, in the first place, tariff revision. The vicious circle had to be broken somewhere. No one interested in the China market, therefore, will hesitate to acknowledge the handsome way in which the British government have accepted their responsibilities to British trade, for the new treaty not only accords the Nanking government full *de jure* recognition as the government of China, but confers complete national tariff autonomy upon China and upon both nations mutual most-favoured-nation treatment under internal and customs charges.

CHINA'S YEAR OF HOPE

From the *New York Times,* January 6, 1929

For the first time in a generation China faces the new year with prospects of good progress toward peace and stability. The days of extravagant hopes are passed. The bombast and immature boasts of the revolutionists have given way to the sober plans of the moderate elements for practical reconstruction. The meddlesome hand of Soviet Russia has been withdrawn. Great Britain has re-established her friendly influence. Even Japan, while still maintaining troops in Shantung, has failed to perform the many hampering acts which the anti-Japanese in China assured the world would choke Chinese nationalism. Manchuria, last stronghold of the anti-Nationalist factions in China, has at last accepted the Nationalist flag. China is therefore unified as never before and is free from the ravages of civil warfare.

. . . It is unwise to expect that there will not be new times of depression and unrest. The task is too stupendous to be accomplished without further incident or obstacle. A watching world hopes for the best but does not count upon too much too soon.

NATURAL RESOURCES

From the *Osaka Mainichi*, January 5, 1929

In an editorial discussing serious possibilities for alleviating the growing population pressure in Japan, in which consideration is given to birth-control, more intensive agriculture, emigration, industrialization and the handicaps attendant upon each, such as, in the last instance, lack of natural resources, the Osaka Mainichi English edition continues:

The only ray of hope, in our opinion, lies in the greater utilisation of other kinds of natural resources than those usually meant by that term. Our land surface is limited, the resources buried within the soil are also meager—we can never hope to have sufficient domestic supply of coal, iron, petroleum, or of agricultural crops.

But the progress of science indicates that there are other categories of resources whose supply does not necessarily depend upon the quality or extent of a country's land. Chemistry and Physics are making wonderful discoveries demonstrating how out of air we can derive various elements which can be converted into medicine, and fuel: how out of ordinary substances food of high nutritive value can be obtained through simple chemical process; how indeed the very substitutes of natural coal, iron, petrol can be procured through chemical synthesis. Biology again is suggesting boundless possibility in the utilisation of numerous living organisms for industrial purposes, of which artificial cultivation of pearls, raising of many species of fish by new methods of culture are conspicuous examples of successful commercial application.

The possibility of scientific utilisation of energy and matter that surround man's existence seems thus unlimited. We are not blessed in the supply of raw materials, but Providence has not been impartial: we have all the air, sunshine, and water that we can require to derive from them all the necessary elements for existence and growth. What we need is the brain to contrive scientific methods of their utilisation. Instead, then, of lamenting over the meagerness of natural resources, we should strive to reap the benefit ahead of others by recruiting the forces of boundless matter and energy into our glorious national survival.

THE GLOOM OF 1928

From the *Contemporary Review*, London, January, 1929

The year ends without relief to the melancholy which has characterised its diplomacy. No year since the Great War has given so little satisfaction in the retrospect. It is not only that the record is empty of achievement; its emptiness is doubly culpable because even a little idealism on the part of the French and British diplomatists would have ensured the successful accomplishment of something big and something valuable to mankind. The Kellogg Pact was stifled at its birth by the combined gaucherie of Whitehall and of the Quai d'Orsay. It is true that the Pact was signed; but the confidence and good feeling by which its success was to have been measured were crushed by Paris and London before they could grow. It is probably true that the world has the diplomatists it deserves, but that reflection brings little consolation to serious people.

THE MONROE DOCTRINE'S NEW PHASE

From the *New Republic*, New York, January 30, 1929

Misgivings in regard to the Monroe Doctrine do not arise out of the original interpretation. They arise out of the new bent given to the Doctrine by that great imperialist, Theodore Roosevelt. He argued that it was not just for Uncle Sam to keep Europe from jumping on Latin America's back and then allow Latin America to be naughty. When our little southern brothers did wrong we were under an obligation to spank them ourselves. Since then, it has been our policy to put down all revolution or disorder and prevent any confiscation which threatened to do damage not only to the interests of the United States but of Europe. In this wise have we become an international Sir Galahad. Whether we like it or not, the Monroe Doctrine has come to mean the "right" of the United States to police the western hemisphere—the "right" to wield the "Big Stick" for the supposed benefit of mankind. . . .

Although we may have winced under these attacks (of Latin-America), we still pay allegiance to Monroeism. Mr. Hughes made long and metaphysical speeches about it in 1923, and again at Princeton in his lectures last spring. We have gone so far as to reserve from the scope of our new arbitration treaties with Europe all questions arising out of the Monroe Doctrine. The Senate loudly proclaimed its adherence to this doctrine in the anti-war pact debate. Thus we are going through the old ritual. Nevertheless, the *New Republic* believes that the meaning of the ceremony has changed. While, of course, they do not officially say so, the American people have learned several profound lessons from the Nicaraguan adventure, from the Havana debates and from

the evident rapprochement between the Latin-American states and the League of Nations. They have learned that Mr. Morrow's methods of conciliation are more effective in advancing their interests than a policy of marine squads and bombing planes. A new doctrine is seeping through to the American people which says that if conditions ever become such that intervention in the Caribbean area is necessary, it should be only by means of a cooperative effort of the American powers. It is significant that both Mr. Hughes and Mr. Kellogg, remembering our unhappy experience in Tacna-Arica, told the Pan-American Conference that the United States would not accept the burden of settling the Chaco dispute, but that this should be done through a joint commission.

This psychological undermining of Roosevelt's interpretation of the Monroe Doctrine has been accompanied by several concrete acts of political importance. We have renounced war in the anti-war pact and we have promised to seek the settlement of disputes by pacific means. The Foreign Relations Committee last week made a report stating that the pact did not affect the Monroe Doctrine. It then proceeded to quote as "the true interpretation" of that Doctrine a statement by Professor Woolsey to the effect that when the Monroe Doctrine once "oversteps the principle of self-defense, reasonably interpreted, the right disappears and the policy is questionable because it then violates the rights of others." Here we have for the first time an official opinion that the Monroe Doctrine cannot go beyond the right of *reasonable* self-defense. No international tribunal would agree to the contention that the suppression of revolution in Latin-America is reasonable self-defense on the part of the United States. The fear of European intervention, which we now use as a pretext for our interferences, has disappeared from the standpoint of practical international politics; any such intervention would be rigidly controlled by the Covenant and the anti-war pact. Whether consciously or not, the Senate Committee has turned its back upon the Roosevelt brand of Monroeism. . . .

Finally, there is the remarkable statement made by President-elect Hoover in a recent interview with President Iroygen of Argentina. In this statement he declared that "There are no young, independent, sovereign nations; there are no older and younger brothers on the American continent." They are all "friendly and equal states of a great continent. . . . The fear of some persons concerning supposed intervention ideas of the United States are unfounded." Although Mr. Hoover later denied that he had criticized President Coolidge's policies, he did not repudiate this interview. Other Presidents have talked about the equality of the American states and then have, in lawyer-like fashion, twisted their words to suit new ambitions. But Mr. Hoover is not a lawyer; he talks the language of the engineers. We believe he means what he says. We hope he will post this interview on every door of the State and Navy Departments in Washington and the windows of the *Chicago Tribune* and of all the others who misinterpret the real spirit of the American people.

The anti-war pact, the Senate report, the Washington arbitration and conciliation agreements, and Mr. Hoover's non-intervention statements are strands in a web which is being wound around the Monroe Doctrine as President Roosevelt interpreted it and is slowly choking it to death. Washington may cling to the Doctrine as some of us cling to the dogma of the infallibility of the pope. The form may remain, but the meaning has changed. For our part we should like to see a government at Washington honest and courageous enough to admit officially that the Doctrine has now lost its Rooseveltian character; for it is only by such an admission that the feeling of smug superiority and paternalism which has been created in the United States because of this Doctrone can be removed.

THE ENIGMA OF THE UNITED STATES

From the *Manitoba Free Press,* January 1, 1929

The United States, by its huge bulk, its wealth, the immensity of its trade, its potential military and naval power, grows, year by year, in international importance; and it does this against a powerful national instinct which would have the United States cut itself aloof from the rest of the world. The conflict between its inescapable destiny and its reluctance and hesitations which find expression in shifting and uncertain national policies makes it an incalculable factor in international affairs; the other nations in their relationships with it never really know where "they are at," nor what the attitude of the great republic will be towards world issues if and when it finally succeeds in making up its mind. Reluctant as other nations may be to accept the situation, the cold, hard fact is that when Uncle Sam goes into an international meeting he, like McGregor, is head of the table no matter where he sits; and when he doesn't come in his absence creates more problems than could possibly arise through his presence.

A VITAL IDEA IN MIGRATION

From the *New Zealand Herald,* Auckland, January 5, 1929

The human side of Imperial migration is glimpsed in the enthusiasm for the Big Brother movement shown by its Australian official representative. This is a side too often forgotten. The Empire as a whole is envisaged as needing a redistribution of its people, and the relative requirements of its several countries are much discussed. But often, in the course of the argument, the fact that the migrants are flesh and blood, and not so many lifeless pawns on a chessboard, is overlooked. Even when it comes to the working of the Empire Settlement scheme, and the problem ceases to be one merely for figuring out on paper, this human side is in danger of neglect. The prospective migrant is approached as if he were an elector to be persuaded of the good of a policy, and if his approval is won, he is shipped as soon as is convenient, landed in his new country, given some advice and an opportunity, and left to make as good a job as he can of his personal share in Empire settlement. That, in truth, is all that many migrants ask, and it frequently proves enough to give them the fresh start in life they seek. But wherever this project of Empire building is taken in hand with thoroughness, its promoters are not content to act so. They are keenly aware that the problem is more than one of dividing so many acres among so many people, or of getting so many passengers so many miles in so many weeks, or of spending so many pounds on so many units of prospectively productive labour in a certain space somewhere on a map. "It is not linen you're wearing out, but human creatures' lives," wrote Tom Hood in his famous appeal for consideration of the human side of industry; and in Imperial migration it is no less essential to give that point of view much thought. The Big Brother movement, among other phases of social endeavour, has proved how well this can be done, and how well it is worth doing.

. . . The success of the scheme depends vitally on the measure in which this aspect is appreciated. What is needed is not the mere transfer of so many bread-winners—much less bread-eaters—from one part of the Empire to another, but rather the effective transplanting of so many men and women, and boys and girls, who will take kindly to the life in their new homes while remaining loyal to the flag honoured by the whole nation. There can be no truly efficient Empire-building without that. It has been proved by demonstration, in the outstanding instance of the United States, that to import population is one thing and to absorb it wholesomely in the national life is quite another. In the first task, the United States succeeded up to the full limit of expectation long ago; in the second, there has been much acknowledged failure, and success seems no nearer than ever. There is less risk of failure of this sort in the Empire Settlement scheme, in which the immigrants are of British stock; yet each part of the Empire has its own genius, more or less distinct, and consequently some risk of failure exists. Practical emphasis on the human aspect of migration will go far to obviate the risk.

NAIVE POLITICIANS

From the *Melbourne Argus,* December 21, 1928

United States politicians are sometimes delightfully naïve. Within only a few days of the Christmas recess there has been a great deal of wrangling in the Senate over whether the Kellogg Anti-War Pact or the "Fifteen Cruiser" Bill should be taken up first. It might have been thought that the fact that the Secretary of State is the proud author of the Pact would have carried some weight in the arguments, but apparently it did not. The "Big Navy" party would not be deflected from its aim, and in the end it won. There is thus the double anomaly of the country which proposed the outlawry of war being the last to endorse the signature of its minister, and also deliberately putting itself in this position because it prefers first to give its sanction to the construction of fifteen 10,000-ton cruisers armed with eight-inch guns and an aeroplane-carrier that will "lick creation." But things are not as bad as they seem to be at first sight. When the "Big Navyites" have completed their victory no doubt they will lend a hand in having the Pact ratified, and do it with good will. Having made the country secure, they will be ready to do something to ensure peace. It may be ingenuous, but it is human nature.

THE PACIFIC

From the *Journal de Geneve,* January 3, 1929

More and more the center of international relations is passing from Europe to other continents. It is by an optical illusion due to proximity that European affairs seem to us of such particular importance. The greatest events of the year 1928 occurred in China and America.—Wm. Martin, in the preface to his survey of International Relations for 1928.

Books of the Pacific

NIPPON SHINDO RON or
The National Ideals of the Japanese People
By Yutaka Hibino, LL. B.
Translated by A. P. McKenzie, M. C., M. A.
Cambridge University Press, London, 1928. 7s 6d

In Japan, as in some other countries, there is no lack of men who delight in boasting of the real or imaginary superiority of the cultural elements in their possession. These men are intoxicated by their pride and they are totally or partially blind to the historical facts of the past, and to the social, political and industrial realities of the present. They are ready to ignore any facts that tend to contradict their pre-conceived ideas. They do not hesitate to call persons entertaining opinions different from their own by names that are beyond the boundary of the polite etiquette of their country.

I am afraid that the original author of the present booklet is rather inclined to belong to the above category of moralists in Japan. Dissatisfied with the common words "Rinri" (ethical principles) and "Shushin" (moral culture) used officially in educational circles, he proposes to use a word coined by himself, "Shindo", which is made to signify "The Way of the Subject," i.e. the "Way to be followed by the Subjects of the Japanese Emperor." Hence the title of the present volume. He maintains that the Way, which from the dawn of our history has been the chief object of our aspirations, the object towards which all our tendencies and habits point, the Way which each subject must follow, is nothing less than loyalty itself.

The author's central idea is that the Japanese morality is unique, that the foundation of morals in Japan is different from that in other countries, that this foundation is nothing less than loyalty itself, and that other than loyalty there is no way for the Japanese people to follow. To him, the mutual obligations of children and parents, of relatives, of husband and wife, the duties of friendship and human brotherhood are all practical means for manifesting, accomplishing, and fulfilling the central obligation of loyalty to the Emperor.

Starting from this pre-conceived idea, he proceeds to explain and expound to his students (he is the founder of a commercial school in Nagoya and has been principal of the first middle school in the same city) the Imperial Rescript on Education first promulgated in 1890. The object of the translator in making this book accessible to the Western reader seems to lie in the interest to the student of Japanese political and social history in seeking the cause of the phenomenal success attained by the Japanese nation in passing through so many or such radical changes in so short a space of time.

To the reviewer, it is doubtful whether the reader can find in this book any key to the secrets of the national upheaval of Japan in the last sixty years. The reader will, however, easily find that the work is a booklet of xxxviii plus 176 pages repeating monotonously chapter after chapter, much to the amusement of some and the great shock of others, such ideas as the following:

"It seems to me that there is no question as to whether the people of Japan should observe either a foreign, an eastern, or a universal system of ethics. We have our own peculiar system which is adapted to the Japanese people." (p. 3)

"Let us hereafter abandon the contention that there is a universal set of ethical principles in the world. I believe that there are different sets of ethical principles peculiar to orient and occident. I believe further that there is a special set of ethical principles applicable only to Japan." (p. 4)

"To serve the Emperor with single-hearted loyalty and to sacrifice one's self courageously for the public good, are the natural duties of the Japanese subject. They are the superlative treasures of the Japanese subject by reason of which he rises superior to all foreign peoples." (p. 7)

"The parallel cultivation of the arts of learning and of war will produce a strong and vigorous state. Over-emphasis of one art to the detriment of the other must inevitably lead to overthrow and downfall." (p. 12)

"How can the theories and national ideals of foreign countries, whose histories are an unending record of political and social vicissitudes, alternate mutual conquests, and the rise and fall of dynasties, be applied to this Empire whose development and history are utterly unique?" (p. 15)

"Among all these nations of the earth what people is there that is possessed of so uniquely different a history? What nation stands aloft and superior to all the rest of the world fulfilling its destiny with calm dignity upon the shores of the Pacific? How proudly we reply, the Empire of Japan!" (p. 152)

It is clear, however, that the author was conscious that these efflorescences of self-glorification rooted in blind and arbitrary dogmatizations of historical facts and social realities were not shared by many of his compatriots. Witness the sentence: "When it comes to the question of cultivating, advancing, and practising this loyalty which is solely the possession of the Japanese nation and the essential element in 'Shindo' I regret exceedingly that my own ideals and the present tendencies are radically opposed." (p. 6)

The 3rd edition of the original work appeared in 1920 and the present English translation bears the date of 1928. —Rokuro Nakaseko.

REPORT OF THE INTERNATIONAL MISSIONARY COUNCIL, Jerusalem, March 24–April 8, 1928—8 vols. International Missionary Council, London and New York*

Tremendous changes have been going on in the so-called mission lands within recent decades. Events of scarcely less significance have happened in Europe and America. What these changes will mean for the world-wide outreach of Christianity is forecast and in part delineated in the eight volumes which compose the report of the enlarged meeting of the International Missionary Council held at Jerusalem at Easter time, 1928.

It is perhaps well to have in mind at the outset the stupendous size of the enterprise represented at the Jerusalem Conference. Protestant missions expend some $50,000,000 a year for their work which is carried on by approximately 29,000 workers. Besides the missionaries there are some ten million Christian converts scattered over five continents and in most of the islands of the globe. A great number of orphanages, scores of colleges, tens of thousands of primary and secondary schools, hundreds of hospitals, which, besides being centers for the relief of suffering, are also sources from which go out yearly thousands of trained native doctors and nurses. Besides these forms of service there are literary, social, recreational and other activities on an extensive scale. From the standpoint of

* Report of the enlarged meeting of the International Missionary Council, held at Jerusalem, March 24–April 8, 1928, in eight volumes as follows: Volume I. The Christian Life and Message in Relation to Non-Christian Systems of Thought and Life. II. Religious Education. III. The Relation Between the Younger and the Older Churches. IV. The Christian Mission in the Light of Race Conflict. V. The Christian Mission in Relation to Industrial Problems. VI. The Christian Mission in Relation to Rural Problems. VII. International Missionary Cooperation. VIII. Addresses on General Subjects. May be obtained from the International Missionary Council at 419 Fourth Ave., New York City, or 2 Eaton Gate, S. W. 1, London.

outreach this consultative assembly on the Mount of Olives demands thoughtful consideration.

The conceivers of the Jerusalem conference had before them an important precedent in the so-called "World Missionary Conference, 1910," which was called together "to consider missionary problems in relation to the non-Christian world." The 1910 conference was the first international missionary conference constituted for the purpose of deliberation. Other conferences (not very carefully worked out as to representation) had been mainly for popular demonstration of the strength of the missionary enterprise. The calling committee for the 1910 conference at Edinburgh defined its field of discussion as "the most urgent and vital problems confronting the Church in prosecuting" its missionary work among non-Christian peoples (though setting out to avoid discussion of all questions involving any ecclesiastical or doctrinal opinions on which those taking part differed). It will be instructive to make some comparisons between 1910 and 1928 in view of these urgent and vital problems, as well as in certain other respects. Space limitations prevent anything like an exhaustive comparison and analysis.

For the 1910 conference eight commissions were constituted almost two years before to carry on the following inquiries: (1) Carrying the Gospel to all the non-Christian world; (2) the Church in the mission field; (3) Education in relation to the Christianization of national life; (4) The missionary message in relation to non-Christian religions; (5) The preparation of missionaries; (6) The home base of missions; (7) Missions and government; (8) Cooperation and the promotion of unity. Later special arrangements were made for adding a sectional conference for discussion of special questions relating to medical missions.

For the 1928 conference, after careful and sustained inquiries had been carried on in all countries as to the most pressing problems demanding counsel on a world-scale, specialists in the various fields wrote monographs based on a considerable amount of research. These were distributed to all the delegates before starting for Jerusalem. For comparison the list of titles for these advance studies is instructive. (1) The Christian life and message in relation to non-Christian systems (eight monographs on Islam, Hinduism, etc., including one on "Christianity and Secular Civilization" and another on "Our Christian Task in a Materialistic World"). (2) Religious Education. (3) Two on the relation between the younger and older churches. (4) The Christian mission in the light of race conflict (three monographs studying the black-white problem in the United States, the black-white problem in South Africa, and the Occidental-Oriental problem on the Pacific Coast of North America). (5) Christianity and the growth of industrialism in Asia and Africa. (6) The Christian mission in relation to rural areas. (7) The future of international missionary cooperation. (8) The unfinished evangelistic task.

These monographs represent, by their outlook, presuppositions and terminology, a distinct advance in the direction of appreciation of values in non-Christian systems, eagerness for full and frank cooperation with the nationals of the so-called mission lands, a wholesome recognition that the spiritual conflict is along a world front and is not an engagement between the "Christian West" and the "heathen East," a clear-cut acknowledgment of the necessity for a complete synthesis of the social and the personal implications of the Christian Gospel, and a desire to integrate in the discussions the expert knowledge of specialists. What the monographs illustrate in these directions the conference in its organization, method and

discussions corroborated. Thus, whereas at Edinburgh in 1910 there were but ten nationals from countries designated as mission lands out of a total number of delegates of 1356, at Jerusalem there were fifty out of two hundred delegates (not including the coöpted experts). These nationals were there on a parity with the other delegates. Experts like R. H. Tawney of the Department of Economics of London University, Harold Grimshaw of the International Labour Office, and perhaps the world's leading expert on native labor—Professor W. E. Hocking of Harvard—were present to assist in formulating the findings.

The eight volumes of the report of the Jerusalem conference are made up of the monographs, in some cases revised or supplemented by the authors after the conference discussions, plus digests of the discussions in the plenary sessions, plus the findings as worked out in the sectional meetings and later discussed and adopted by the whole conference. Thus the reader is able to discover, in an uniquely interesting and valuable way, the position of the best scholarship, the attitudes and opinions of missionaries and nationals, and something of a consensus of the judgment of missionary leaders in regard to moot questions in the field of missions in the broad social as well as the personal religious sense of the term.

Thus, for example, volume one on The Christian Message reveals the apprehension felt by members of the conference (particularly by Westerners) that the authors of the monographs on other religions tended towards syncretism (a "patchwork religion") in their efforts to point out and appreciate the values in these systems. The discussion and the Council's statement, subsequently formulated and unanimously accepted, sets forth the missionary motive and the content of the message in terms of an uniqueness in Christianity not relative but absolute and indicates to what degree they accept values to be found in other systems. The impression one gets from the digests of the discussions is that there was inadequate time to come to real grips with the fundamental issues. The spirit of the discussions, however, represents a distinct advance towards the Christian ideal of respect for the opinions and experience and traditions of other religious groups. The conference was dealing with extremely perplexing questions, and the mere fact that they could be discussed in a frank and friendly manner is indicative of an enormous change in the temper and mind of missionaries and administrators. Dr. Fleming, in his recent book entitled "Attitudes Toward Other Faiths," has explored the same fields and set forth a great many realistic and baffling situations involving new relationships which can only be worked out by patient experimentation.

Volumes four and five of the Report, respectively, entitled "The Christian Mission in the Light of Race Conflict" and "The Christian Mission in Relation to Industrial Problems," are of particular value to those who are looking forward to the Kyoto conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations. In the former we have access to an unusually frank exposition of race conflicts without race bitterness. Discussions by specialists, such as Mr. Grimshaw on "Industrial Revolution Among Primitive Peoples," Mr. Tawney on "Christianity in an Industrial Civilization" and Bishop McConnell on "The Christian Approach to Industrial Problems," make this volume unusually helpful. Besides these papers, there is an historical sketch of eighty-four pages very carefully set forth by the Rev. William Paton, secretary of the International Missionary Council, and a suggestive treatise on "Missions and Economics in Latin America," by S. G. Inman, well-known authority. The volume concludes with the Council's public statement of eleven pages on "The Christian Mission in Relation to Industrial

Problems in Asia and Africa." This statement was worked out by a sectional meeting and was adopted after discussion and amendment. It contains a plan for the establishment of a Bureau of Social and Economic Research and Information in connection with the International Missionary Council. —G.R.W.

AN AUSTRALIAN LOOKS AT AMERICA
By Hugh Grant Adam
George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., 1928

The reviewer once received a letter from a former student dealing faithfully with a manuscript submitted for his criticism. More in sorrow than in anger the letter concluded that "if I don't tell you these things no one else will." Mr. Adam's book at once brought back the memory of this letter. No recent critic of America—British, French, German or any other—has been quite as faithfully candid as this Scotch-Australian working journalist who, with the typical distrust of a working reporter for statistics and theory, has sought for himself first-hand information on the human aspects of American industry. Mr. Adam is an associate editor of the Melbourne Argus which no one would accuse of being a radical journal, but he is thoroughly imbued with the Australian acceptance of trade unionism and the regulation of labour conditions by the State. It is not surprising, therefore, to find that many aspects of American industry come under his severe criticism. As one of the journalists accompanying the Australian Industrial Mission he had ample opportunities for his observations. He must have been a disconcerting visitor to talk to:

"My neighbour at the table turned to me and asked, 'Don't you think we boost ourselves too much?'

"I said I did.

"He became silent and I was sorry that the impulse to be frank had caused me to hurt his feelings.

"Soon, however, he turned to me again and enquired quite brightly, 'How do you like our little hotel?'

" 'It is a nice little hotel,' I replied.

" 'Yes,' he said, 'You won't find a better hotel between here and New York.' "

It would be wrong to conclude from such an extract that Mr. Adam was either crude or discourteous. He was merely an experienced, rather disillusioned, and disconcertingly honest journalist looking for the real facts and unwilling to accept boost or propaganda. High wages he didn't find. By comparison with Australia he concludes that America is a "low-wage country."

The Scot in him comes out in a final discussion of instalment buying.

"The household is committed to a standard of living that is just out of reach of the weekly wage, and, as a consequence, the wife seeks a job in the factory or the shop to help their finances out.

"Instead of saying that the American worker has a high standard of living, it is nearer the truth to say that he has a high standard of spending. It is made easy for him to gratify every passing want. But is it comfort to have a player piano and be unable to pay the grocer's bill?"

As an essay in debunking, this book is excellent. Mr. Adam has "met before" all the Chamber of Commerce and employment welfare boosts. When he really finds an excellent example of welfare work he asks the same question as Agathon asks in "Plato's American Republic" when Socrates informs him that there are over a hundred million Americans—"Why?"—and often finds an excellent reason. He is thoroughly convinced that the

majority of workers in America are worse off, have less steady employment, lower wages, and less desirable working conditions than their Australian fellows.

Some of the most illuminating sections of his book deal with American trade unionism as he saw it. It is an intriguing situation to dwell upon. Little more than ten years ago Australian unionism was much impressed with the philosophy which the Industrial Workers of the World developed in Chicago's Hobohemia. As immigration restriction steadily tightens the ultra-conservative American Federation of Labour sees its "big chance." Its President talked to Mr. Adam in some detail on the point.

"The new immigration laws mean everything to us. They give us our big chance. Large employers of labour are going to fight to have the restrictions removed. They will never be removed. On the contrary they will be tightened. In time, we are going to unionize the whole of labour in America. That means there is going to be plenty of trouble in the next twenty years, but all our plans are laid for the fight."

It would be interesting if, in the course of the fight, Australian labour, which is already producing encyclopedias of Marxism as well as practical illustrations of fighting tactics, should return America's gift, say by introducing its "One Big Union" idea into the United States.

One's only regret is that this book has no companion volume. "An American looks at Australia" not by a professor but by a good hard-bitten journalist, dealing faithfully with Australian trade unions and labour troubles, government borrowing and state socialism, would be excellent reading. Or perhaps a Canadian might do the job better. A New Zealander would revel in it but anything he said would be put down to insular prejudice and a superiority-complex. In the meantime, since neighbourly criticism is in fashion, it is perhaps as well to start with America, which is large and tolerant and rather likes the attention. —J.B.C.

L'ENIGME CHINOISE
By Comte Sforza
Payot, Paris, 1928

L'Enigme Chinoise is something of an oasis in the desert of China books through which, these days, the reviewer must plod his punctilious way. It does not provide a new subject, but it does provide a refreshing treatment and point of view. The present volume was written in French for a Continental public, but it presents the type of careful thinking—unheated and detached—which one could wish to see made available as well for English-reading publics on either side of the Atlantic.

Count Sforza is an informed man. He was attached to the Italian Legation in Peking when the imperial Tzu-Hsi still received the "trembling" obeisances of the foreign envoys. He was Italian minister to China from 1911 to 1915 and witnessed the incredible changes of those days—the fall of Empire, the growth of foreign prestige and solidarity in China, even the first cracking of that solidarity in 1914 when for the first time a foreign power (Germany) suffered indignities at Chinese hands while the other powers looked on, unheeding that they watched the first match touched to an "anti-foreign" conflagration. (It has been our privilege to recognize a counterpart in the complacent attitude of the Powers during the more recent looting of the Russian Embassy at Peking.) Count Sforza has likewise made subsequent trips to China, and in all his experience there has not been content with the usual knowledge of the diplomat but has made it his business to become acquainted with the underlying China that is pulsing and real.

Yet with all this he tells us in his preface that because of the millions of books written about China and the comparative valuelessness of all but twenty or so of that number, he has for these many years resisted the demands of editors for another book "on China." The present volume appears, he says, only in order to set forth sincerely and without bias the impressions gained on his 1927 voyage.

The volume is just what it purports to be. Not a history, not an "interpretation," but just a slim book of 185 pages of new impressions built upon a solid but unobtrusive foundation of old knowledge. And in the background you are constantly being reminded of a statement contained in the author's preface: "In Europe all those who fear a revolution, desire a revolution, or pretend to have effected one, be it white or red, have this in common: that in thinking constantly of the Russian revolution either to oppose it or to copy, they have come to forget that it is possible for other revolutions to develop, with ends other than 'the dictatorship of the proletariat,'" (p. 9). Such a development he has witnessed in China.

For so slim a volume, Count Sforza has been unusually comprehensive; although he in all cases prefers to be allusive rather than exhaustive. Yet, however allusive, he never shirks the forthright phrase. As when, in the chapter on "Appearances and Realities of the 'Awakening,'" he makes reference to the sentiments which, he says, the ardent "die hards" of the Shanghai clubs are wont to utter loudly to one another during that most "sincere hour" of the cocktail or the highball: "that two or three European divisions, at most two or three, could settle matters in China without striking a blow, and that the most illustrious of the Tuchuns would fall in terror before them like the simplest coolies." But, he says, if true, what next? "A thumb-pressure upon a rubber ball would leave traces quite as durable. No, something would remain: rancour and hate" (p. 19).

And some pages further on he has the supreme courage to entitle a chapter "The Truth About Shanghai"! Presumptious as that may sound, he yet manages to compress within nine small pages a good many of the conflicting facts about that astonishing city—a city which, for the rest of the world, is symbolic rather than merely municipal. For this city he uses some interesting characterizations:

"In the whole of the great Yangtze Valley (the backbone, the very substance, in fact, of China) that which counts is Shanghai. City without roots, without soul, city to which not one of its citizens wishes to return to die—*here* all that counts is the dollar. Every consideration—political, moral, social—gives way to self-interest. Not even that: for self-interest is a reality, sharp and true, which takes on something of breadth and even of nobility when it plans far enough ahead. But in Shanghai, the city in which no one wishes to grow old, from which one departs as soon as his fortune is made, there is nothing but selfishness without ideals, for it is the selfishness of the immediate present" (p. 39). These are hard words, and he uses even harder as the chapter progresses; words which may be merited only in part or which may be wholly merited only amongst certain sections of the population; yet they form one very necessary element in this painting of a composit "truth." And they form, to the mind of the author, the key to the seeming inconsistency to which he points—the spectacle of the most fanatic foreign "Sun Yat-sen enthusiasts" of 1911 becoming "partisans of an expedition of vengeance 28 years after (the Boxer trouble of) 1900 which would impose upon China the silence of inactivity for a dozen years: not more, for twelve years is ample for their purposes, provided the rubber 'boom' renews itself" (p. 40).

In discussing what may be the outcome of the antiquated state of mind that exists still in Shanghai, the author advances the possibility that if racial compromises are not made, and in spite of the fact that the port is China's strongest commercial center, the Chinese may "permit themselves the luxury of killing it off," when power comes their way. He cites what happened to Yokohama's industrial life: "the Japanese simply transported it off to the thoroughly Japanese town of Osaka" when foreign influence prevailed too strongly in the former port.

In a later chapter dealing with the League of Nations and its China relationships, the author expresses the belief that the famous article 19 of the Covenant, which has to do with the reëxamination of treaties rendered inapplicable by the course of events, "seems to have been written for the China of today" (p. 49), yet at the time of writing—in 1928—he believed that no group in China desired the close scrutiny which such an international examination would entail. Also he believes that such an examination would be misunderstood at Washington, and that it is to the League's most immediate interest not to risk such misinterpretation. After all, he says, China is on the shore of the Pacific, and is it to be conceived that Japan would feel differently in such a matter than the United States indubitably would regarding the possible activities of an organization, largely European, in, say, the Argentine? (p. 5). Obviously the author envisages for the League a "hands off" policy in the Pacific for some time to come.

Count Sforza is perhaps most interesting in his chapters dealing with industrial conditions. He knows the "ancient and honorable principles" of labor in China, and in contrasting the paternalistic atmosphere of the old workshops with that of modern "efficiency" factories he puts his finger on one of the simplest and yet most potent causes of labor unrest. This is best stated in the following sidelights, the first on a Japanese filature, the second on a Chinese:

"In the Japanese filature wages are good, working hours are not excessive for the Far East. I traversed the work galleries accompanied by a Japanese inspector; the thousands of young Chinese girls held themselves rigid and mute, as on parade, their eyes fixed on their machines. Such were the orders.

"In the Chinese filature, where certainly every one was more poorly paid and where everything was dirty, a sort of gaiety reigned among the workers, there were even pleasantries about the enormous height of the foreign devil who walked past them between two diminutive Cantonese directors. . . . This is all that remains—little enough—of the bonhomie of the old Chinese industry" (p. 55). Yet it is enough to cause us less astonishment over the type of demands prevalent among Chinese strikers, who seek first of all "to be treated as human beings and not as machines." These demands, submitted to foreign mill owners during the author's 1927 visit to Shanghai, listed as "non-compromise essentials" the following: "more courteous treatment from supervisors; the right to talk to each other during their work. The demands for higher wages and shorter working hours were among those for which the strike committee was authorized to negotiate. It is well to remember these facts if one wishes to understand the labor problem in China" (p. 54).

The chapters on the Customs, Salt and Postal services are necessarily in arrears of the latest developments, but they constitute a sound analysis of a situation whereby the management of essential revenues by foreigners became necessary. He believes that this foreign management alone served to safeguard these revenues during the years of military turmoil and political chaos just past, but adds that, particularly in the Customs Service, it would have

been wiser to forestall Chinese criticism by an earlier opening of responsible positions to Chinese incumbents, "even if it were certain that a European would serve better" (p. 67). And later: "The personal integrity of Hart and his successors is beyond question. It is the system which can be incriminated, an absolute and sovereign system operating in a country where public opinion is arousing itself. There one comes across grave errors in psychology" (p. 68). In a later chapter he deals with the salt revenue become a pawn between rival generals.

There are three chapters devoted to missions in China, one to the crisis in Protestant missions, one to Catholic, and one to the "Religious Protectorate." Count Sforza has no faith in the ultimate Christianization of China. For one thing, there is no Christian solidarity, comparable, for instance, to that operative among Mohammedans. The only hope he foresees for the survival of the Catholic church as already established in China lies in the withdrawal of foreign administration: "leave the Chinese church in the hands of national elements, so that popular sentiment may become favorable to Catholicism when the signs which mark it as a foreign religion begin to disappear" (p. 95). Protestantism, in spite of the new preponderance of Americans in the China mission field and the consequent alteration in technique, has, he considers, suffered more of late than Catholicism in China, ostensibly because it has become enveloped in the general anti-British hatred of recent years; yet the author finds a deeper reason, "founded in psychological law . . ." namely that "one detests above all those who have promised much and given little. This is the case with the Protestant missions" (p. 83).

Before discussing in detail the operations of several foreign powers in China (Britain, Germany, Russia and Japan) the author permits himself one last chapter of generality and surmise—"The Empire as a Chinese Concept." Here he admits that "it is difficult for us to think other than as Europeans—and according as we think European-wise about things Chinese we are certain to deceive ourselves. . . ." (p. 104); yet he concludes by making what one might call a provisional prophesy. "The empire was an idol. The idol has fallen into the mire. Contrary to what happens in Europe, where never has a fallen monarchy been restored to life, it is possible that the empire might one day be revived in China.

"But this would not be, certainly, the work of those who have witnessed the idol honored and dishonored in turn. It will be for a later generation to decide." —E.G.

THE SOUL OF CHINA
By Richard Wilhelm
Harcourt Brace & Co., New York, 1928. G$3.75

IN CHINA
By Abel Bonnard
G. Routledge & Sons, London, 1926

CHINA'S MILLIONS
By Anne Louise Strong
Coward-McCann, New York, 1928. G$4.00

It is not easy to appraise these three books of German, French and American authorship under a single review. Only the first two are truly comparable in their purpose. They aim at presenting a composite and inclusive picture of China and Chinese life in all its manifestations. It must be conceded that this difficult end has been achieved fairly well. The third book is of a very different calibre. In the first place it would be better described as two books, and, indeed, the author has divided it into two distinct sections which have little to connect them. One is entitled "Mass

Revolt in Central China" and the other "The Trail Across China's North-West," and both are thoroughly journalistic accounts of interesting, important but quite limited facets of Chinese life. This book is well illustrated with photographs.

As the title of the division indicates, the first half of "China's Millions" is, according to the notice on the book cover, "a graphic report" of what the author saw and heard during 1927 in the war zone around Hankow, and of the political and social revolution going on in central China. The theme of this part is confined mainly to the provinces of Hunan and Hupeh. One may well demur, however, at accepting the remainder of the notice which calls it a "brilliant social analysis." It is difficult to find traces of anything worthy of the name of analysis of the situation, other than the slight selection and arrangement necessary to give coherence and journalistic appeal to what otherwise might have been a very confused mass of anecdotes and incidents. Impressions of various phases of the labour movement in central China, the activities of the generals about Hankow, the workings of the revolution and the nationalist sentiment among the peasants of the central provinces, the part played by Chinese women in the revolution: these are the highlights of a graphic picture of one section of China in 1927. The second division is a good travel story of the usual beguiling and superficial type. Here the author describes an automobile journey which she made in company with a number of Russians (including the Soviet Representative, Borodin) through North-West China and Mongolia into Siberia. It is noticeable throughout the book that the writer shows considerable sympathy for the regime of the Soviet. As a good story, the book can be recommended; as a picture and report of one of China's problems it has some value; as a source from which to draw conclusions on the trend of Chinese life and thought it is incomplete and dangerous.

The first two books have much material in common and show many similarities in their construction. Both are products of no small literary ability; they come from men with a gift of sympathetic observation, possessed of a happy quality of apt and compelling description, critics of catholic outlook and seasoned judgment. Yet with these likenesses it is desirable to point out a distinction which is due not only to nationality. "In China" is an account of a visitor to China in 1920, an unusually acute and appreciative type of visitor admittedly, but none the less, a visitor. Wilhelm's book, on the other hand, is the work of a man who has known China and her people intimately for the past 25 years. As he says in his preface: "I saw old China which seemed destined to last for centuries upon centuries. I witnessed the collapse and saw new life budding from the ruins." It is thus hardly surprising that the German book attains more closely to its objective of presenting "the soul of China" than the other which is primarily the impression of a man "in China," but which does also give some suggestion of the spirit of China.

In the first book, Wilhelm has given a well-rounded and mature portrayal of all aspects of Chinese life. While of course such a book cannot provide all the detailed information necessary for the student of any special problem of China, it will be found that a remarkable amount of reliable information and sane judgment is contained here on political, social, economic, cultural and international matters. The information is not all set out in logical classification but is often woven into the substance of the book with a wealth of anecdote, of legend and ancient history. Yet again it is enlivened by illuminating sketches of the varied forms of human activ-

ity in many departments of China's life, alternating with delightful pictures of old-world China, of temples, gardens, feasts and holy mountains. One gathers the impression more and more as one reads that here is an author who has become really steeped in the very essence of China. The book does truly radiate a distinctive, not to say unique atmosphere.

It is somewhat unfair to single out any one portion of the work for praise or censure, but the chapter on "Missionaries in China" seems to demand notice. Wilhelm candidly admits and discusses the defects and problems of missionary enterprise in a highly cultured nation. The following statement coming from one who has done extensive missionary work in China, seems significant: "A church in the midst of a cultured nation can only constitute itself: it cannot stand under the guidance of an alien nation without being itself condemned to inferiority. I never christened anyone in China and have therefore perhaps come closer into touch with the nature of the people. Moreover, I have never suffered from conflicts arising from the adherence of undesirable converts." Wilhelm is none the less a Christian, but he clearly sees the difficulties that loom up when "people so often mix up civilisation and religion. The cultivated section of the Chinese population regarded it as presumptuous that the missionaries, guests upon Chinese soil, did not hesitate to drag into the dust what was precious to the souls of the people as its highest and holiest possession, and that they did so without any provocation."

The subject of missions gives a good point of comparison with Bonnard's book, which also has a little space devoted to this question. It also indicates one of the main grounds of criticism against "In China." The French author deals with what is surely an important matter in China, solely by describing the several Catholic missions and Jesuit schools which he visited. Here as in much of his book there is little or no attempt at analysis or discussion of any major Chinese question as a problem. Unfortunately, too, the few attempts at appraisal or judgment of Chinese affairs are made in an atmosphere of enthusiastic French patriotism, which tends to lessen the worth of the opinion of an otherwise able writer. The sterling qualities of the French naval officers and consular agents, the worth of the Jesuit teachers, the glories of French civilisation and philosophy are all paraded. "They saw that the victories of the Entente had been obtained under French auspices everywhere and could be referred back to the command of our generals; . . . They were sure of their opinion that it was our race that had saved the world by its simple heroism under the sun of glory which has never set upon the French horizon." One can hardly commend such naïve expressions of patriotism in a book which is expected to receive any international appreciation.

A second comparison of some interest is on the matter of the introduction of western industrialism into China. Neither author deals with the technical or even the economic aspects of this problem, but both express an opinion. Wilhelm while admitting the profound and generally deplorable results of the means by which industrialism has been introduced, is quite emphatic that China "has travelled along the road of accepting the mechanical culture of Europe too far to leave room for any possibility of retracing her steps," and then indicates some of the forces that may be utilised to save China from all the phases of capitalistic industrialism in the West. Bonnard, on the other hand, merely confines himself to an attack (in rather short-sighted fashion, forgetting the possible compulsion of necessity) upon the more obvious cultural evils of industrialism.

Even through the veil of translation one can discern notable differences of style. It is probable that both books would appear better in their original languages; but even translated, the clarity, conciseness and concrete description of the French author with his frank display of feelings and prejudices, contrasts markedly with the philosophic vagueness and profound feeling of the German with his embracing and balanced judgments. If only because of his powers of abstraction (which are not, however, such as to obscure or mar the interest of the description), one feels that Wilhelm has the subtler appreciation of the real soul of China. The one slight criticism that may be levelled against him is that occasionally he scarcely does justice to the western powers in China in his support of the Chinese cause. How far the differences brought out in these few comparisons between the two books can be ascribed to differences in national temperament, is an interesting but highly uncertain piece of speculation. Both works are to be recommended; the German one very warmly indeed.

—W. L. H.

REPORT OF THE IMPERIAL AGRICULTURAL RESEARCH CONFERENCE, 1927
His Majesty's Stationery Office, London, 1928. 1s 5d postpaid

This volume contains the report and a summary of the recommendations made by the conference on imperial agricultural research held in England under the auspices of the British Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries.

The important part of the book is contained in the report proper of some 50 pages. In it, under such headings as: Veterinary Science, Animal Nutrition, Soils and Fertilisers, Plant Breeding, Entomology, Preservation and Transport, Agricultural Economics, is a noteworthy collection of recommendations and information. The material thus summarised should be of value in the development of agricultural research both in the British Empire and in other nations. Especially worthy of attention is Appendix C at the end of the book, which gives a list of the documents prepared for the conference. These include a number of papers relating to agricultural research in Canada, Australia and New Zealand. —W.L.H.

MIGRATION LAWS AND TREATIES, VOL. II
International Labour Office, Geneva, 1928

This second volume of a series of three is devoted to a study of immigration laws and regulations. "The phenomena studied in Vol. I from the point of view of the country of emigration are now studied from the point of view of the country of destination. After consideration of general data relating to the definition of the immigrant, the following are studied in turn: provisions limiting freedom of immigration, public and private organisations entrusted with the supervision or development of immigration, arrangements for the instruction and preparation of immigrants, the recruitment and employment of foreign workers, reception of immigrants, their protection during the journey and in the country which receives them, the position in which they are generally placed during their stay, and their repatriation. Moreover, a chapter is devoted to the special provisions governing continental immigration."

The volume is constructed in a very convenient form. Each section besides setting out the actual regulations enforced by the various countries, is prefaced by a short lucid statement covering the whole field of the section. These introductory surveys should be of great value for consultation. Chapter I in particular has four pages given over to an account of the modification of immigration policies that has come about in recent years, as a result of new social and economic conditions. Considerations of a patriotic, eugenic, economic, and political nature have all contributed to the world-wide growth of restriction upon immigration. —W. L. H.

FACTORY WORKERS IN TANGKU
By Sung-ho Lin
Social Research Department, China Foundation. Peiping, 1928

This is an intensive study of labour conditions in two modern Chinese factories, the Chiu Ta Salt Refinery and the Pacific Alkali Works at Tangku. It gives an excellent detailed account of the fairly good standards of living enjoyed by the workers of these two factories. Attention is paid to wage-rates, housing conditions, welfare activities, and the family life of the workers. The text is supported by numerous photographs and tables including a schedule-form used for the investigation of the various conditions. The following significant statement occurs in the preface by L. K. Tao in reference to the Chinese view of their labour problems:

"While we fully realise the predominant role of labour and the necessity of giving it its due share in the distribution of the national income, we should, nevertheless, make the development of industries a concern ahead of everything else. . . . When the existence of the nation's industry, which is still in its infancy, is threatened by the unfair competition of other countries, it is believed that it should be saved even at the temporary sacrifice of labour. This point, be it understood, is made not to justify the ill treatment received by Chinese workers in many of the factories in this country, but merely to show a possible happening in the course of industrial development here."

—W. L. H.

INTERNATIONAL LABOUR OFFICE
Legislative Series, Vol. VI, 1925, Parts I and II
Geneva, 1928

These two volumes contain a good deal of valuable information on labour legislation affecting Pacific countries. The following sections are worth notice:

Australia (pp. 49-213). Twelve sections on recent labour laws in the Australian States.

Canada (pp. 300-345). Five sections, including the Dominion Act on the investigation of industrial disputes.

Japan (pp. 930-945). Two ordinances in reference to employment bureaux and the unemployment census.

League of Nations. (pp. 984-990). Mining regulations in the mandated territories of the South Seas.

New Zealand (pp. 1154-1237). Three sections, including recent laws on conciliation and arbitration. —W. L. H.

ASPECTS OF ANGLO-AMERICAN RELATIONS
By K. Capper Johnson
John Middleton Frankland
Yale University Press, New Haven, 1928. G$2.00

The chief interest of this little volume lies in the plan which it inaugurates. Here the Yale University Press publishes for the Brooks-Bright Foundation the first prize essays in the Anglo-American Relations award offered by Mrs. Florence Brooks-Aten of New York, founder of the last named institution. According to the terms of this award, and with the purpose of "promoting permanent friendship and understanding between Great Britain, the British Dominions and the United States . . . by dealing only in fundamental causes that are the source of real difficulties," two prize essays setting forth some aspect of Anglo-American Relations are selected annually from amongst those submitted by undergraduate students of Oxford and Yale. The two essays here published constitute the first awards. In the words of the introduction, the essays are presented in order to contrast the thought of British and American students in this field, and

in the hope that they may lead toward the creation of the international mind, the mind capable of discussing international questions with a minimum of partisanship and a maximum of fairness and fidelity to principles of universal applicability."

The first essay is upon "The Historical Significance of the American Revolution in the Development of the British Commonwealth of Nations," by K. Capper Johnson of Queen's College, Oxford. It represents an examination of the sources of the old conflict and the influences which grew out of it and later had bearing upon the further development of Britain's colonial policy and upon the growth of constitutional forms of government in the entities which form the British Commonwealth of Nations. Mr. Johnson has since received his degree of B.A. at Oxford, after an intervening year at Harvard on a Davison Scholarship.

The second essay deals with "The Influence of International Trade upon British-American Relations," by John Middleton Frankland of Yale University, and is designed to encourage "a judicial attitude toward a question of prime importance." —E. G.

SHADOW SHAPES
(Memoirs of a Chinese Student in America)
Peking Leader Press, Peking, 1928. $2.00 Mex.

Shadow Shapes is a gripping record because it is so obviously true. It is a record of the whirlpool of American life into which one Chinese youth plunged in his search for a western education. It is of special interest because of its arresting picture of conflicting racial cultures, its moving struggle with prejudice, its portrayal of the new life's myriad appeals to the susceptibilities of young easterners in a strange and to some extent hostile environment. To anyone familiar with the problems of young foreign students in America it is an authentic human document. To one unfamiliar it is a revealing record. —E. G.

CHINESE MISSIONS
By Joseph Judson Taylor
Walter Neale, New York, 1928. G$2.00

A little book of 103 pages "traversing with giant strides" (says the publisher's note) such fields as the Chinese country, people, early religious, Christian outlook and the "Chinese Problem" in general, by a Methodist divine who has never visited China and has "only a derived knowledge of that wonderful country and its historic people," through reading and talking with missionaries and other travelers. In his preface Mr. Taylor rather naïvely states that he has "tried to deal with matters that have elements of stability and are likely to be as true next year as they are this." This of China!

He writes the volume because he has "long esteemed it (China) the greatest of mission fields" and firmly believes that "success is assured." —E. G.

INDIA: THE NEW PHASE
By Sir Stanley Reed and P. R. Cadell
Philip Allan & Co., Ltd., London, 1928. 3s 6d

A brief volume of 169 pages by the former editor of the *Times* of India, in collaboration with Mr. P. R. Cadell of the Indian Civil Service, retired. The book, giving a concise account of India today, is designed as an introduction to the further study of the Indian Empire's social, political and economic problems. Special attention is paid to the reforms and their working, to the questions of defence, education and social progress, and to the future methods which must come into use in connection with India in a "world in the grip of new emotions." In this last chapter on "Looking Forward," this statement is made: "The history of the

British Commonwealth is the development of responsible government and self-governing political institutions in every part of the whole, all being not only secure within the Empire and under the Crown, but stronger because they are within that Empire. Although conditions in India are widely different from those obtaining within the Dominions, it is impossible to imagine any other destiny for that great country." The authors then propose four primary tasks for the government of India during the coming "intermediary" stage, and while they recognize the essential need for Indian cooperation they regard it as fundamentally Britain's job. In "the words of Milton: 'When God wants a hard thing done, he tells it to his Englishmen.' We have a hard thing to do; it will be made the easier if we try to understand it and to understand the standpoint of our Indian fellow-citizens." —E.G.

UNFATHOMED JAPAN
By Harold W. Foght
Alice Robbins Foght
Macmillan, New York, 1928. G$5.00

As a rather gay record of travelers in a strange land, this volume belies the ponderous feel of it and has the appeal that travel books often have for stay-at-homes. It is attractively bound, pleasantly written, and its 438 pages are liberally interspersed with delightful photographs. Beyond that, it cannot be said to have added greatly to the sum total of information concerning "unfathomed Japan," although the various items of interest and personal experience may often be the very things a potential traveler most wishes to know. —E. G.

STUDIES IN AUSTRALIAN AFFAIRS
Edited by Persia Campbell, R. C. Mills and G. V. Portus
Issued by the New South Wales Branch of the Institute of Pacific Relations
Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, in association with
Macmillan & Company, New York, 1928

This 258-page book is made up of the following chapters: "The Natural Resources of Australia," by Griffith Taylor; "The Australian Standard of Living," by D. T. Sawkins; "Development and Migration," by F. A. Bland; "The Tariff Policy and Its Effect on Australian Development," by J. B. Brigden; "Australian Loan Policy," by R. C. Mills; "Australian Banking Policy," by H. Teare; "Australian Trade in the Pacific," by E. T. McPhee; "Australian Treaty Rights and Obligations," by K. H. Bailey; "Australian Defence Policy," by Brigadier-General R. Campbell; "A Labour View of Pacific Problems," by R. S. Ross; "The Australian Mandate in New Guinea," by the Rev. J. Burton; "Australian Policy in Papua," by Sir J. H. P. Murray.

These are preliminary studies made by members of the Institute of Pacific Relations in preparation for the Kyoto Conference of the Institute. This volume will be reviewed in full in a later issue of *Pacific Affairs*.
—B. M.

THE BEGGING DEER
By Dorothy Rowe
The Macmillan Company, New York, 1928. G$2.00

These eight simple stories about the children of Japan are told in a sympathetic way. A charming one tells about a little embryonic artist whose mother complained that if Yuki wasn't dreaming she was drawing pictures. Yuki had a most unhappy time trying to learn to add, until one day, wonder of wonders, she stumbled onto the fact that by drawing six rickshas and six rickshas she got the correct answer—twelve rickshas!

The colored illustrations lack the skill and delicacy of Japanese drawings and are not by any means up to the standard of the stories. —B.M.

MEXICO: AMERICAN POLICIES ABROAD
By J. Fred Rippy, Jose Vasconcelos and Guy Stevens
The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1928. G$1.50

This is the first volume of a series entitled "American Policies Abroad," being published by the University of Chicago Press for the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations. Section I, "The United States and Mexico, 1910-1927," is by J. Fred Rippy, the historian. II, "A Mexican's Point of View," is by Jose Vasconcelos, candidate for the presidency of Mexico, and III, "An American Point of View," is by Guy Stevens, who has for several years been director of the Association of Producers of Petroleum in Mexico.

This is a provocative way to handle a subject such as American Foreign Policies and gives one the mental stimulus of listening to a spirited debate, for each man writes earnestly from his own particular point of view and the reader is left to make his own deductions. —B. M.

THE JAPANESE ENTHRONEMENT CEREMONIES
By D. C. Holtom
The Kyo Bun Kwan, Tokyo, 1928

An attractive paper-bound volume of 146 pages, containing 3 color plates and 28 illustrations of the Enthronement ceremonies and its regalia. Dr. Holtom's book deals with the Enthronement ceremonies and their interpretation. The chapters are: The Imperial Regalia; The Mirror; The Sword; The Jewels; The Ceremonies in Outline; The Sokui Rei; The Ceremony of Ascending the Throne; Preparations for the Daijo Sai; The Daijo Sai: The Great New Food Festival; Epilogue: The Meaning of the Ceremonies. The book abounds in mythology of Japan and is simply and carefully written. —B.M.

JAPANESE ALL
By J. Ingram Bryan
Methuen & Co., Ltd., London, 1928. 6s

The book is made up of twenty essays written by Dr. Bryan, who was Professor for sixteen years in Japanese colleges and extension lecturer for the University of Cambridge in Japanese History and Civilization. The essays are largely concerned with the people and culture of Japan. Some of them are written with whimsy and humor which may not always be pleasing to the Japanese. As a young Japanese stated who read the book, "Dr. Bryan picks out rare incidents that are startling and makes them seem usual. His idea is to amuse rather than to inform." —B.M.

GEOPOLITIK des PAZIFISCHEN OZEANS
By Karl Haushofer
Siebzehn Karten und Tafeln
Kurt Vowinckel, Berlin-Grunewald, 1927

The purpose of the book by Dr. Haushofer is given in the sub-title: "Studien über die Wechselbeziehungen Zwischen Geographie und Geschichte." From standard works on geology, geography, ethnology, history, and politics, the author has culled material familiar to students of Pacific affairs, but perhaps not to the German readers, to whom the volume seems particularly addressed. As a record of the written contributions to the knowledge of Pacific countries, "Geopolitik" will find a place on library shelves; the annotated Bibliography (40 pages) is helpful. —H. E. G.

Pamphlets

CHINESISCH-DEUTSCHER ALMANACH, 1929-1930
China-Institut
Frankfurt am Main

A most interesting collection of information compiled in cooperation with the Far Eastern Association of Berlin, the East-Asiatic Union of Hamburg-Bremen, the German-Chinese Union of Dresden and the Union of the Friends of East-Asian Art, of Cologne. There is an exposition of the Chinese Calendar with a comparative schedule of dates for the year; several articles by Richard Wilhelm, author of "The Soul of China," on Goethe's translation from the "Chinese Courtship," and its sources, Chinese art and customs (with Institute discussion), etc.; an article on the Place of Bronzes in Chinese Art, by Alfred Salmony; and a comprehensive bibliography with brief characterizations. There are a number of handsome full-page art reproductions.

CULTURE CONTACT IN CHINA
By Maurice T. Price
Social Forces Press, December, 1928

A reprint from "Social Forces," Vol. VII, No. 2, setting forth some of the natural trends and their conditioning by the cultural setting in China.

ECONOMIC SURVEY
State Bank of the U. S. S. R.
Moscow, January to November, 1928

A series of official reports (in English) on various aspects of economic life in Soviet Russia, such as the Textile Industry, Central Banks, Internal Loans, Chemical Industry, Consumers' Cooperation, Foreign Banks and Foreign Trade, etc., etc.

A PRECURSOR OF PERRY
The Story of Takano Nagahide
By Herbert H. Gowen
University of Washington Chapbooks, Seattle, 1928. 65¢

A well-known Orientalist writes an interesting little tale—extremely discursive but charming—of the "martyr to New Japan," who opposed what the author refers to as the "hermetical closing" of his country in the era prior to the coming of the "Black Ships."

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
Announcement of Courses
University of Washington Bulletin, Seattle, 1928-29

The University of Washington has built a name for itself in the department of international relations. This bulletin gives the University's aim in offering courses in this field, and cites the international advantages, especially from a Pacific point of view, of location in the port city of Seattle. In 1928 a series of lectures was given on each of the following subjects: Problems of the Pacific Area, Problems of the International Mind, Problems in International Technique. For 1929 distinguished visiting professors are expected to carry out this plan.

As for regular courses, this bulletin announces a large variety of studies in Pacific and Oriental subjects in the departments of History, Political Science, Business Administration, Sociology and Geography; International Relations in Law, History and Political Science; Foreign Trade, Shipping, International Banking and Finance, Migrations, etc.

THE NEW ORDER IN CHINA
The Ex-British Concession at Hankow and the Chen-O'Malley Agreement
By J. B. Condliffe
Royal Institute of International Affairs
Chatham House, 10 St. James's Square, London S. W. 1

The circumstances and text of the famous agreement, together with a brief story of the ex-concession's establishment, and the later working out of the agreement under the Directorship of Dr. L. N. Chang, with a summary of the resulting economic conditions. By the Research Secretary

of the Institute of Pacific Relations, formerly Professor of Economics at Canterbury College, Christchurch, New Zealand.

CHINESE EASTERN RAILWAY AND ITS ZONE
Economic Bureau, Chinese Eastern Railway, 1928

An interesting booklet with many colored charts and maps, statistical tables, etc., dealing with the territory and problems of the dual-owned railway of North Manchuria.

ROYAL ACADEMY OF SCIENCES
Amsterdam

Four publications of the Royal Academy of Sciences, Amsterdam, dealing with History and Present State of Scientific Research in Netherlands Indies in Botanical Investigation, Vulcanology, Chemical Investigation, Geography.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS
Bulletin of the Information and Reference Section
International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation, Paris, October-November, 1928

This bulletin contains plans for making the arts of the world as stirring, popular and fruitful of international understanding as the Olympic games. These plans were made at a meeting of the International Congress of Popular Arts held October 7-14, 1928, at Prague, and five sections were formed, namely: (1) Historical studies; (2) Architecture, Domestic Decoration, Handicrafts, etc.; (3) Textiles, Popular Imagery, etc.; (4) Music and Song; (5) Dancing, Theater and Popular Arts. Motions proposed and adopted include encouraging of exhibitions of folk dances and songs, films of them, study and scientific broadcasting of folk songs; museums of popular art; exchange of films of popular art. Encouragement of popular arts among urban and rural workers as a healthy and uplifting means of recreation was proposed by the International Labour Office.

THE PRESERVATION OF PEACE
Proceedings of the Academy of Political Science
Volume XIII, 2, January, 1929
Edited by Parker Thomas Moon
Columbia University, 1929

A series of addresses and papers presented at the annual meeting of the Academy of Political Science in the city of New York, November 23, 1928.

ANGLO-FRENCH PROJECT FOR LIMITATION OF ARMAMENT
British White Paper
Carnegie Endowment for International Peace
International Conciliation, New York, January, 1929

The Address of Viscount Grey of Fallodon and the Debate in the House of Commons.

JAPANESE INVESTMENTS AND EXPENDITURES IN MANCHURIA
From 1907 to 1926
South Manchuria Railway Company
New York Office, February, 1929

"It is rare indeed that a Financial Statement of a great railroad contains figures which are seen to be enriched with romance, with broad extension of modern civilization, with marvellous achievements and resources, with the maintenance of peace and order, all of which combine to make human life a pleasure, where formerly existence itself was a struggle with nature or against the raids of invading hordes." So begins an explanatory section following the tabulations of investment set forth in this compilation by the company which represents Japan's largest total investment in the three Eastern Provinces of China. It is issued in English by the New York office of the South Manchuria Railway, 342 Madison Avenue; Toshi Go, American Representative.

In the Magazines

Note: All the following references to magazines published in the Orient are for English language publications. National ownership of such publications is indicated.

CHINA-GENERAL

CENTER FOR TRAINING RURAL WORKERS, A; by Chi-pao Cheng; the *China Weekly Review* (American), Shanghai, January 5, 1929.

"The Chinese population is essentially agricultural. About 80 per cent of her people, very conservatively estimated, live in rural districts. The present tendencies toward industrialization and city development have little changed the character of her population in the main. Probably in the next twenty or thirty years, the condition will remain about the same, if we can trust some of the conclusions advanced by a few noteworthy sociologists. Consequently, the rural population in China constitutes a very important problem, particularly along the line of education."

CHIANG THE SOLDIER CULTIVATES PEACE; by Henry Misselwitz; the *New York Times Magazine*, New York, January 6, 1929.

"The first President of the Nanking National Government of China—General Chiang Kai-shek—believes that the two greatest problems facing his country are the demobilization of the armies and the beginning of national reconstruction. There are still hundreds of thousands of men under arms in all parts of the country. The General estimates that China has nearly 1,500,000 men whose sole livelihood is, and has been for years, the sword."

CHINA'S FUTURE POLICY; by Dr. Wang Chung-hui; the *Week in China* (American), Peking, December 22, 1928.

Dr. Wang states that the final aim of the Nationalist government is a democracy, but before this can be attained a transitory period is necessary to educate the people. The purpose of national assembly is to decide upon "the way in which economic and educational reconstruction is to be carried out." The economic development includes rapid means of communication and improvement of the canal system, promotion of agriculture and national industries; reform taxation, development of public schools.

Dr. Wang also explains that in addition to administrative, legislative and judicial departments China wants a court of impeachment and an independent civil service department "which will serve to sweep away some of the worst practices in administration."

" . . . A general revision of the old treaties, on the basis of equality and reciprocity, is our recognised aim, and we desire to achieve it by peaceful means with the support of the great powers."

CHINESE REACTION TO MR. EDWARDES' RESIGNATION; editorial; the *China Weekly Review* (American), Shanghai, January 12, 1929.

COMMERCIAL ASPECTS OF TRANS-PACIFIC COMMUNICATION; by Captain Milton S. Davis; *Pan Pacific Progress*, Los Angeles, February, 1929.

"Since the beginning of our recorded history, most of our major wars have been caused in order to control the highways of commerce. The Germans had nearly completed the 'Berlin to Bagdad' railway. It took the World War to stop it.

"With the increased speed of communication by radio and airplane, the control of these necessary adjuncts to commerce became vital."

COMMERCIAL AVIATION IN CHINA; by Captain Theodore Ching; reprinted from the Far Eastern Review; *Pan Pacific Progress*, Los Angeles, February, 1929.

DESTITUTION AMONG RUSSIANS IN CHINA; a report presented by a well-known Russian in Shanghai; the *China Weekly Review* (American), Shanghai, December 22, 1928.

END OF THE CHINESE CIVIL WAR, THE; editorial; the *Economist*, London, January 5, 1929.

"With the New Year dawns a big new hope for China."

EXTERRITORIALITY—AN AMERICAN VIEW; by Edward S. Corwin; the *China Weekly Review* (American), Shanghai, December 22, 1928.

FERMENT IN CHINA, THE; editorial; the *Economist*, London, December 29, 1929.

"The widespread interest which China has been arousing for the last four or five years is one of the remarkable phenomena of a world in which the claims on the attention of 'the man in the street' are more numerous and more varied than at almost any time in history. How is it that, on this surfeited and preoccupied modern consciousness, China has lately succeeded in making a sharp and continuous impression?"

FOREIGNERS IN CHINA, A STATISTICAL SURVEY—with charts; by Dr. Friedrich Otte; the *Chinese Economic Journal*, Shanghai, December, 1928.

FRAU SUN YAT-SENS STELLUNG IM POLITISCHEN LEBEN CHINAS (The Position of Mme. Sun Yat-sen in China's Political Life); by Gustav Amann; *Ostasiatische Rundschau*, Hamburg, January 16, 1929.

GLIMPSES INTO THE UNIVERSITIES; by Quentin Pan; the *China Critic* (Chinese), Shanghai, January 17, 1929.

Mr. Pan believes that what is the matter with many of the universities which have been springing up in China in the past few years "like bamboo shoots after a spring shower" is not lack of finance but "of proper standards and efficient management." The student "is overloaded with often more than twenty-five or thirty hours of class work a week, whereas half of this number of hours is sufficient to keep any conscientious youth busy. He does and can do nothing except attend classes. He exercises no faculty other than that of hearing. Very few know how to make good use of the library, poorly equipped though it is, even if they have time. As victims of the lecturing method, many cannot even read plain English, and to them a large part of the stack room will forever remain a mystery. And the number of such victims is rapidly increasing."

ON THE EVE OF CHINESE TARIFF AUTONOMY; by C. Y. W. Meng; the *China Weekly Review* (American), Shanghai, January 26, 1929.

"Having been bound by a limited tariff for more than three-quarters of a century, as a result of which there has been a tremendous loss of revenue to the Chinese exchequer, China has at last freed herself from the imperialistic yoke as a result of her strenuous efforts."

PROPOSAL FOR A LAW GOVERNING THE PRESS, THE; editorial; the *China Weekly Review* (American), Shanghai, January 5, 1929.

SOCIAL LEGISLATION IN CHINA; by C. S. Chan; *International Labour Review*, Geneva, January, 1929.

A study of the evolution of the new social legislation that has been introduced into China by the Nationalist Government. It is pointed out that "the entire social policy of the Nationalist Party springs from the last of the three great principles (the right of the people to decent conditions of life) that were formulated by Dr. Sun Yat-sen, and are still the basis of the Kuomintang programme." In practice this pursuance of Dr. Sun's doctrine has taken the form of "reformist State Socialism, but it is not the result of a collaboration between the Kuomintang and the Communists." It is claimed that important results have been achieved especially in the Kwangtung province. "Wage-rates, both in the country and in the towns have risen substantially and faster than the cost of living; the organization of the workers is rapidly improving; the social institutions set up by the unions (employment agencies, schools, relief institutions, etc.) are increasing in number; the use of collective agreements is becoming almost a matter of course; finally—and this result is particularly important—the social position of the worker has improved, and he is now the equal of the employer, the soldier, and the scholar."

The article contains an appendix giving the text of the principal measures of social legislation enacted by the Nationalists, regulations which have not before been translated into English.

TROOP DISBANDMENT AND FINANCIAL REFORM—ACID TESTS OF THE REVOLUTION; by P. T. Chen; the *China Weekly Review* (American), Shanghai, January 19, 1929.

CULTURES

AT THE HEART OF DESOLATION; by Ben Robertson, Jr., and McCoy Hill; *Travel*, February, 1929.

In the great South Australian Desert—life in the lonely "Stony Desert" of the Northern Territory and among the Australian primitives.

CHINA FOUNDATION REGAINS ITS INDEPENDENCE, THE; editorial; the *North-China Herald* (British), Shanghai, January 19, 1929.

"Two great Conferences are being held during the New Year week; one is the Disbandment Conference at Nanking, the other is the Seventh Regular Meeting of the China Foundation at Hangchow.

" . . . The comparison may seem at first sight too far-fetched. But to those who have followed the recent developments concerning the China Foundation, the fundamental issues involved in the Hangchow Conference of a few Chinese and American trustees are certainly no less important than those to be discussed at the Nanking Conference on Disbandment."

DEVELOPMENT OF MODERN LIBRARIES IN CHINA, THE; by Wu Kwan-tsing; the *China Weekly Review* (American), Shanghai, January 5, 1929.

DOOMED SONS OF THE REDWOODS; by Michael R. O'Neil; *Travel*, February, 1929.

An account of a California Indian tribe.

INQUIRY INTO OUR MODERN CIVILIZATION, AN; by Sir Oliver Lodge and J. Arthur Thompson; the *New York Times Magazine*, New York, January 27, 1929.

Two scientists urge mankind to build with care for the future.

"Though so much progress has been made, however, I am forced to admit that so far the applications of science have not been totally and entirely satisfactory. I consider that science, in some respects, has been badly applied, and the outcome has been a certain amount of ugliness and imperfection, so that the esthetic sensibilities are outraged by such things as mean streets, gasometers and factory chimneys . . .

"Perhaps the greatest of man's achievements in the future will be the abolition of war. Science, which played such a great part in the last war, will one day make war impossible. . . .

"But our main point here is that biology, in its increased disclosure of the unity of the organism, has made man's life not only less puzzling, but more controllable, on its mental as well as on its bodily side. Here again science is proving itself a liberator."

MASS CULTURE; editorial, the *Japan Weekly Chronicle*, (British), Kobe, December 13, 1928.

A resume of some of the "flashes" of Mr. Murobushi Takanobu, "one of the few original Japanese thinkers," is quoted from an article in the Chuo Koron of December.

"It is a notable fact, he says, that European civilisation has come to an end. " . . . Look round about you and see what part of the present life is not American instead of European. What are those sports, journalism, motor cars, jazz, radio, popular literature and all those ideas about the rights of woman, the spread of irreligion, the fall of philosophy and the inundating mania for gold? The fact is that it was yesterday that the American Dollar was said to control the world. Today the American ideology controls the world in all phases of civilisation and culture. Europe still holds America in contempt and the Japanese also do so after Europe, without realising that we are all America's slaves materially and intellectually. . . .

"As the silkworm makes a cocoon and destroys it again to emerge from it as a moth, so is man perpetually making and perpetually unmaking. State after state, civilisation after civilisation, has been built up and pulled down in turn. . . .

" . . . This is the age of the mass—the ignorant mass—against the 19th century which was the age of the gentility and the intellectual class. . . . This is the age of amateurs and not of specialists. We are passing from knowledge to ignorance, from reason to action, . . . in short, from the age of progress to that of stagnation or retrogression."

NEW MASTERS OF THE COLOR PRINT, THE; by Zoe Kincaid; *Overseas Japan*, San Francisco, March, 1929.

A generously illustrated article which names the outstanding artists of color print in Japan. It concludes with:

"It cannot be doubted that the vigor and creativeness displayed in the recent prints from the Yoshida and Watanabe studios are indications that the modern color print artists are very much alive, and there is every sign that their creations are beginning to be valued and collected as they deserve to be."

OUR MONSTER CITY AND ITS LIFE; by Grosvenor Atterbury; the *New York Times*, New York, January 13, 1929.

The editorial note states that Mr. Atterbury is a leading architect of New York who has been associated with city planning and housing movements in New York. After reading the articles one can only say, "Lucky New York to have a man of such vision in her city planning work."

" . . . Unfortunately the movement to make our towns and cities healthy, practical, convenient and pleasant to live in has suffered in the past from the slogan of the "City Beautiful"; the idea that wide boulevards, monuments and civic centres constituted the main objects of city planning.

"Nothing, of course, could be further from the truth. Yet, on the other hand, the element of beauty is the yeast that makes the bread of life edible. The sense of beauty, moreover, is, I believe, one of man's ethical safeguards, just as his sense of taste protects him against poisonous foods. But above all, we should recognize its force in the productive functions of mankind.

"The fruit tree bears only after it has blossomed. Kill the flower and you get no fruit. And from the fruit comes the seed of reproduction. Take the beauty and joy out of human life and it will soon cease to be productive."

PSYCHOLOGY OF MODERN JAPAN; by Yone Noguchi; the *Trans-Pacific* (American), Tokyo, January 26, 1929.

"For the past twenty years I have been lecturing to my home people on the importance of real life, absolute but not compromising, created out of freedom; I did not know how otherwise we could make a first-class country out of Japan . . . I cannot help calling Japan a country of street-stallmen or secretaries. In the past, at least at the Restoration days or the beginning time of New Japan, there were Japanese, prophetic because they lighted the darkness with their own lamps of truth, and however small these lamps might have been, they were real because they saved the others at the same time as they saved themselves. How often I advised the Japanese of present day not to be afraid of standing in the painful forefront of reality, and to set hope on the future, not merely on the present. How often I said that while being ignorant and narrow-minded in the modern sense, the Japanese of the past walked on life's highway, simple and straight, that led them into idealism. When they did not know how to compromise with the others, their homogeneity was a dominant force that adjusted their own kingdom. . . ."

RUSSIA: A CONTRAST; by Dr. C. Hagberg Wright; the *Contemporary Review*, London, January, 1929.

"Whether one approves or disapproves of Soviet rule we must recognise that things cannot remain stationary; there is always either a going back or a going forward. To say how Russia will emerge from her present condition would require a seer with power to look into the future. But education is bound at last to rise triumphant over every obstacle. With 17,000 students (it is said) in the University of Moscow alone and thousands outside the schools craving to be let in, it is inconceivable that it should be otherwise. Two visits, one to the great library of Moscow, with its reading-room crowded with young men and women studying intently, the other to the Government Stationery Office, confirm this view."

UNITY OF CHINA ARCHITECTURE; by Carl J. Anner; the *Week in China* (American), Peking, January 26, 1929.

"The characteristics of planning are: compound layout, orientation to south and the desire to treat each room as a separate building. The characteristics of composition are: Stressing of construction motives and their use in the composition. Symmetry and harmony in the distribution of surfaces and restful roof surfaces. The characteristics of landscaping are: Careful and wise choice of the property, use of all natural attractions thereon and use of plastic design and arbours in profusion."

WITCHES WIN IN YORK; by Dudley Nichols; the *Nation*, New York, January 23, 1929.

Account of "witchcraft" domination exercized in Pennsylvania, making an interesting commentary for those who may believe that superstition as a force in modern life is confined to China.

DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS

AMERICA AND ENGLAND; by J. Ramsay MacDonald; the *Nation*, New York, January 30, 1929.

"It is imperative that steps be taken at once to end all this foolish and mischievous feeling which is alienating the United States from Great Britain."

"ANYWHERE IN CHINA;" editorial; the *Week in China* (American), Peking, December 15, 1928.

In commenting on the objections to the Sino-Belgian and Sino-Italian treaties, this article stated the following in regard to the right to own property:

"In fact, all this declaration amounts to is that China will deal with questions of foreigners within her boundaries as she deems wise in the exercise of her independent sovereignty and not as she is compelled to do by treaties imposed from without. Belgium and Italy—and all the other independent powers—act on precisely this same basis in their own territory."

CHINAS NEUE VERTRAG; by Dr. F. W. Mohr; *Ostasiatische Rundschau*, Hamburg, January 1, 1929.

"In foreign relations, the year 1928 has brought to China the fulfillment of her wish regarding the revision of the old treaties, and with this the return of Customs autonomy."

CHINA'S PROGRAMME OF FOREIGN RELATIONS FOR 1929; editorial; *Kuo Min News Agency*, Nanking, January 24, 1929.

FREEDOM OF THE SEAS, THE; by Rear-Admiral E. A. Taylor; the *Nineteenth Century and After*, London, January, 1929.

"Naturally, any question affecting the use of the seas, either in peace or war, is of vital importance to the British Empire. We alone of all nations are ab-

solutely dependent upon sea traffic for a constant and uninterrupted flow of food and raw materials to our shores for our daily existence. All nations benefit by the sea, but to us it is a jugular vein: if it is cut, we cease to exist; if it is interfered with, we suffer in proportion to the extent of that interference.

"In peace-time there is complete freedom of the seas outside territorial waters, and therefore this policy has nothing whatever to do with peace, but is entirely concerned with war, and seeks to lay down how war shall be conducted on the high seas when once it has broken out."

FREEDOM OF THE SEAS, THE—CHANGES THE KELLOGG PACT INVOLVES; by W. Arnold-Forster; *Headway*, London, January, 1929.

"That old, vexed problem called Freedom of the Seas again demands our consideration. Its solution was never before so possible as it will now be if the principles of the Pact of Paris are fully accepted and applied; and its solution is evidently indispensable as a means to a full Anglo-American understanding and to drastic naval disarmament."

GREAT BRITAIN, JAPAN AND CHINA; editorial; the *Bulletin of International News*, London, December 22, 1928.

IMPLEMENTING THE PEACE PACT; by Sisley Huddleston; the *New Statesman*, London, January 19, 1929.

JAPAN'S POSITION AND POLICY IN THE FAR EAST; by Sadao Saburi; the *Trans-Pacific* (American), Tokyo, January 12, 1929.

MONROE DOCTRINE'S NEW PHASE, THE; editorial; the *New Republic*, New York, January 30, 1929.

MOST-TRAVELED PRESIDENT, THE; by R. L. Duffus; the *New York Times Magazine*, New York, January 6, 1929.

The significance for American foreign policy in a President who intimately knows the world.

"He has slept under the stars in half the regions of the globe."

NEW MONROE DOCTRINE; editorial; the *Japan Weekly Chronicle* (British), Kobe, January 10, 1929.

"During the negotiations relating to the conclusion of the Anti-War Treaty, says Dr. Tachi Sakutaro, an authority on international law, in the Diplomatic Review, Britain declared a policy similar to America's Monroe Doctrine and cast a serious shadow on the real value and utility of the treaty in question.

" . . . Even granting that the Anti-War Treaty tacitly recognizes war in self-defence, the right of self-defence under international law should be recognised only where there is imminent and urgent danger; and it is evident that all wars relating to the Monroe Doctrine or war relating to zones in which Britain claims to have intimate interests for her peace and safety, do not come under the category of wars in self-defence as recognised in international law. The admission of the British claim will thus mean the admission of the existence of wars which are yet unforbidden by the Anti-War Treaty because they are based on America's Monroe Doctrine or Britain's new Monroe Doctrine over her spheres of influence."

NEXT PREMIER, THE (in Japan); editorial, the *Japan Weekly Chronicle* (British), Kobe, December 27, 1928.

An editorial conjecturing that Mr. Tokonami who succeeded "in extricating Japan from the tangle into which the Tanaka policy has involved her in China" will be recommended to the Throne by Baron Tanaka "when the time comes for his resignation . . . and it cannot be far distant . . ." as eminently the most suitable of His Majesty's subjects for succession to that high office.

PACT OF PARIS, THE; by James T. Shotwell; with discussion outline and statements by other authorities; the *Inquiry*, New York, February, 1929.

PARIS PACT FOR RENOUNCING WAR, THE; a Review of Dr. Shotwell's Book; League of Nations *News*, New York, January, 1929.

STEP TOWARDS PEACE, A; editorial; the *Japan Weekly Chronicle* (British), Kobe, January 24, 1929.

In conclusion this editorial on the Kellogg Pact states: " . . . signatories to the Kellogg Pact will sail into war with a good conscience, declaring to God and man that it was the enemy who broke the treaty. It would not be a bad idea for a committee of the wise men of, say, Holland, Switzerland, and Denmark to sit in conclave to discuss the question whether the existence of great States really promotes the welfare of mankind or is compatible with peace. It would be only fair to allow the great States to report at the same time on the menace of the small State—which is the idea underlying the Monroe Doctrine, the British reservation, and certain historic annexations. Some perfectly frank and philosophic discussion of such questions might let a little light into conceptions which have been without it for a very long time."

VICTORY FOR ARBITRATION, A; editorial; the *New Republic,* New York, January 16, 1929.

"Last Saturday the Pan-American Arbitration Conference came to a happy and successful end. Through its good offices, both Bolivia and Paraguay signed a protocol referring their difficulties to a commission of nine. Having averted a threatened war and impressed by the necessity of establishing permanent conciliation machinery, the Conference then proceeded to draft and sign two notable agreements. These agreements may be regarded as the first fruits of the anti-war pact; in one sense they may even be regarded as a result of Mr. Hughes' election as a World Court judge."

WANTED: AN ALLIANCE WITH GERMANY; by C. Y. W. Meng; the *China Critic* (Chinese), Shanghai, January 24, 1929.

"Although we would not advocate such an alliance as proposed by the contributor of this article, we think it would be interesting to our foreign readers to appreciate the views of a certain section of articulate young Chinese who become jingoistic under the goad of Japanese encroachment. The rumored revival of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance and secret diplomacy, which is behind all such arrangements, is instrumental in driving some young Chinese to look to Germany for help, others to the United States, while still others to communistic Russia. There is no surer way of fostering jingoism and communism in China than a revival of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance.—Editor, China Critic."

WAYS OF THE PROPAGANDIST, THE; editorial; the *Japan Weekly Chronicle* (British), Kobe, January 17, 1929.

WHAT ARE THE CHANCES OF ANGLO-AMERICAN AGREEMENT? by Norman Angell, editor; *Foreign Affairs,* London, January, 1929.

WHAT IS THE DRIFT OF BRITISH FOREIGN POLICY? by Norman Angell, editor; *Foreign Affairs,* London, January, 1929.

"Upon these two issues—Franco-German relations and Anglo-American relations in the matter of sea power—depend peace, and depend also, certainly the stability, and probably the survival, of western civilisation.

"An attempt is made, therefore, in this issue to show how opinion and feeling have been shaping in that respect during the last year or so."

WHERE FREEDOM OF THE SEAS STANDS NOW; by James T. Shotwell; the *New York Times,* New York, January 27, 1929.

WHY JAPAN IS HATED; editorial; the *Japan Weekly Chronicle* (British), Kobe, January 10, 1929.

The plain speaking of Baron Hayashi, the veteran diplomat, quoted and summarized from the *Osaka Mainichi.*

"It is all very well for Japan to try to promote her economic and trade interests in Manchuria and Mongolia or in the main provinces of China, but in doing so she must necessarily adopt such up-to-date and approved methods as will afford no room for suspicion or misgiving on the part of the Powers as well as China . . . I cannot but note with deep regret the fact that in their over-estimate of the actual power of their country, which has risen to the position of one of the Three Great Powers of the world through the Sino-Japanese, the Russo-Japanese and the World Wars, they have managed to leave a legacy in Sino-Japanese relations which is destined to prove a cancer in the diplomatic history of the two countries. . . .

" . . . China's attitude towards the outside Powers is too improper and thoughtless. The prevailing political, financial and other conditions of China show that she can hardly achieve the grand work of reconstructing the country without foreign help. Notwithstanding this obvious fact, she is acting outrageously towards the Powers, only to estrange their sympathies. . . .

" . . . It is, indeed, high time that both Japan and China rise above all petty past circumstances. Should Japan be ready to meet all reasonable demands of New China and earnestly endeavour to make this intention known to the Chinese Government and people, it is hoped that the present deplorable Sino-Japanese relations may be improved by mutual concession . . ."

ZUR ENTSTEHUNGSGESCHICHTE DES ENGLISCH-JAPANISCHEN BUNDNISSES (concerning the History of the Establishment of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance); by Dr. Paul Ostwald; *Ostasiatische Rundschau,* Hamburg, January 1, 1929.

Though they may not add much that is new to the facts already available in the memoirs of Echardstein and Hayashi and the German Diplomatic Acts, nevertheless, says this writer, the British Official Documents on the Origin of the World War do something to give one a clearer understanding of the situation in 1901-02 which led to the signing of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance. In this article that situation is surveyed.

ECONOMICS IN PACIFIC

AGRICULTURE IN JAPANESE HISTORY: A General Survey; by K. Asakawa; the *Economic History Review*, London, January, 1929.

"There are certain large factors of Japan's agriculture which are so peculiar and yet so fundamental that they must first be understood before one can approach any special point of importance in her economic or institutional history. Of these factors I shall essay to analyze, in brief outlines, a few which have exercised a controlling influence upon her national life throughout the ages."

BENEFICIAL ACTIVITIES OF AMERICAN TRADE-UNIONS; *Monthly Labor Review*, Washington, January, 1929.

CHINA'S GREAT NEED FOR FOREIGN CAPITAL!—editorial; the *China Weekly Review* (American), Shanghai, December 22, 1928.

DECLINE OF OWNERSHIP, THE; Valeska Bari; the *New Republic*, New York, January 16, 1929.

"With increasing frequency European economists are citing American experience as an example of the development and entrenchment of capitalism, and we ourselves commonly remark that there is less danger of communism in the United States than in any other country of the world. But the very acceptance and reiteration of the statement carries a challenge. With the front door so definitely barred, may there not be side doors through which the essential spirit of communism may enter? . . . An increasing proportion of our population lives in houses and rides in cars which nominally are owned, but the word 'own' has lost its sharp definition."

FUTURE TREND OF MONEY RATES, THE; by Sir D. Drummond Fraser; in the Commercial Supplement to the *Japan Weekly Chronicle* (British), Kobe, January 3, 1929.

" . . . Altogether, barring unforseeable developments, such as a future world war, there is every reason to look for a slow but steady reduction in world money rates during the next few decades. Those who contemplate term borrowing operations would be well-advised to bear this contingency in mind."

HANDELSABKOMMEN ZWISCHEN DEM DEUTSCHEN REICH UND DER REPUBLIK CHINA (Trade Agreement between Germany and China); editorial; *Ostasiatische Rundschau*, Hamburg, January 1, 1929.

Text of the Agreement concluded in August, together with the comments attached by the Foreign Office and the Reichstag.

JUSTICE TO FILIPINOS; by Vicente G. Bunuan; the *Nation*, New York, January 23, 1929.

"The greatest single problem that confronts the United States today with reference to the Philippine question is the conflict that has arisen in the economic interests of the Philippines and the United States. For America is beginning to realize that the Philippines constitute a source of danger to her own economic well-being. And this clash will assume increasing proportions if the present political relations between the two countries remain unchanged."

LABOUR LEGISLATION IN JAPAN; a summary of newspaper comment translated in English; the *Japan Weekly Chronicle* (British), Kobe, December 13, 1928.

LABOUR PROTECTION IN MALAYA; by W. Benson; the *Asiatic Review*, London, January, 1929.

LEAD IN THE FAR EAST; by Boris P. Torgasheff; the *China Weekly Review* (American), Shanghai, January 26, 1929.

"LIKIN" CLAUSE IN SINO-BRITISH TREATY, THE; editorial, the *China Weekly Review* (American), Shanghai, January 12, 1929.

MEXICO'S RELATIONSHIP TO WORLD TRADE; by Baldomero A. Almada; *Pan-Pacific Progress*, Los Angeles, January, 1929.

MILITARY COSTS AND THE MENACE OF NATIONAL BANKRUPTCY; editorial; the *North-China Herald* (British), Shanghai, January 19, 1929.

"A strikingly impressive memorandum on the alarming state of China's finance was presented by Mr. T. V. Soong, Minister of Finance, to the Disbandment Conference on January 11."

MINERAL FERTILIZERS IN CHINA; by Boris P. Torgasheff; the *Chinese Economic Journal*, Shanghai, December, 1928.

"The most populated countries of the Far East, China as well as Japan, where agriculture, as a staple occupation, dates to their earliest civilizations, are at the present time confronted with a very acute fertilizer problem."

MONGOLIA (OUTER) AND ITS CURRENCY SYSTEM; by E. Kann; the *Chinese Economic Journal*, Shanghai, December, 1928.

NATIONAL INSURANCE BILL IN AUSTRALIA; editorial; *Industrial and Labour Information*, Geneva, December 24, 1928.

"On September 15, 1928, the Treasurer of the Commonwealth of Australia, on behalf of the government, moved the second reading of the National Insurance Bill in the House of Representatives. The Bill was introduced on the eve of the dissolution of Parliament so that the people might give it consideration during the election campaign. The Bill is the result of the labours of the Royal Commission on National Insurance, which was appointed in 1923. . . .

"The national insurance scheme provided for in the Bill applies to all employed persons except highly-paid non-manual workers, and affords benefits in case of sickness, disablement, old age, and death.

"The main criticism of the Federal Labour Party is that the scheme does not include unemployment insurance, which they regard as the branch of social insurance most urgently needed. The reason given by the Government for the omission is lack of sufficient statistical data to enable the probable cost to be estimated."

Problem of Reconstruction, The; by Sun Fo; the *Week in China* (American), Peking, January 12, 1928.

"To summarize: our problems of national reconstruction are two-fold: politically to develop a modern democratic state with a good and effective government by peaceful evolution; and economically to achieve industrialization on a large scale in order to solve the problem of the peoples' livelihood. We are confident that these problems can be solved by us. But we are also convinced that these problems will be solved more efficiently, more quickly, and more scientifically if we can obtain the technical and financial assistance from abroad. It is to America and to Western Europe that we are now looking for such technical and financial assistance."

Productivity of Labor and Industry; *Monthly Labor Review,* Washington, January, 1929.

Silver in the Far East; by Boris P. Torgasheff; the *China Weekly Review* (American), Shanghai, January 5, 1929.

Summary of Strikes in Shanghai During the Month of November, 1928; editorial; the *Chinese Economic Bulletin* (Chinese), Shanghai, January 5, 1929, and in January 12 issue, continued.

Tariff Autonomy and National Reconstruction; by Kan Lee; the *China Critic* (Chinese), Shanghai, January 3, 1929.

Tariff Problems of the United States; edited by Harry T. Collings; the *Annals* of The American Academy of Political and Social Science, Philadelphia, January, 1929.

True Volume of China's Mineral Wealth; by Boris P. Torgasheff, the *China Weekly Review* (American), Shanghai, December 22, 1928.

EXTRATERRITORIALITY IN CHINA

Changing Status of Aliens in China, The; by L. I. Tsok; the *China Weekly Review* (American), Shanghai, January 26, 1929.

Corwin on Extraterritoriality; by E. S. Corwin; the *Week in China* (American), Peking, January 19, 1928.

Dr. Corwin, an exchange professor under the Carnegie Foundation, is in Peking from the department of political science at Princeton University. He concludes this article with:

"The present position of the extrality issue so far as it involves the United States and China boils down then to this. China bases her case on the principle of the equality of states before international law; the United States urges the principle of the equality of individuals before the ordinary law; and each accepts the validity of the principle urged by the other. With both sides holding clearly before them these inherently—as well as historically—reciprocal principles, the problem of devising a practical arrangement whereby they can be given effective reciprocal and constantly expanding operation until both are completely realised becomes a question of detail, even though at points of delicate detail. It is a question that ought to be well within the competence of statesmen having reliance on one another's general intentions."

JAPAN—GENERAL

Administration of Korea; editorial; the *Japan Weekly Chronicle* (British), Kobe, January 3, 1929.

A summary from the Seoul Press, of the address of instruction of Mr. Ikegami, Vice-Governor-General at the conference of provincial chiefs of internal affairs, states that he has been working for improvement of the condition of farm tenants, and had begun advancing low-interest loans to small farmers who comprise 80 per cent of the agriculturists. He had warned authorities "to exercise meticulous care not to interfere with the occupational works of the inhabitants in enforcing

corvee or in collecting contributions, and with regard to paupers and lower class of people in the cities, was trying to insure security of living for them, and was prepared to study means for diffusing and developing various social provisions, such as public pawnshops and small houses to let, in cooperation with the provincial authorities. To look back upon the past, nineteen years had elapsed since the establishment of the Governor-General, during which time industrial, educational, and other works had made steady development, various important provisions having borne better fruit each year than the last, due no doubt to the efforts of all in cooperation."

Special instruction in common and normal education would be given "regarding the concrete plan for improvement of normal education and for diffusion of common school education, and provincial authorities were desired to make sufficient preparation before enforcing the measure, with a special eye to enforcement in a way harmonious with the local conditions concerned."

He touched on the need of reforestation and the work being done in this line.

IMPERIAL DIET, THE—Fifty-six Session Begins Business; editorial; the *Japan Weekly Chronicle* (British), Kobe, January 31, 1929.

JOURNALISM OF JAPAN, THE; by Dr. Walter Williams; *Japan*, Los Angeles, March, 1929.

"Even the most well-informed men and women are amazed at the development of the journalism of Japan and at its present position of popularity and influence. If there is a country anywhere of which it may be truthfully said that everybody reads the newspapers, that country surely is Japan."

LABOUR POLITICS IN JAPAN; editorial; the *Japan Weekly Chronicle* (British), Kobe, January 3, 1929.

LICENSED QUARTERS IN SAITAMA BANNED; editorial; the *Trans-Pacific* (American), Tokyo, December 15, 1928.

"Licensed prostitution in Japan met its first decisive legal defeat on December 6 when the Prefectural Assembly of Saitama unanimously passed a resolution abolishing it in that prefecture. No licenses for new enterprises or extension of already existing ones will be granted. The practice will become dead automatically in that prefecture upon the expiration of the present licenses."

POLITICAL LEAGUE, A; editorial; the *Japan Weekly Chronicle* (British), Kobe, January 31, 1929.

"It is reported that a plan is maturing among the small parties in the House of Representatives to form a league for the purpose of co-operation in the present session of the Diet. Repeated conferences have been held among Messrs. Tsurumi and Koyama (Meiseikai), Mr. Otake (Kakushinto), Mr. Ota (Independent) and others to discuss the plan which is said to have been brought within sight of materialisation. . . .

"It is said that the Government is watching the progress of the scheme with much apprehension. . . ."

SOME SEARCHING QUESTIONS ASKED THE PREMIER; editorial; the *Japan Weekly Chronicle* (British), Kobe, December 27, 1928.

A resume of pertinent questions asked by Opposition leaders when members of the Lower House were invited to the Premier's official residence on December 20th. The answers are also briefed.

LATIN-AMERICA

FRONTIER QUESTION BETWEEN BOLIVIA AND PARAGUAY, THE; editorial; the *Bulletin of International News*, London, December 22, 1928.

KEY TO LATIN-AMERICAN TRADE, THE; by Julius Klein; the *Nation*, New York, January 16, 1929.

MEXICAN MASSES; by Mariano Azuela; the *Nation*, New York, January 16, 1929.

MEXICO'S RELATIONSHIP TO WORLD TRADE; by Baldomero A. Almada; *Pan-Pacific Progress*, Los Angeles, January, 1929.

NICARAGUA: THE NEXT STEP; editorial; the *New Republic*, New York, January 23, 1929.

PORTO RICO: A COLONIAL RESPONSIBILITY; editorial; the *New Republic*, New York, February 6, 1929.

PROBLEM OF PORTO RICO, THE; editorial; *Information Service*, Foreign Policy Association, New York, January 18, 1929.

"What is the responsibility of the United States to this island territory? What are the economic and social conditions in Porto Rico under which almost a million and a half American citizens live? What governmental system has been established under American rule? How does this system meet the needs of the people of Porto Rico and what demands have been made for home rule or independence?"

TRADE AND CULTURE IN LATIN AMERICA; by Manuel Gamio; the *Nation,* New York, January 16, 1929.

". . . the human relations between North Americans and Latin Americans, the racial attractions and repulsions, the intellectual and spiritual contacts, the contrasts and agreements between their respective ideals and aspirations, may be known and analyzed satisfactorily only in those regions of the continent where both peoples live in intimate and daily contact. This occurs in parts of the United States to which millions of Mexicans have been transplanted and live surrounded by Americans. . . ."

MANCHURIA

ACROSS MANCHURIA ON THE TRANS-SIBERIAN; by Madame Claude Eylan; the *Living Age,* New York, February, 1929.

CHINESE MIGRATION TO MANCHURIA; *Monthly Record of Migration,* Geneva, December, 1928.

JAPAN RECOGNIZES CHINESE SOVEREIGNTY OVER MANCHURIA; by Fang Lo-tien; the *China Critic* (Chinese), Shanghai, January 3, 1929.

"'Japan recognizes Chinese sovereignty over Manchuria?' Sheer nonsense. Let Japan denounce it, what does it matter to China? Manchuria is inherently part and parcel of China's territory, no matter whether any other nation recognizes it or not. And an infringement upon that sovereignty is an infringement upon China's national status, which insult must sooner or later be avenged so long as there is a single Chinese on the earth."

JAPAN'S POSITION AND POLICY IN THE FAR EAST; by Sadao Saburi; the *Trans-Pacific* (American), Tokyo, January 12, 1929.

JAPAN'S SPECIAL RIGHTS; editorial; the *Japan Weekly Chronicle* (British), Kobe, January 31, 1929.

"Under the heading of 'The Swell-Head, No Passport for Brazen Face,' the *Manchuria Daily News* grows very indignant over the report that China is seeking the recovery of Port Arthur and Dairen and the South Manchuria and Mukden-Autung lines. It advances a few 'sound reasons for the Japanese people to hold on to these rights and interests in Manchuria, etc., not to give them up unless she were to mean to deny her own existence, that would never be the case, unless the entire Japanese population went out of their mind all at once.'

"'. . . The stake at hand is too tremendous for the Japanese people to make any mistake in dealing with her rights and interests in Manchuria, etc. The Japanese people mean to stand for them to the last man and to the last drop of the blood. This is the whole long story in a nutshell. What more is there for us to add?'

". . . there seems to be an idea that trade, which is what the Japanese really want, is to be advanced by being as spiteful and nasty to your neighbor as possible. Japan's policy seems to be the very reverse of what is generally considered as advisable,—that is to keep on good terms with your neighbours. . . ."

HARBIN AND THE GREAT GRAIN LANDS OF MANCHURIA; by Rodney Gilbert; the *North-China Herald* (British), Shanghai, January 5, 1929.

RELATIONS WITH CHINA; editorial; the *Japan Weekly Chronicle* (British), Kobe, January 17, 1929.

"As regards the further developments in Manchuria, they would take place with considerable benefit to the hordes of new settlers if they could be helped financially, and only financially, with no political strategy in the background. . . ."

RUMOURED OFFER OF CHINESE EASTERN RAILWAY TO JAPAN; the *North-China Herald* (British), Shanghai, January 19, 1929.

SINO-JAPANESE INTERESTS AND ISSUES IN MANCHURIA; by C. Walter Young; the *China Weekly Review* (American), Shanghai, January 19, 1929; reprinted from December *Pacific Affairs.*

WOOL CROPS OF MANCHURIA; editorial; the *Chinese Economic Bulletin* (Chinese), Shanghai, January 5, 1929.

MIGRATION

IMMIGRATION ORDINANCE IN THE STRAITS SETTLEMENTS; *Monthly Record of Migration,* Geneva, December, 1928.

MEXICAN MIGRATION PROBLEM, THE; by Senor Jose M. Davila; *Pan-Pacific Progress,* Los Angeles, January, 1929.

Sr. Davila hopes to show that popular beliefs and inaccurate "statistics" both exaggerate greatly the actual numbers of Mexicans in the United States. Aside from the practical problem of numbers he challenges the desirability of exclusion from other viewpoints.

"The theories of the purity of races and 'blue blood' are nowadays already

almost forgotten. Practical eugenics, more than the theories of students who tried to subject the great plan of Nature to a mathematical scale and the alligation rule, has given the world splendid and handsome specimens of human beings in those hybrid individuals resulting from races different, and even antagonistic."

MIGRATION AND LAND SETTLEMENT POLICY IN PARAGUAY IN 1927; anonymous; *Bulletin of the Pan-American Union,* Washington, D. C., January, 1929.

MIGRATION FROM GREAT BRITAIN TO CANADA; *Monthly Record of Migration,* Geneva, December, 1928.

MIGRATION PROBLEMS AND THE HAVANA CONFERENCE; by Louis Varlez; *International Labour Review,* Geneva, January, 1929.

In this article an advisory member of the second International Migration Conference at Havana gives some interesting impressions of certain new tendencies that are manifesting themselves in modern migration problems. The author points out an important change, in the fact that migration questions are moving out of the realm of national politics into that of international regulation. "Above all these details of regulation, fundamental problems of high international policy are becoming more and more evident. The recognition of the right to come and go; the freedom to emigrate, to immigrate, to settle abroad; genuine equality of treatment between nationals and foreigners, between races and between men; the necessities of a policy of rational distribution of population and development of world resources; the dangers of a too unequal distribution of population on the coasts of the Atlantic and above all of the Pacific; these are the essential questions that it is felt must be treated, even, and especially when Governments hesitate and evade discussion."

Freedom of movement and of enterprise has persisted longer in the field of migration than in other regions of human activity but under the new order, "Those days of freedom are past. The freedom to migrate has disappeared almost everywhere. Countries of immigration and emigration alike have adopted legislation, laid down regulations and concluded treaties. All of these tend in some measure to lessen the anarchy of migration movements."

The inevitable conclusion is accepted, that in order to deal with the international character of migration problems, regulation must be enforced by means of treaties rather than by national legislation.

NATIONAL MIGRATION NOTES; *Industrial and Labour Information,* Geneva, December 24, 1928.

"It may be recalled that in August last 8,449 British harvesters proceeded to Canada. According to a statement by the British Government, 2,720 of these harvesters were still in Canada on 19 November and steps had been taken to place them on farms, on railway construction work, in mines, and in various other trades for the winter. . . .

"In the United States the Supreme Court has upheld the decision of a lower court to the effect that British subjects residing in Canada can cross the Canadian-United States frontier freely, either for purposes of employment or for any other purpose. Other recent court decisions have thrown some light on the situation of student-immigrants in the United States, and in particular it has been made clear that such students may engage in part-time work outside their studies."

SETTLEMENT SCHEMES IN BRAZIL; anonymous; *Bulletin of the Pan-American Union,* Washington, D. C., January, 1929.

MISSIONS

DECADE OF AMERICAN ROMAN CATHOLIC MISSIONS IN CHINA, A; by Carrington Goodrich; the *International Review of Missions,* London, January, 1929.

MEDICAL MISSIONS AND THE INDIGENOUS CHURCHES; by C. Frimodt-Moller; the *International Review of Missions,* London, January, 1929.

NOS MISSIONNAIRES—MERE JAVOUHEY PROTECTRICE DES NOIRS—I and II; by Georges Goyau; *Revue des Deux Mondes,* Paris, January 1 and 15, 1929.

SPONTANEOUS RENUNCIATION OF GOVERNMENTAL PROTECTION BY CERTAIN MISSIONARIES IN CHINA; by Tan Shao-hwa; the *China Weekly Review* (American), Shanghai, January 26, 1929.

WAR AND PEACE

IF WE ARE NOT TO HAVE ANOTHER WAR; by Most Reverend Nathan Soderblom, Archbishop of Upsala, Sweden; *Federal Council Bulletin,* New York, January, 1929.

"It is a good thing sometimes to pronounce a solemn anathema, and what should our generation anathematize with greater conviction than war? But solemn declarations are not enough. They demand action. If contradicted by action, they become hypocritical, a hindrance, and not a means for the furthering of peace."

SOLDIER ON WAR, A—Sir William Robertson's Arresting Warning; *Headway,* London, January, 1929.

". . . Taking all the belligerents into account, the direct money outlay seems to have been nearly £40,000,000,000, while the indirect cost of such items as destruction of property, loss of shipping, loss to agriculture and industry, decrease of birth-rate, and race deterioration, may be guessed at not less than £30,000,000,000, or some £70,000,000,000 in all. The loss of life was about 10,000,000, which is double that caused by all the wars of the preceding 120 years put together, including the wars of the Napoleonic period. Besides the killed, there were probably no fewer than 20,000,000 wounded."

STUDENT MOVEMENTS FOR INTERNATIONAL GOODWILL; edited by Louise Funston Shields; *Pan-Pacific Progress,* Los Angeles, January, 1929.

SUBSTITUTES FOR WAR; by Kirby Page; the *Student World,* Geneva, January, 1929.

"For the first time in history humanity is now within sight of permanent peace. The goal is still distant and many high barriers must be surmounted but the way is open before us. If the peoples of the different countries will rise up and demand that governments take seriously the commitments of the multilateral pact, the probability of war can be removed within the lifetime of this generation."

MISCELLANEOUS

AMERICANS OF JAPANESE ANCESTRY; by Walter Y. Mihata, the *Japanese Student Bulletin,* New York, December 15, 1928.

CONSEIL DE RECHERCHES SCIENTIFIQUES DE L'INDOCHINE, LE; editorial; *L'Europe Nouvelle,* Paris, January 5, 1929.

"Both in France and abroad the fact is generally unknown that in Indo-China there are a great many scientific organizations which are pursuing their various studies in archeology, meteorology, geodetics, medicine, etc. In taking the initiative in grouping the authorized representatives of these several organizations into a Scientific Research Council, M. Pasquier, who is in large part responsible for the Council's creation and the entire government of Indo-China, wish to give new impulse to the work already in progress, and permit Indo-China to be represented, as she so well deserves, in the Pacific Science Congress—Editor's note, Roger Lévy.

DRUGS AND THEIR CONTROL; editorial; the *Japan Weekly Chronicle* (British), Kobe, January 31, 1929.

"Making all allowances for the legitimate difficulties in its way, the conclusion is nevertheless unavoidable that the Opium Commission at Geneva need cause no great perturbations among those interested in the trade. It oscillates between mutual recrimination and mutual admiration, and the status quo remains. . . . The trouble is that . . . there is an amount of revenue gained from opium which the governments concerned hate to do without. It is also regarded as rather an attraction for Chinese labour. Naturally this results in the very worst type of Chinese labour going to these regions, so there is not very much gained. . . . But this again suggests a reform of the system of getting labour rather than a justification of opium, and it emphasises the badness of the quality of the labour obtainable under such conditions.

". . . Similarly with morphia, which is manufactured in Britain and Japan, it would be easy to keep control of its destination; but the manufacturing countries do not exert themselves much in the matter because each government believes that the others will take advantage of any self-denying ordinance and encourage their subjects to benefit by it. The facts of the case are always avoided at Geneva.

". . . a new headquarters for the Opium Monopoly has just been erected in Dairen. In the face of this the fervent assurances and congratulations at Geneva look rather ridiculous."

FRENCH INTERESTS IN THE FAR EAST; by Leon Archimbaud; the *Asiatic Review,* London, January, 1929.

An article contributed to the "Asian Circle's" Survey of Asiatic Affairs.

"Apart from Russia and Great Britain, no country has such a long stretch of frontier in common with China as the Franco-Chinese frontiers; no other nation has obtained such an intellectual and moral influence in China as that possessed by France, thanks to her Catholic Missions. And in the Pacific itself, the islands of New Caledonia, the New Hebrides, Tahiti, the Marquesas, Gambier, etc., are not eligible."

LINES OF FRANCO-BRITISH COLLABORATION IN ASIA; an article contributed to "The Asian Circle's" Survey of Asiatic Affairs, by one who writes under the auspices of the Union Coloniale; the *Asiatic Review,* London, January, 1929.

"The Asian Circle is conducted by a group with personal knowledge of the various parts of Asia, and through the collective experience of its members aims at giving to the public an informed, progressive, and disinterested view of Asian affairs, both in detail and as a whole."

PHILIPPINES INDEPENDENCE; editorial; the *New Republic,* New York, February 6, 1929.

POPULATION PROBLEM DURING THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION; by T. H. Marshall; the *Economic Journal,* London, January, 1929.

SOCIETE DES NATIONS ET L'ORIENT, LA; by H. A. L. Fisher, former minister of Public Instruction and former British representative at the League of Nations; le *Journal de Geneve,* Geneva, January 13, 1929.

"The relations between the League of Nations and the Asiatic powers have more than once given place to grave apprehensions."

SOLVING AMERICA'S RACE PROBLEM; by Walter White; the *Nation,* New York, January 9, 1929.

"The most significant gesture ever made in these United States toward solution of the race problem in America occurred at Washington in December. For the first time representatives of the most conservative groups met with those whose stand on the race problem is much further toward the left. For three and a half days the Right and the Left, and those between the two extremes, from the North and from the South, whites and Negroes, discussed aspects of race relations in a manner which varied from extreme caution to complete frankness.

". . . Through it all there ran a note of sincerity and good humor which marked a great advance over the purely bombastic agitation and recrimination which has unfortunately characterized discussions of the race problems in past years.

". . . The success of their efforts marks a new development of the race problem in the nearer approach to unity of purpose and effort against specific evils, and in taking discussion of this most difficult of American problems out of the realm of hysteria and conjecture into the clear light of scientific and factual approach toward problems which hitherto have seemed unsolvable."

VAST OPEN SPACES OF AUSTRALIA, THE; by W. K. H.; the *New Statesman,* London, January 12, 1929.

WAY OF WILLIAMSTOWN, THE; by C. R. Fay; the *Dalhousie Review,* Halifax, Canada, January, 1929.

A few highlights from a clever article:

"Many spectators feel at first (and I as much as any) that there is something ruthless in the American way of doing things. . . . I was at the Williamstown Institute of Politics throughout the month of August; and I came away convinced that here is a great people, feeling in their own way after truth upon international affairs. They have their prejudices; I have mine; and I learned most from those with whom, as I heard them, I differed most.

". . . They have a saving sense of humour, too, which never fails them. Their Latin-American economists lauded the civilising work of American capital in Mexico; upon which I congratulated the U. S. A. on making the world safe for capitalism. . . .

" 'Industrialised North America,' said an economist, 'can look there increasingly in the near future for raw materials, and for markets necessary to the disposing of our growing exportable surplus.' Whereupon Japan arose and said: 'That is precisely why we are in Manchuria.'

"Our economist was a professor at a prominent school of commerce which is pledged by its founder to teach protection; and it was instructive therefore to hear his protest against the policy of the Big Four of South America in adopting tariffs 'for the protection of industries which logically should not exist within their borders.' A whole book might be written on the use of the world 'logical' in the American business programme.

". . . Our Canadian West must not be for us another Manchuria. This was the train of thought which I pursued, fresh as I was from a month of travel and study in the Prairie provinces.

". . . Mr. Zumoto, Japan's wise old man, spoke patient, inexorable words. . . . Japan will go when China is strong enough (he did not say 'to put her out,' that would have been too crude) to keep order for herself. Whereupon Young China, trained or training in American law schools, was on its feet defying the Chairman's baton. China is a continent, America is a continent. China must be free like America. Manchuria is ours. We are a great people, and will not be oppressed. The big heart of America opened itself to China's impetus youth; and I stood ready to share my bucket of whitewash, low though it was by this time, with the island empire of the Pacific.

"The Press is a formidable force at Williamstown. Each Round Table must deliver to it, the day before, a press release, not merely an abstract, but an advance report with emphasis on the points that will have 'news-value.' "

"The Way of Williamstown is serious, yet smiling; enthusiastic, yet tolerant. . . ."

Institute Notes

CONFERENCE ANNOUNCEMENTS

The data published in this department is issued officially by the International Secretariat of the Institute of Pacific Relations, from its central headquarters at Honolulu. Inquiries may be addressed to the General Secretary, J. Merle Davis, or to Charles F. Loomis, Secretary for the Conference; P. O. Box 1561, Honolulu, Territory of Hawaii. Cable address—Inparel.

Kyoto Dates

October 28, 1929, has been set as the opening date for the third biennial conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations at Kyoto, Japan.

The Pacific Council, International Research Committee and Program Committee will hold a series of preliminary meetings at Nara, from October 23 to 27, during which time the Japanese Council has planned a group of entertainments and excursions for the main body of conference members not so engaged.

The round table sessions and forums at Kyoto are scheduled to continue for twelve days, the conference coming to a close on November 9.

Announcement Bulletin

Central Headquarters is publishing a bulletin of announcements and information concerning the Kyoto Conference in which the official call, agenda, details of dates, housing, entertainment, steamer schedules, etc., are set forth for the convenience of conference members. Copies are available for distribution.

Agenda Bibliographies

A series of bibliographical articles on the main topics of the Kyoto agenda is being prepared for publication in *Pacific Affairs* beginning with the April number. These articles will give weighted references to books, chapters, statistical reports, official documents and current periodical literature bearing on the economic, political and cultural problems which appear on the Institute's 1929 conference program.

Data Papers Due

It is important that any data papers which the groups wish to have included in the conference documentation, together with relevant official or other material, should reach the Honolulu office the first week in August so that all members attending the Kyoto conference may receive such material before leaving their respective home lands.

Agenda Outline

On page 103 of this issue of *Pacific Affairs* we publish an article by Dr. J. B. Condliffe, Research Secretary, discussing the main issues under the agenda topics and relating them to their background of immediate past and present actualities.

In the April issue we plan to publish an outline of questions on the agenda, supplementing this first descriptive article and designed as a tool to facilitate preparatory study.

On the next page is the official announcement of the agenda as contained in the General Secretary's letter of February 7 to the National Councils. This proposed list of topics is in the form in which it emerged from a prolonged period of group consideration and consultation by correspondence and travel on the part of the international secretaries. Further details will be in the hands of the Program Committee meeting prior to Kyoto.

THE KYOTO AGENDA

It is evident that the major issues for round table discussion at the Kyoto Conference next October are to be the following:

1. Problems of Food and Population and Land Utilization.
2. Questions concerning China's revision of treaties, her financial reconstruction, and the problems of the three Eastern Provinces (Manchuria).
3. Questions arising out of the industrialization now going on in the Pacific, including tariffs, foreign investments, and the social consequences of industrialization.
4. Diplomatic Relations in the Pacific, including a consideration of League of Nations activities in the Pacific, existing treaties, war prevention policies, the perfection of the machinery for peaceable settlement of disputes, disarmament and security in the Pacific, immigration exclusion and the Latin-American policy of the United States.

It is not possible to forecast at this time what particular aspects of these major issues will be considered at the Kyoto round tables. These, as well as other issues which may later arise, will be determined by the Program Committee at Kyoto.

Cultural Contacts

It has been suggested that the important question of Cultural Contacts in the Pacific should be handled by publications of an historical and interpretative character, by several formal lectures, and by first hand study in Kyoto itself.

Communications

It is proposed that the International Research Committee, meeting in Kyoto, consider the subject of Communications in the Pacific in order that adequate preparation may be made for discussion of this topic at the 1931 Conference.

Pacific Dependencies

Material is in preparation by several groups on The Administration of Pacific Dependencies. The best use of this material will be decided by the Program Committee at Kyoto.

NEWS ITEMS

Japanese Cultural Committee

On January 15 last the Cultural Committee of the Japanese Institute Council held a meeting in Tokyo, to consider preparation in this field for the forthcoming conference at Kyoto. Among those present were Messrs. Inazo Nitobé, M. Yamasaki, Soichi Saito, Ino Dan, Kawasaki and Shin Saito.

Mass Education Leader

On February 6 the San Francisco Group of the Institute of Pacific Relations cooperated with the San Francisco Center, the Commercial Club and the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce, in sponsoring a large luncheon meeting for Mr. James Y. C. Yen, leader of the Chinese Mass Education Movement. He has been in the United States lecturing in the interests of his Movement.

Dr. I. F. Ayusawa

Dr. Iwao F. Ayusawa, member of the Geneva Secretariat of the International Labour Office, was present in Honolulu from February 9 to 15, en route back to Geneva from the Orient, whither he had accompanied M. Albert Thomas, director of the International Labour Office, on his recent visit there to China and Japan. During his stay in Honolulu Dr. Ayusawa, who received part of his early training and education at a local college, addressed many public meetings, schools and other organizations. On February 14 the Hawaii Council of the Institute invited guests to meet Dr. Ayusawa at a luncheon at the Young Hotel. "As technicians for peace, I can address you not so much on the successes as on the difficulties which the League is encountering in its progress," he said.

Dr. Stewart Burgess of the Sociological Department at Yenching University, Peking, was a guest with Dr. Ayusawa at the luncheon meeting, and spoke briefly of the work being done by the Harvard, Yale and Princeton institutes at Yenching.

Dr. George Grafton Wilson

Dr. George Grafton Wilson, Professor of International Law at Harvard University and a member of the American Council of the Institute, arrived in Honolulu on January 30, on his way to the Orient. Dr. Wilson attended a meeting of the Advisory Committee of the Institute, on January 31.

Sir Arthur Salter

Sir Arthur Salter of the League of Nations Secretariat at Geneva was guest of honor at a dinner given by the Executive Committee of the American Council of the Institute in New York, on February 1. Dr. Chang Po-ling, president of Nankai University, Tientsin, and member of the China Council of the Institute, was also a guest at the dinner.

Nationalist China Meeting

Dr. William Hung and Dr. David Z. T. Yui, both members of the 1927 conference of the Institute, were chief speakers at a Foreign Policy Association luncheon in New York, on February 2, the subject for discussion being Nationalist China. Dr. Hung, who was dean of the College of Arts and Science at Yenching University, Peking, is exchange professor for the year 1928-1929 at Harvard University, under the auspices of the Harvard-Yenching Institute. Dr. Yui is China's member on the Pacific Council of the Institute of Pacific Relations.

THE INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS

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ELIZABETH GREEN
Editor

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No. 4 1929

CONTRIBUTORS

George Kin Leung, author of "Hsin Ch'iao," or "New Trends in the Chinese Drama," is an authority on the traditional dramatic art of China and its modern exponents. "Hsin Ch'iao" means "The New Tide." Mr. Leung is a prolific writer on dramatic subjects in the periodicals of China and the West, and is the author of several books.

W. L. Holland, who contributed the review bibliography on "Diplomatic Relations in the Pacific," is assistant to Dr. J. B. Condliffe in the Research Department of the Institute of Pacific Relations. He was a research student in economics at Christchurch College, the University of New Zealand.

V. S. McClatchy, whose article on the "Second Generation Japanese in California" we reprint in this issue, has been one of the leading advocates of Oriental immigration exclusion on the Pacific Coast. He is secretary of the California Joint Immigration Committee.

Dr. Tasuku Harada, under the initials "T.H." has contributed a review on "Japan under Taisho Tenno." He is Professor of Japanese History and Language at the University of Hawaii.

Dr. F. C. Benham, who reviewed "Britain's Industrial Future," is on leave from the Economics Department of the University of Sydney, in order to do a piece of economic research under the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial. He is at present in New York.

Benigna Green has reviewed "The Problem of Indian Administration" under the initials "B.G." She has been a first-hand student of Indian life and affairs in the United States and a factor in the relief of certain unfortunate conditions on California reservations.

PACIFIC AFFAIRS

No. 4 APRIL 1929

Hsin Ch'iao

(*The New Tide*)

NEW TRENDS IN THE TRADITIONAL CHINESE DRAMA

By George Kin Leung

Here in ever changing China, one is impressed with the truthfulness of the statement: "The old order changeth, giving place to the new." About two centuries ago what is now variously designated as Peking drama, Chinese opera, the *p'i-huang* drama, and so on, gained a firm place with the people. The Peking drama, then itself a novelty, is now in turn experiencing new trends, which, it is hoped, will lead through the present period of crude experimentation to a higher art. Generally speaking, the conventional Chinese drama differs as much from the realistic school of the Occident as the manner in which one waves to a friend: that is, while the foreigner moves his hand towards himself, the Chinese waves his outward in order to signal a person to come to him. Be that as it may, the purpose of the drama in the Middle Kingdom, like that of the rest of the world, is to divert, edify, and occasionally to instruct.

In order to comprehend fully the significance of new trends in traditional drama, it is necessary to describe briefly the Peking, or *p'i-huang,* school, which is so well established throughout most parts of the Republic that it is now said we live in a *p'i-huang* world. This musical style of drama, a combination of various types of music set to acting, may be said to have had its successful beginning about 1760 when the Four Great Anhwei Training Schools in Peking taught actors to perpetuate northern traditions. Everything: acting, declamation, singing, and so on, is done according to strict convention.

The late Empress Dowager, who herself is said to have taken great pride in writing plays and who, it is rumored, donned the actor's robe along with her courtiers, encouraged the *p'i-huang* school, which at once enjoyed even greater popularity.

The Peking drama, which is not devoid of spoken dialogue, is filled with songs that usually form for the audience the *pièce de résistance* of the evening. Plays fall into two general divisions: the *wên-hsi,* or more quiet and operatic works, and the *wu-hsi,* or noisy and military works. Treatment, even of tense and realistic situations is invariably light and conventional. Except for rare moments and except for the gags of comedians and the rôles of the *lao-tan,* or old women, there is no stark realism. Sometimes, through the tangle of artificial convention a great actor, by sheer force of personality, puts over the footlights to the audience a semblance of realism denuded of the commonplace.

An outstanding fact is that men still portray the heroines and have developed a peculiar style of singing and acting which generally is preferred to the natural interpretation of the same rôle by women. Actresses, who are said to have been in vogue as early as the Yuan Dynasty (1280-1368),

were prohibited from public appearance by royal decree in the reign of Ch'ien Lung (1736-1794). Thus it was that young men of exceptional beauty and talent portrayed, as did their English brothers in Shakespearean days, the leading feminine rôles. They have produced a falsetto stronger than a woman's voice and admittedly artificial. The style gains its appeal from the intricacies of an artificial convention. While most of the old school sing in a high shrill voice, Mr. Wang Yao-ch'ing and at present Mr. Ch'êng Yen-chiu use a voice which is much more mellow, full, and low, almost approximating the natural feminine voice except for the slightly virile, and not unpleasing, strength in tone. So well have men established themselves that actresses, who at present cannot hope to compete with the best actors of feminine rôles, often resort to making public announcements that they sing in the style of certain well known men, such as Mr. Ch'êng Yen-chiu.

In the beginning, there were all-male companies only; then, appeared in 1911 all-female companies. Because the Chinese maintained firm belief in the separation of the sexes, it was unthinkable for a man and a woman to portray on the stage courtship and love. But the so-called unthinkable did take place in the Kung Wu-t'ai in Shanghai where actors and actresses appeared on the same stage to draw additional box office receipts from the less particular and cutting remarks from the conservative. "Do you go to that indecent place?" a scholar, only three years ago, might have asked an acquaintance. Within the last year or more, the three remaining large playhouses in Shanghai have added to their all-male companies actresses, who, it is sad to say, are, with one or two exceptions, purely ornamental. It is interesting to note that when great actors like Mei Lan-fang and Ch'êng Yen-chiu come to Shanghai for a limited engagement, the actresses are given a vacation, for it would be impossible to have them appear with real artists; such is the general public belief.

The simplest way to understand an old Peking play is to attend one; but before going, it may be well to study the background of the drama. Religion and ethics are forces to be considered. Confucian ethics exalt filial piety, devotion of servant to master, loyalty of friend to friend, the worth of learning, and so on. Thus, a servant will place his own infant in death's jaws to ward off destruction from the crown prince; a man will cut off his arm to feign surrender to a barbarian king and to convince the latter of his alienation from his own country, which he is determined to save for his ruler. Buddhism peoples the stage with nuns and lazy, scheming, licentious monks; and provides many temple scenes, while Taoism furnishes a veritable pantheon of demi-gods, fairies, and supernatural animals. Just as the three forces harmonize in the everyday life of the people, so do they blend together in their contribution to the world of make-believe.

Of paramount importance is music. Real lovers of drama go to hear, rather than to see, a play, as may still be evidenced in the old playhouses in Peking, where some of the seats run at right angles to the stage. In the orchestra, which is seated in full view on the stage, the *hu-ch'in,* or Chinese violin, its two strings being bowed with a horizontal movement, is the leading instrument for vocal accompaniment.

In Shanghai we will first attend a performance of an old play in a so-called "modern-style" theater, which, with its hard seats, noisy food hawkers, and attendants ever pouring water into your teapot, is devoid of the comfort one associates with the idea "modern."

The playlet, or dramatic fragment of especial interest, is "Wu Chia P'o," one of the best liked portions of the long play, "The Fiery Steed of the Red Mane." It is the practice in Chinese theatres to present in the course of an evening as many as ten to twelve short plays or fragments from long works. A patron must possess not only imagination but also a knowledge of the events that have taken place prior to the opening of the play; he may do well also to know what will take place after the drama has ended. The situation is not so distressing as on first thought it may seem, for the stories on which most plays are based have been familiar to the spectator from childhood, not taking into count the scores of times he may have seen the play in the theatre, and the many readings he may have made of the book.

Thus, if we see a fragment only, we go to the playhouse armed with the foreknowledge that the heroine, in face of parental objection and banishment from home, married the then poverty-stricken Hsüeh P'ing-kuei. Wang Pao-ch'uan, who had firm faith in her self-chosen life mate, went, with characteristic womanly virtue, to P'ing-kuei's hovel to share his poverty. Having subjugated a spirit, which forthwith turned into the fiery steed of the red mane, her husband received from the Emperor rank in the army. P'ing-kuei, who was commanded to help put down the rebellion in Hsiliang, returns to see his wife. The leavetaking is another popular episode which is often presented as a separate fragment. While in the field for eighteen years, the warrior had been taken captive by the King of Hsiliang and was given the latter's daughter to wife.

P'ing-kuei, returning to his first wife, approaches Wu Chia P'o. At this point the playlet begins. Two characters only appear, the hero and the heroine, who must be artists of first degree in order to do justice to the vocal and histrionic requirements of the work. No scenery, beyond the plain or embroidered curtain to the rear, is required; and no stage properties except a whip, a dust pan, a basket, and one or two other articles. The simplicity of properties and arrangement is almost identical with that of the Shakespearean stage.

Briefly, the action of "Wu Chia P'o" follows: Hsüeh P'ing-kuei, wishing to test the fidelity of his wife, straightway pretends that he is a friend of her husband's, that the latter has lost money to him and pledged his wife in payment. The newcomer proceeds to flirt with the woman, who, highly indignant, tells the man to look aside, whereupon she throws dust into his eyes. Making her escape into the hovel, which she barricades, Pao-ch'uan refuses to admit P'ing-kuei until the latter has proved his identity. Not until then are husband and wife reunited.

The performance of Messrs. Ch'êng Yen-chiu and Kuan Ta-yüan, presented at the Ta Wu-t'ai in Hankow Road, Shanghai, on the evening of Monday, November 15, 1928, will be described. Before the actor comes on, the rear curtain, the coverings on chairs and tables, are replaced by others of richer satin and embroidery, while more impressive musicians take the place of the former. A Chinese play always begins with an empty stage. Thus, before making his entrance, Mr. Kuan Ta-yüan as the hero, Hsüeh P'ing-kuei, sings from behind the curtains, among other things: "My horse away from Hsi-liang . . . Green hills, blue waters, a world of many manifestations. Ah, Hsüeh P'ing-kuei like a lone goose wends his way home . . ." The audience shout *hao* (good, bravo) both before and on the appearance of the actor, who holds in hand a whip to denote that he is riding.

But the idol of the evening, Mr.Ch'êng Yen-chiu, has not yet come on. In the rôle of Wang Pao-ch'uan and in the conventional *ch'ing-i,* the type for a virtuous woman of refined deportment, who must sing exceptionally well, he declaims from behind the curtain, drawing out the last word to a musical pitch and length to gather the plaudits of the enthusiastic audience. Singing and making his entrance with a graceful flourish of his long sleeves, the actor is greeted by another din of *hao* and handclapping. The heroine ends her song with a thought characteristic of a model woman of her day, as follows: " . . . For each word he will ask of me, I will say one in reply."

After P'ing-kuei has not only told the woman she is now his property but has touched her once or twice on the shoulder, the latter being a gross violation of propriety in that the most rigid separation of the sexes was observed in those days, Pao-ch'uan exclaimed, "Someone is coming!" "Where?" asked the man, looking about. "There," pointed the woman, who at once scooped up some imaginary dust which she threw into the eyes of her tormentor.

Pao-ch'uan makes her escape, lifting high above her head with ineffable grace her long sleeve as she flees about in a circle to denote that she has run to her hovel. Bending down with sweeping motion, she proceeds with animated gesture of arm and finger to bolt the imaginary door. She sits sidewise on a chair. Although there is supposed to be an imaginary wall between P'ing-kuei and his wife, on the stage itself the heroine actually sits in full view of the hero, who pleads in vain to be admitted. Pao-ch'uan's refusal offers occasion for her husband to recount in song what has taken place during the eighteen years of his absence, at which the wife opens the door but not before she has thrice demanded that he withdraw a step.

It is characteristic of Peking drama, as is thought true in the plays of ancient Greece, that actors speak until their emotions become aroused to a high pitch, whereupon they pour forth their feeling in song. Also when a character, as frequently happens, is obliged to tell another something of which the audience has already been informed, the repetition is embellished with song in order not to bore the listener. In the finale, husband and wife alternately sing two lines, each composed of six Chinese characters. The hero, "P'ing-kuei has, for eighteen years, been absent from home." His wife, "Loaded with bitterness, weighted down with suffering, Wang Pao-ch'uan." He, "To-day, in the hovel, we meet once more." She, "But I fear we meet in a dream," to which P'ing-kuei replies, "It is not a dream." "If that is so," the woman continues, "then, my husband, follow me." Says P'ing-kuei, "I come;" and they exeunt smiling.

The bareness of the stage, the outstanding presence of the actors, unassisted by stage devices, the use of the whip to denote riding, the throwing of imaginary dust, the bolting of the make-believe door, the heroine in her conventional costume of black, which denotes a poor woman, and many other details concentrate in a few moments the letter and spirit of orthodox Peking drama.

From the foregoing example of old drama, with its numerous operatic passages and firmly rooted conventions, let us pass on to a general consideration of the new trends in that school. Very evident it is that much crude scenery is used, and in the same connection, blinding festoons of nitrogen lights are, on the least provocation, strung across the stage. Costumes, which are becoming excuses for the display of foreign lace and fringe,

lack the intrinsic charm of traditional stage dress although the public may, to a certain extent, welcome the change. The new type of sensational extravaganza, with its mysterious trapdoors, lopping off of heads, and so on, is fraught with so many "tricks" that the plays are called *chi kuan hsi,* or "trick plays." With inferior actors in the company, there may be two reasons for the decrease in singing: first, a desire to innovate; second, the actors, who have poor voices, must rely on acting, elaborate costuming, gaudy settings, and so on.

Here it may be pointed out that many of the so-called innovations are, in reality, a combination of conventional stage practices already accepted by the public, as the combining of the *ch'ing-i* style of singing with the more vivacious *hua-tan* acting to produce the *hua-shan,* on which later was superimposed the ancient costumes and dances of Mei Lan-fang to create the *ku-chuang,* or ancient costume, which is also called the Mei School. A translation of portions of Mr. Chang Liao-tzŭ's article, "The Most Recent Survey of the Chinese Theatre," will bring out this point. The writer, who has been discussing the dramas of Mei, says: " . . . Thus, new plays were written. While the story was new, the plot new, and the text new, yet, the manner of production did not escape the conventional old style. Although the plays were given the name 'new,' still, the singing and orchestration had no choice but to follow the beaten path of convention. These new dramas may be considered the product of a transitional period. . . . Today, in the theatrical world, Mei has a name to be conjured with. . . . His beauty like the jade, his voice like pearls, and his new plays have combined to produce, in this era, a marked success. . . . He could not, in the end, however, abandon old traditions, from which it may be understood how powerful the old school is."

Distinctive are Mr. Ch'êng Yen-chiu's operatic plays, which usually avoid the fairy themes of the great Mei and emphasize historical works, often in the tragic vein. The abundance of good songs, which audiences delight in, and the improvement in plot construction are qualities which place these plays among the worthy attempts of the conservative transitional type. To be highly recommended is "Wên Chi's Return to Han," a noble and impressive historical drama, which the writer has fully described in the last December number of *The China Journal,* of Shanghai.

Actual plays, containing transitional elements will now be considered. Since Peking, especially in matters theatrical, is much less favorable to radical change than eagerly innovating Shanghai, the drama to be attended will be that of the renowned female impersonator, Mr. Shang Hsiao-yün. On the evening of Saturday, February 4, 1928, the actor presented "Chieh-yü Wards Off a Bear." The slender tale is that of Chieh-yü's rivalry with another palace beauty for the Emperor's favour, her avoiding the jealous attacks of the other woman, and her final rescue of the Emperor in the imperial hunting lodge when a powerful bear breaks loose. While, on the whole, the conventional manner was adhered to, there were examples of setting which foreshadowed the coming into Peking of those undesirable qualities which for years have, like a virulent disease, been eating into the heart of the Shanghai theatre.

Shang Hsiao-yün sang in a noble style, which is never heard in the Shanghai "trick" play, and which almost, but not quite, compensated for the glare of the circle of gigantic nitrogen lights, an altogether unnecessary wall ornament, which undoubtedly found its inspiration in the "trick"

school. It was good to get back to old tradition and enjoy the animals, which were men wearing clumsy, painted pyjama-like garments and unwieldy *papier-mâché* heads. The comedian type of wardens imitated the already grotesque antics of the animals. In the arena, where the mighty bear broke loose, the charm of tradition once more exerted its magic influence. Chieh-yü, mistress of boxing and gymnastics, faced the bear and warded off its attack from the Emperor. Followed not a bloody and realistic battle but a conventional dance! To the dulcet tones of the orchestra, the girl and the bear moved about in graceful positions suggestive of a struggle. On its head, the animal received many a gentle and graceful tap, sometimes rolling backwards from the imaginary force of that impact. In the grand finale, the courageous damsel steps airily forward and places her spear, with light grace, into the body of the bear and so saves the Son of Heaven!

It was in the Kai Ming Theatre in Peking that Mr. Shang acted the drama. The playhouse, while called "modern," is not altogether up-to-date, although it is neither the old mat-shed type nor the kind in which the projecting platform stage, like that of the Shakespearean theatre, is used. The Kai Ming may, in more senses than one, be said to be a transitional type of theatre, like some of the dramas of Mei and Shang, which it sometimes presents, because while on the one hand it attempts to pattern its arrangements along modern lines, on the other it still clings with death-like tenacity to the older routine.

In Shanghai, the Ta Wu-t'ai in Hankow Road has, for some years, been the home of the "trick" play, a mighty success being the perennially popular "Li Mao Huan T'ai-tzŭ," or "Exchanging a Wild Cat's Kitten for the Crown Prince." The customary rivalry between two women in the royal seraglio is given a new turn when a jealous woman has the Crown Prince stolen and a newborn kitten put in its place with the result that the unhappy mother, her rival, is banished to live in solitude! The babe in question is Jên Tsung (1023-63) of the Sung Dynasty.

While the first few instalments of the play contained a reasonable amount of singing of medium quality, the score or more which followed did not keep up that quality. Needless to say, nitrogen lights, crude settings, and other gaudy properties were even more in evidence than in "Chieh-yü Wards off a Bear."

Somewhat later than the series of plays just under consideration, appeared the much advertized "Shakyamuni Buddha" of the T'ien Ch'an Theatre. Since it was widely known that the actors took daily ablutions and went through other rites, believed necessary for the veneration of the Sage, the prospective patron thought here must be an historical drama worthy of close study.

But disappointment awaits those who expect too much. The first discordant notes in the play were the Indian generals, who, except for a conspicuously elevated artificial nose, a turban, and a coat less rather than more Indian, were otherwise Chinese military characters who dashed about in their conventional manner. The incongruous blending of what seemed to be a Sikh policeman and a Chinese stage general proved so unspeakably novel that the spectator found it impossible to laugh until some days later. The actors who could not afford expensive costumes wore loose garments like Japanese kimonos. The situation reveals well the mind of a Chinese actor. Since he often cannot read his own language, how can he be expected to

know the manners and dress of other peoples? Anything not Chinese will do whether the scene is Indian, African, European, or Roman! Here it may be said that some Broadway ideas of the Chinese, pure caricatures excepted, are to the Chinese equally as revolting as the scenes just described.

The climax of surprises came at the wedding of Buddha. The princess bride was portrayed by Mr. Liu Hsiao-hêng, who, being able to do something of everything but no one thing well, is the ideal of the Shanghai manager, while Buddha was played by the late Mr. Shang Ch'un-heng, who about a year ago was sensationally murdered. Both actors were foremost exponents of the Shanghai extravaganza. What a vision did the Golden One turn out to be! His puffed-out sleeves and his crown were almost replicas of those of the Jack of Clubs on a playing card, while the princess was draped with all the finery of the eighties. Anachronisms do not count on the *p'i-huang* stage, but never was the point driven home so memorably as on this evening. The bridal pair, each smiting with singular strength a tambourine, first did, to the racket of the European band, ungraceful solo dances. The din of applause, if it were possible, doubled when the princess and her companion caught one another in a wrestler's grapple and sidled roughly about, giving a living definition of the word, "hurly-burly." The king and queen and other members of the royal family, being democratic, joined in the fox-trot mêlée. Yet another surprise. "Yes!" sang the Sage, and his bride in nuptial harmony—and in English too—"We have no bah-nah-nahs, we have no bah-nah-nahs to-day." Deafening applause rumbled from the gallery. I have often asked myself why did the actors trouble themselves to take that much advertized bath?

The T'ien Ch'an Theatre at the present writing is also the home for the popular success, "Fêng Shêng Pang," a series of plays based on the fairytale novel of the same name. The events, highly coloured with Taoistic lore, take place during the reign of King Chou (B. C. 1154-1123). Only those portions of the story will be presented which illustrate new trends and examples of the retention of orthodox atmosphere. King Chou, on visiting a temple, where he was smitten with the beauty of the image of Nü Wo, wrote to the latter a love poem. So enraged at this effrontery was Nü Wo that she summoned the three demons of the wolf, the pheasant, and the guitar in order to mete out vengeance on the audacious mortal. Su Hu-chien had a pretty daughter, named Ta Chi, whom the king demanded for his seraglio. The fairy, Nü Wo, had, meanwhile, sent the wolf-demon to swallow Ta Chi and assume the latter's form as a part of her plan to punish Chou. The unhappy father, not knowing what had taken place, escorted his daughter to court.

An important rôle is that of Chiang Tzŭ-ya, whose rivalry with Shen Kung-pao for the guardianship of the *Fêng Shêng Pang,* the list of names of the gods and fairies, furnishes a setting for a "trick." When the two rivals, during the dispute, exhibit their abilities, Shen Kung-pao strikes off with a sword his own head, which he hurls into the sky. He is in the act of motioning for it to return when a celestial being sends forth a magic crane to hold the head in the air. Shen Kung-pao found himself in a horrible predicament and would have perished had not his magnanimous rival, Chiang Tzŭ-ya, begged the deity to command the crane to release the head. In a special pictorial publication, Shen Kung-pao is shown with his hands to his ears as if in the act of adjusting his head or trying to assure himself that it has returned.

While the many doings of the demons and the usual comedy touches help fill out the long evening, it is the vicissitudes of Chiang Tzŭ-ya that command our interest. He is pursued everywhere by the guitar-demon, who upsets his attempts to earn a living. When Chiang finally turns with success to fortune-telling, the demon, taking the form of a virtuous woman, proceeds to have her fortune told. On recognizing the newcomer as an evil spirit, Chiang seizes her hand. The bystanders loudly denounce the man for his boldness, because he has broken the conventional taboo that the hands of a male stranger may not touch those of a woman. Thus, we have in the midst of the play traditional moral belief preserved intact. But in the same breath we are shown another "trick." King Chou, who passes, intervenes. The ruler, in the end, permits Chiang to burn the woman who at once takes on her original form, a guitar, this to the delight of most of the audience and to the utter amazement of the gallery.

The settings, while lavish for this era of the theatre and a slight improvement over those in "Li Mao Huan T'ai-tzŭ," are nevertheless crude. There is little singing worthy of the name. Costumes are inclined to be gaudy, those for the actresses often being the tights and short skirts associated with the chorus girl.

Here it is well to point out that crude as this form of entertainment is, it possesses sufficient action, colour, "tricks," and so on to hold the public attention, while spoken drama, in spite of some of the good minds in the movement, has produced little of genuine and wide appeal. After all, most true art is, in the main, the essence of simplicity. Writers of contemporary Chinese drama who know their own country and who have had proper technical training abroad, should help remedy the present state of affairs. Some good work has already been done in that direction but the ground, which has but recently been ploughed, needs much fertilizing and careful planting.

Well worthy of study are the plays of Mr. Ouyang Yü-ch'ien, who, gifted with a good voice and histrionic ability, was not only thoroughly educated in the classical Chinese manner but carried on his investigation of the theatre in Japan. On his return to Shanghai, the youthful actor and playwright has been the leading spirit in many attempts to establish better drama. He himself proceeded to study the old manner of acting and singing. It is known that the ordinary actor, who is poorly educated, fascinates by his physical beauty and acting and singing; beyond that, he does little. Mr. Ouyang, however, has not only written plays of literary quality but has utilized those modern devices which will harmonize with the old Peking drama. To quote the critic, Mr. Fêng, Mr. Ouyang's dramas have the three following characteristics: "1. Emphasis is not placed wholly on the leading actor, but each character in the play is accorded his rightful share of acting and singing; 2. The art of one actor is not put to the fore, but rather is the play, as a whole, stressed; 3. Not the supernatural, but stories of ordinary men and women are treated."

In the winter of 1927, the writer had the good fortune to view Mr. Ouyang as the heroine in his version of "Wusung Killing His Sister-in-law." The stage, while bare and exceedingly small, could not dim the brilliance of the production's merits. With the increase of well placed dialogue, there was also a judicious interpolation of songs in the old manner. Out of the acceleration of plot was born a charming freshness and vitality of atmosphere. Here and there in the conventional acting could be detected realistic touches, as when the woman bared to Wusung her breast in a final desperate

effort to win him, an act unthinkable in the old school, yet, most effective in a play consistently modernized. Wusung's agonized and heartrending cry, "I love my brother," and his plunging his dagger into the siren's body, create an impression undeniably powerful. Such work should be a model for transitional Peking drama, for Mr. Ouyang is, above all things, constructive.

An attempt in the foregoing paragraphs has been made to present a concise impression of the orthodox Peking drama and examples of plays in which may be detected new trends.

Before bringing the discussion to a close, it is necessary to touch upon the *wên-ming,* or spoken, drama. This school, patterned mainly along the lines of the European drama, has encountered many handicaps. The entire movement suffers from the efforts of superficial persons who try to win fame under the cover of the spoken drama. The disastrous result has been that even good playwrights and gifted actors have been classed with these mediocre minds. While it is true that the public demands its song, it should find pleasure in a spoken play that has in it both power and art. At present, the Hsiao Wu-t'ai, the only professional theater of the *wên-ming* play in Shanghai, is in its death throes, while the same type of entertainment in the amusement arcades is, almost without exception, of no worth.

The motion picture industry, a mushroom growth that has spread over Shanghai until the city is known as the "Hollywood of China," cannot hold its own against American film productions, let alone the all-popular Peking drama and its offspring, "trick" plays. For some time directors took one noble story after another, as well as old novels and plays from the Peking stage, and consistently destroyed what was good, worthwhile, and beautiful in the works in order to turn out and sell as many pictures as possible. It should be made clear that the native film industry is like a sickly infant, which we hope will recover and grow into a healthy youth.

What remedies are there? Perhaps, there will appear a genius of the drama who is capable of pleasing alike the illiterate laborer and the refined scholar. Should the intelligentsia attempt the disastrous experiment of trying to mould mass taste to their own fancy? Would that be possible, even? What is good for the intellectual may prove poison for the simpler mind. It seems that the world is big enough for more than one type of perfection. Let the Peking school preserve the best of its traditions. The public still delights in them. Let the intellectuals write their own high-minded works, beautiful to themselves and meaningless to the masses; and let the modern spoken drama be improved.

Of invaluable aid would be a National Theatre, where all kinds of drama, from the modest village sketch to the Peking drama, the spoken play, and so on would have a fair hearing. The government has now established in the Route Pichon a National Conservatory of Music, an institution serving admirable ends. Is it not time to build now a National Theatre and maintain there a group of experts?

The world outside wants to see, through the portals of drama, the fabulous lore and riches of the Far East. The first person who helps to bring out by actual stage production that which is good in the old and the new drama of this great Republic, where the color and drab of life vie with that of the stage, will be granting to mankind a much needed boon, namely, respite from the humdrum of life and a few hours before the mirror of the soul of China.

Diplomatic Relations in the Pacific

A Review Bibliography

By W. L. Holland

It will be noticed that this bibliography follows the outline of the article that was published in the March number of *Pacific Affairs* under the title of "An Experiment in Diagnosis." It is intended to keep fairly close to that scheme throughout this series of bibliographies. A thoroughly comprehensive list would be almost impossible in the space assigned and would not be desirable. On certain subjects, such as "China," there is a vast amount of notable literature, even if we count only the books published in the last decade. On other subjects, such as the constitutional arrangements for the direction of foreign policy in modern China and the U.S.S.R., there are hardly any books and only a small list of periodical literature. Consequently none of these bibliographies can claim to be called comprehensive, and in some sections they will hardly seem adequate. Wherever it has been possible, however, reference has been made to standard and complete bibliographies so that those readers who are able may follow up a subject in greater detail. Again, owing to the fairly limited scope of material which is, as yet, available at the Institute's headquarters, it has been necessary in some cases to take the word of well-recognised writers in recommending a book or article.

Events and movements succeed each other so rapidly nowadays in the affairs of the Pacific that books quickly become out of date and unreliable. In consequence a good deal of space has been devoted to the mention of articles and speeches appearing in current periodicals. Most of these will be found in publications likely to be available to most of the national groups, with the exception of articles in some Far Eastern newspapers and a few articles in the Japanese language. The general plan has been to mention a few of the important standard books on each section, and to give the principal source materials and official publications with a selection of the more recent literature in current issues of newspapers and magazines.

CONSTITUTIONAL ARRANGEMENTS

The books mentioned in this present review deal with the general subject of diplomatic relations in the Pacific under three main heads. First are given the books that provide an exposition of the constitutional arrangements under which the various Pacific nations direct their foreign relations; second, books giving some idea of the machinery already in existence for the conduct of diplomatic relations and the maintenance of peace in the Pacific Ocean; and third, some of the more important literature on disarmament and defence policies in the Pacific.

Diplomatic relations was made the subject of a valuable discussion at the 1927 Conference of the Institute. Not the least important part of it was the constructive proposal put forward for a possible American Locarno in relation to the Pacific. The summary of these discussions is printed on page 162 of **Problems of the Pacific; (Condliffe Ed.) Chicago University Press, Chicago, 1928,** and the text of the "Draft Treaty of Permanent

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The first of the planned series of review bibliographies, designed to facilitate study on Conference topics, deals with diplomatic relations in the Pacific. The second, to be presented next month, covers various aspects of the China situation, including Manchuria and the Chinese penetration into Malaya. The third will deal with all economic questions covered by the proposed agenda. A fourth will suggest reading material in the Pacific cultural field.—Ed. Note.

Peace between the United States and ———" together with comments on it, prepared by Messrs. Shotwell and Chamberlain is on page 503. These passages and the section (page 513) on the work of the League of Nations in the Pacific are important, and if read first will provide an excellent introduction to the whole topic.

The British Commonwealth

For the story of the machinery that has been devised to conduct the far-reaching and intricate policies of foreign relations in the nations that make up the British Empire, and for the important changes in direction and control that are symbolised in the change of name from "British Empire" to "British Commonwealth of Nations," one cannot do better than read a short but invaluable book by Toynbee: **The Conduct of British Empire Foreign Relations Since the Peace Settlement; Oxford University Press, London, 1928.** The introduction, the section on the membership in the League of Nations of the States members of the Commonwealth, and the sections on the joint conduct of the whole commonwealth foreign relations are particularly important. The excellent documentation of this book provides a good guide for further reading and makes up for its lack of a bibliography.

Another recent exposition of the subject is given in a collection of essays written by prominent authorities in the various Dominions and published under the title: **Great Britain and the Dominions; Chicago University Press, Chicago, 1928.** This book is useful for its presentation of the rather divergent points of view obtaining in the Dominions on the question of the control of Empire foreign policy. Keith: **Responsible Government in the British Dominions; Oxford University Press, London, 1928,** can also be recommended for its thorough historical survey of the development of the autonomy of the Dominions. It gives quite full accounts of the constitutional arrangements of the Dominions and in the last three chapters deals with the question of Empire foreign relations. Of less importance but useful for a final chapter on the Commonwealth is a recent book by W. H. Hall: **Empire to Commonwealth; Henry Holt, New York, 1928.** Its aim is primarily historical, but it deals with events up to 1927. It has a good bibliography on the whole field of colonial history and imperial development. Hall: **The British Commonwealth of Nations; Methuen, London, 1920,** though now somewhat old, is still a valuable discussion of the subject and should be consulted, as should also Lord Bryce's monumental survey: **Modern Democracies; Macmillan, London, 1921,** even though conditions in many cases have changed since Bryce observed them. Professor Zimmern, in a lecture to the Geneva Institute of International Relations, published in **Problems of Peace, Second Series; Oxford University Press, London, 1928,** gives a very stimulating account of the problems of the British Commonwealth and compares them with the problems of the League of Nations. His earlier work: **The Third British Empire; Oxford University Press, London, 1926,** is also well worth consulting.

Other books bearing on the subject but of less direct importance are:

Fiddes: **The Dominions and the Colonial Office; London, 1926.**

Curtis: **The Commonwealth of Nations; Macmillan, London, 1916.**

McInnes: **The British Commonwealth and Its Unsolved Problems; London, 1925.**

Muir: **A Short History of the British Commonwealth; London, 1923.**

Not a little of the recent notable literature on the question has been published in the form of magazine articles or pamphlets. Outstanding in importance are a World Peace Foundation pamphlet by Lowell and Hall: **The British Commonwealth of Nations; W. P. F. pamphlet, Vol. X. No. 6, 1927,** with its accompanying volume of **Appendices,** and an address by the Rt. Hon. Stanley Bruce to the Pilgrims of America in New York during 1926: **The British Commonwealth of Nations; International Conciliation No. 228, March, 1927.** The first of these contains an article (which can also be seen in *Foreign Affairs*: April, 1927) on the 1926 Imperial Conference, and an historical analysis of the Balfour Report of the Inter-Imperial Relations Committee, together with a selection of useful documentary material from the Imperial Conferences. The other pamphlet also contains the Balfour Report as well as Mr. Bruce's speech. A study of these two booklets should make it fairly clear just how the mechanism for the conduct and control of British Empire foreign relations works.

Probably the principal instrument that has been used to determine the conduct of the Commonwealth foreign policies has been the periodical Imperial Conferences, beginning in 1917. It is therefore quite necessary that some use should be made of the official reports of these meetings. These are published by H. M. Stationery Office, London, in short convenient summaries.

Imperial War Conference, 1917.			**Minutes of Proceedings**	**Cmd. 8566.**
Imperial Conference, 1918.			**Summary of Proceedings**	**Cmd. 9177.**
"	**"**	**1921.**	**"** **"**	**Cmd. 1474.**
"	**"**	**1923.**	**"** **"**	**Cmd. 1987.**
			Appendices to the Summary	**Cmd. 1988.**
"	**"**	**1926.**	**Summary of Proceedings**	**Cmd. 2768.**
			Appendices to the Summary	**Cmd. 2769.**
Imperial Economic Conference, 1923.			**Record of Proceedings**	**Cmd. 2009.**
Consultation on Matters of Foreign Policy with the Governments of the Self-Governing Dominions. 1925				**Cmd. 2301.**

Articles relating to the Imperial Conferences will be found in the *Round Table*, for September, 1921, under the titles **The Imperial Conference** and **The Imperial Conference from an American Standpoint**; for September, 1926, under **The Imperial Complex** and **Locarno and the British Commonwealth**; for March, 1927, under **The Imperial Conference**, and again in the following numbers: June, 1921: **The Meeting of the Imperial Cabinet**; March, 1922: **A Programme for the British Commonwealth**; June, 1923: **The New Imperial Problem**; March, 1924: **A Basis for Imperial Foreign Policy**; September, 1924: **Imperial Diplomacy.**

The *Round Table* is published quarterly by Macmillan & Co., London. Almost every number will be found to contain something of interest in connection with this topic. The *Journal of the Royal Institute of International Affairs,* London, includes three articles that should be consulted. They are to be found in the issues for January, 1927: **Aspects of the Imperial Conference,** and for July, 1927, **The Imperial Conference,** and again in an earlier issue, during 1921: **The Dominions and Foreign Affairs.** Other periodicals of interest for matters of Imperial policy are *The Empire Review,* and *The Journal of the Parliaments of the Empire,* both published in London, while for official statements and source material it is necessary to refer to the reports of the various *Parliamentary Debates* and the *Parliamentary Papers* (Blue Books).

A number of articles on Imperial foreign relations have appeared in leading American journals. The most important of them are listed below. The *Yale Review* for July, 1923, publishes an article from the pen of a man who has played a great part in the guidance of the affairs of the British Commonwealth, Sir Robert L. Borden: **The British Commonwealth of Nations.** The same author has also recently published a book, **Canada in the Commonwealth; Oxford University Press, London, 1928,** which gives the substance of lectures delivered during 1927 at Oxford University. The final chapter is of value for this topic and should be read. A concise and illuminating statement of Australia's position in the Commonwealth in regard to matters of foreign policy will be found in a book lately produced by the Australian group of the Institute of Pacific Relations: Campbell, Mills and Portus (editors): **Studies in Australian Affairs; Melbourne University Press (Macmillan), Melbourne, 1928.** Chapter VIII by K. H. Bailey deals with **Australia's Treaty Rights and Obligations,** and is a good exposition of the Australian outlook on the affairs of the Commonwealth, and of the actual channels through which diplomatic relations with Australia are conducted. There are four articles in *Foreign Affairs,* the quarterly journal of the American Council on Foreign Relations, which ought not to be missed. They are:

Kerr: **From Empire to Commonwealth**; December, 1922.

Lowell: **The Treaty-making Power of Canada**; September, 1923.

Ewart: **Canada, the Empire and the United States**; October, 1927.

Lowell: **The Imperial Conference**; April, 1927. This has already been quoted above as a World Peace Foundation pamphlet.

Noteworthy articles published in the *American Political Science Review* are: Dennis: **British Foreign Policy and the Dominions,** and Allin: **International Status of the British Dominions,** both in the November number of 1923, and Smellie: **The British Imperial Conference,** in May, 1927. The *Information Bulletin* issued by the American Foreign Policy Association has one issue for February 6, 1929, dealing with **The British Foreign Office,** and in the June number of *Current History,* 1928, is an article by Brooks: **The Clash in Policies between Great Britain and her Dominions.**

The United States

The number of books dealing wholly or in part with the conduct and control of the foreign relations of the United States is fairly large, but there are a few well-recognised books of outstanding merit which are mentioned here and which it is almost essential to read for any adequate idea of the American constitutional arrangements for the direction of foreign policy. Wright: **The Control of American Foreign Relations; Macmillan, New York, 1922,** is still a standard work, and provides an unexcelled exposition of the whole field of American foreign relations. The various sections of the work are considered both from the international and the constitutional point of view, and the documentation of the chapters is very thorough. It is desirable that the whole book should be read, but if this is not possible the last chapter on **The Control of Foreign Relations in Practice** should on no account be omitted. A second book of high merit and having the additional advantage of being quite recent is the **Survey of American Foreign Relations, 1928; Yale University Press, New Haven, 1928.** This is the first annual survey conducted by the American Council on Foreign Relations under the direction of Charles P. Howland. It covers a much wider field than is required just here, but certain sections of it bear directly on the matter of the control of American foreign

policy, and are of great value. Chapters I to III on **American Foreign Policy** and Chapter VII on **Treaty-Making in the United States and Elsewhere** are of most importance, while Chapter VI on **The Senate and the League** shows the inherent difficulties in the United States system of foreign relations as they were revealed in the Senate's rejection of the Covenant of the League of Nations. This chapter concludes with a paragraph of acute critical insight into the position of the Senate and the President in the conduct of foreign relations. The Senate "cannot discuss the great subject of a foreign treaty with those who have determined its policy and negotiated its terms, obtain their exposition and explanation, or bring them into a short-range and close-knit debate. The difficulty does not arise in the check and balance feature as it was intended to work, but in a constitutional usage which has brought about a complete separation of the two great departments of government, creating suspicion where there ought to be full understanding and cooperation."

Matthews: **American Foreign Relations; Century Co., New York, 1928,** or his earlier work which is incorporated into the above: **The Conduct of American Foreign Relations; Century Co., New York, 1922,** is another standard book well worthy of attention, though it covers much the same ground as Wright's book. Its first chapter on **The Basis and Modes of Control,** the second and third, and then chapters eight to thirteen dealing widely with the subject of treaties, are the sections most relevant to this study. (The chapter numbering is taken from the earlier book published in 1922.) On the subject of the powers of the President in foreign relations, Corwin: **The President's Control of Foreign Relations; Princeton, 1917,** is probably the best work to consult, though it does not deal with the important developments that occurred under President Wilson; and for the problems of treaty-making Crandall: **Treaties—Their Making and Enforcement (2nd Ed.); Byrne, Washington, D. C., 1916,** is an acknowledged work of reference. These five books should be found adequate to cover the field sufficiently for the purposes of this study, and attention should be concentrated on the first two or three. Three other books that are useful but less important are: Ponsonby: **Democracy and Diplomacy; London, 1915;** Poole: **The Conduct of Foreign Relations under Modern Democratic Conditions; Yale University Press, New Haven, 1924** (this is issued by the Institute of Politics and, in Chapters 4, 5 and 9, gives concise statements of the organisation for the conduct of foreign relations); and **The Problems of Peace; Oxford, 1927,** in which is a chapter (the 9th) giving the substance of a lecture given by Chester H. Rowell at the Geneva Institute of International Relations, on **The Foreign Policy of the United States since the War.** It contains the following illustration: "If you had in Britain a conservative government with a conservative prime minister, and in that conservative party there was an insignificant group of persons opposed to the conservative party and their policy and who constituted in fact its most violent opponents, and then you made your ministry exclusively of them, then you would have a situation which would exactly resemble the present situation in the Senate of the United States."

As with the British Commonwealth, recourse must be had to periodical literature for certain important accounts of the conduct of foreign policy. There are four or five outstanding journals which ought to be consulted, but unfortunately several of these were not available at the Institute's headquarters. This applies to the *American Journal of International Law,* and in consequence a number of important references cannot be given here. But

readers should certainly consult the index of this journal and read some of the valuable articles it contains in reference to this subject. A notable one is by Tanshill: **The Treaty-Making Power of the Senate,** which occurs in Vol. 18, 1924, on page 459 of the journal. Another equally valuable periodical is the British *Journal of Comparative Legislation and International Law,* and the eight numbers of the **British Year Book of International Law; Oxford University Press, London** which have appeared since 1920 form an invaluable series of reference books on matters of international relations. In the *American Political Science Review* there are two much-quoted articles, Myers: **The Control of Foreign Relations** (February, 1917) and **Legislatures and Foreign Relations** (November, 1917) by the same author. They deal with the system of the British Commonwealth as well as with that of the United States. The issue of February, 1921, has a contribution by Wright: **The Control of Foreign Relations,** which was later used to form the substance of the final chapter of his book already recommended above. *Foreign Affairs* should be consulted for some three or four contributions of note that are listed here: Root: **A Requisite for the Success of Popular Diplomacy**; September, 1922. Wickersham: **The Senate and Our Foreign Relations**; December, 1923. Lodge: **Foreign Relations of the United States;** June, 1924. "N": **Our Much Abused State Department**; July, 1927.

The Chinese National Government

The rapid march of events in the political development of China during the last six months has made the task of preparing any kind of reliable reading guide very difficult and uncertain. It was only about the middle of last August that the fifth session of the Kuomintang assembly met and decided on the formation of the now established National Government and on the drafting of a new constitution for the government and direction of China's affairs. It was on October 4th, 1928, that the text of the constitution, or the "organic law of the National Government of the Republic of China," to give it its official title, was made public. On the first of February of the present year the new Tariff arrangements took effect, and within the last two months an important series of new trade treaties has been effected with many of the principal western nations. Thus it is quite impossible at this time to give references to books on the matter of Chinese foreign relations and their direction. Books have not yet become available on the subject, though it is probable that authoritative information will be available by the time the Conference meets. It is safe to predict, however, that the 1929 issue of the **China Year Book** will include a useful account of the new arrangements for the conduct of foreign affairs under the National Government.

All that has been done here is to give the sources of important official statements and a selection of the newspaper articles and editorial comment in leading journals at the time the National Government took office. Unfortunately again several of the most notable statements are in papers published in China and possibly not available to some of the Institute groups. But it will be found that most of the leading journals in all countries devoted some space, either in editorials or in publishing the text of resolutions and laws, to the new constitutional arrangements of China's five-power government during the months of October and November. The most important of the western journals which are likely to be easily accessible are: the **New York Times,** the **Times (London),** the **Manchester Guardian** in the daily or weekly editions, **Current History,** New York, the International Relations Section of the New York **Nation,** and **L'Europe**

Nouvelle (which is always valuable for its publication of official documents). The principal English-language papers published in the Far East and suitable for consultation are: the **China Weekly Review** (Shanghai), the **China Critic** (Shanghai), the **North China Daily News** or its weekly edition known as the **North China Herald** (Shanghai), the **Canton Gazette,** the **Peking Leader,** the **North China Star** (Tientsin), the **Osaka Mainichi,** the **Japan Chronicle** (Kobe), the **Japan Advertiser** and its weekly edition, the **Trans-Pacific** (Tokyo).

The actual text of the "organic law of the National Government" was published on October 6, 1928, in the *China Press* and most other Chinese papers, and the text of the manifesto of the Government to the people is given in the *Canton Gazette* for November 8. A more recent statement is an address by the vice-minister of foreign affairs broadcast from Nanking on January 24, 1929, on the subject: **China's Programme of Foreign Relations for 1929.** It was released for publication from the Ta Chung News Agency on January 25. The *China Weekly Review* has printed several valuable articles interpreting and explaining the working of the new Government with its five Yuan. The first of these appeared in the issue for September 29, 1928: Liang Yueng-li: **The Five Power Constitution,** while a second appeared on October 20 by Dr. Wang Chung-hui: **The New Five Power Government Explained.** This article also appeared in the *North China Daily News,* October 12, and in the *Peking Leader* on November 1. The *China Weekly Review* for October 13 gives the text of the constitution and a diagram showing the inter-relation of the various departments of the government, and on December 15 gives a full and detailed account of the organisation and personnel of the whole Government. The *New China Edition,* issued on October 10 to celebrate the establishment of the new Government, should be consulted for several sections dealing with the new programme of foreign policy.

An interpretation of the new constitution by a European authority is printed in the Pacific Section of *L'Europe Nouvelle* for November 3, 1928, on page 1513. It is headed **"La Loi Organique de la Chine a un Caractere Provisoire."** The Shanghai correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian Weekly,* November, gives a short but clear explanation of the new mechanism, and on October 12 the Weekly contained a number of editorial comments on the constitution. Several articles and despatches from correspondents appear in the *New York Times* for November 25, while the *Christian Science Monitor* of December 5 has an editorial on **The New China.** Readers who have access to a file of the *Kuo Min News Agency* press releases (in English) for the years 1928-1929 will find in them the text of all official acts, manifestos, regulations, etc., relating to the conduct of the National Government, and texts of treaties completed during this period. The agency is the official spokesman of the government, its reports being comparable with the Department of State press releases in the United States. *Chinese Affairs* is a weekly compilation of important official documents issued by the Committee on Information of the National Government, and has been made largely available to libraries throughout the West.

Japan

There is ample material available on the constitutional structure of the Japanese Government and again on the general subject of Japanese foreign policy, but only a small part of it throws light on the mechanism devised for directing and controlling foreign relations. To cite any one book that

will give an adequate idea of the "exact location of responsibility for foreign affairs in the Japanese Empire" seems impossible.

The best book to begin with by way of introduction is Uyehara: **The Political Development of Japan; Constable, London, 1910.** (It is also published by Dutton & Co., New York.) This is still a reliable and accepted exposition of the political and constitutional organisation of Japan. The second part of it on the constitutional position of the Emperor, the Cabinet and Privy Council, and the Imperial Diet is all that need be read, though the other sections are of value. A short but pertinent passage occurs in Buell: **International Relations; Holt & Co., New York, 1925.** In chapter II, section 2, the writer uses a study of the constitutional arrangements of Japan to illustrate some of the dangers existent in a system where foreign affairs may be conducted by an irresponsible government. All the subsequent sections of this same chapter, indeed, may well be consulted for a brief survey of the whole field of control of foreign relations. Perhaps one of the main controlling influences over Japanese foreign affairs has been that exerted by the small extra-constitutional group of "elder statesmen" known as the Genro. For an interesting view of their importance reference should be made to the files of the magazine *Asia.* In No. 23 of 1923 on page 753 is an article by Byas: **The Gods Behind the Machine,** and another by the same author in the February number of 1924, entitled **The Elder Statesmen; The Prestige, Power, Personnel and Permanence of the Genro.** *Asia* also contains an article running through three issues (March to May, 1919) by McLaren: **Present Day Government in Japan.**

The extensive powers vested in the Japanese Emperor are considered in Griffis: **Mikado—Institution and Person; A Study in the Internal Political Forces of Japan; Princeton University Press, Princeton, N. J., 1915.** One aspect of these powers is the subject of Nakano's **The Ordinance Power of the Japanese Emperor; Johns Hopkins Press, Baltimore, 1923.** A pamphlet on the question of the treaty-making power in Japan, which is worth some attention is Miyaoka: **Treaty-Making Power under the Constitution of Japan; International Concilation, No. 221, June, 1926.** The matter is treated in comparison with the procedure followed in other nations. The bibliography is useful for its references to treaty-making in Great Britain and the United States. Treat's pamphlet on **Japan, America and Great Britain; World Peace Foundation, December, 1918, Vol. I, No. 8,** contains one section which provides a clear idea of the Japanese governmental organisation, and in the same connection an address by Tsurumi on **The Liberal Movement in Japan** may be read. It is in **The Re-awakening of the Orient; Yale University Press, New Haven, 1925.**

For the text of the Japanese Constitution the most convenient book of reference is the **Japan Year Book,** printed at the Japan Year Book Office, Tokyo. It contains one chapter on the constitution and a summary of the political organisation. The text may be seen in several other books, among them being Uyehara (already cited); Gowen: **An Outline History of Japan; Appleton, New York, 1927,** which also gives the terms of the 1925 convention on "the basic rules of the relations between Japan and the U. S. S. R."; and Latourette: **The Development of Japan; Macmillan, New York, 1925,** which in Chapter 8 gives a brief account of the history of the Constitution's introduction.

Other books of less importance are:

Iwasaki: **The Working Forces in Japanese Politics; Longman & Green, New York, 1921.**

Allen: **Modern Japan and Its Problems; Dutton, New York, 1927,** especially the third chapter on the political system.

Fujisawa: **The Recent Aims and Political Development of Japan; Yale University Press, New Haven, 1923.**

Kawakami: **Japan and World Peace; Macmillan, New York, 1919,** especially Chapter II for a short account of more modern developments in Japanese government.

Colegrove: **Parliamentary Government in Japan;** in the *American Political Science Review,* November, 1927.

Not a little important matter on the subject of Japanese foreign relations is to be found in the files of Japanese periodicals printed wholly or partly in the Japanese language. A few of these are listed below. *The Journal of International Law and Diplomacy* is a good monthly journal that contains some articles printed in English. It is published at the Kokusaiho Gakkai, Tokyo. Other journals are: *Gaiko Jiho (Revue Diplomatique); Kokusai Chishiki (International Knowledge); Kaizo (Reconstruction).*

The U. S. S. R.

One of the difficulties of finding any adequate literature on the conduct of foreign relations in Soviet Russia arises from the fact that the foreign relations of the Soviet Government have been characterised by certain rather unusual features. Some of these are well illustrated in one of the few useful statements on the subject, an address by the Editor of the Europa Year Book to the Geneva Institute of International Relations. It occurs in **Problems of Peace; Oxford University Press, London, 1927,** under Chapter X, Farman: **The Foreign Policy of the U. S. S. R.**

The books and articles mentioned below, while treating of the foreign relations of the U. S. S. R., do not give any satisfying description of the machinery under which those relations are conducted. Similarly, books that deal chiefly with the constitution and government of the U. S. S. R. reveal very little information on the responsibility and procedures of the department presided over by M. Chicherin, the Commissar for Foreign Affairs. The constitutional arrangements under which the affairs of the six autonomous republics are directed are described best in several numbers of the Foreign Policy Association's *Information,* especially in that for September 28, 1927, entitled: **The Evolution of the Soviet Government, 1917-1927.** Another article is by Micheles: **The United States and Russia,** in *Information* for February 20 and March 6, 1929, with a bibliography that will contain material of interest for this section. Both of these studies have good analyses of "the interlocking directorates" of the Soviet Government, the Third International and the Communist Party. *Information* for July 20, 1927: **Developments in Russian Foreign Relations;** and an article in *Foreign Affairs* (July, 1926) by M. Rakovsky, an important member of the Communist Party, on: **The Foreign Policy of Soviet Russia,** are of some interest.

An account which approaches nearer than anything else to the needs of this bibliography is the report of a Foreign Policy Association luncheon discussion on **Soviet Russia After Ten Years.** It is printed as pamphlet No. 47, December, 1927, and contains some interesting statements by one of the speakers, Mr. J. G. MacDonald.

For a short semi-official description of the governmental structure of

Soviet Russia, the **Soviet Union Year Book** is worth reference. The 1928 issue was edited by **Santalov and Segal and published by Allen & Unwin, London.** The first two chapters deal with the political organisation and the foreign relations. The text of the Constitution of the U. S. S. R. can be seen in English in Rothstein: **The Soviet Constitution; Labour Publishing Co., London, 1923,** and in French in a small book by Yaneff: **La Constitution de l'Union des Republiques Socialistes Sovietiques; Giard, Paris, 1926.** For an earlier account of the relationship between the Government, the Communist Party and the Third International, it is best to read two pamphlets that deal specifically with that question: *International Conciliation,* Nos. 158-159, January and February, 1921. Toynbee in the **Survey of International Affairs—1924; Oxford University Press, London, 1926,** also devotes an informative division of the book (p. 161) to a study of **The Third (Communist) International and the U. S. S. R. (1923-1924).**

EXISTING MACHINERY

The four main instruments for the maintenance of peace and the conduct of diplomatic relations in the Pacific are treated here under the heads of: (1) the Bryan arbitration treaties of 1913 and after; (2) the machinery of the League of Nations; (3) the treaties and commissions of the Washington Conference; (4) the Pact of Paris for the renunciation of war as an instrument of national policy.

A guide which deals, *inter alia,* with the first three of these instruments and gives suggestive supplementary reading lists is a pamphlet prepared by Dr. J. T. Shotwell: **Plans and Protocols to End War; International Conciliation No. 208, March, 1925.** It is a very handy work for reference. Similar but more restricted in range is another International Conciliation pamphlet by Jessup: **The United States and Treaties for the Avoidance of War; No. 239, April, 1928,** which gives a classified table of the treaties for the avoidance of war from the year 1908 up to the first negotiations for the Paris Pact, and includes the Bryan treaties and the gist of their terms. The full text of the Bryan treaties can be seen in the collection of treaties begun by Malloy: **Treaties, Conventions, International Acts, Protocols and Agreements Between the United States and Other Powers; Vol. 3, 1910-1923; U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, 1923.** They must be looked up in the index under the heading: **Treaties for the Advancement of Peace,** and occur from 1914 onward. A much more convenient collection is that made for the Carnegie Endowment in the Division of International Law: **Treaties for the Advancement of Peace between the United States and Other Powers, negotiated by W. J. Bryan; Oxford University Press, New York, 1920,** where the whole series is brought together. The preface to this collection by the director of the Division of International Law is of interest and should be read. A reference to these treaties that should not be forgotten can be found in the **Report of the 1925 Conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations.** On page 136 is an abstract of an address by H. D. Hall on **Political and Legal Cooperation among Pacific Countries.** In it the speaker dealt with the Bryan treaties and their possibilities as instruments in the Pacific, especially if Japan were to be included in them. The abstract of an address by Professor George Grafton Wilson on **Laws and Treaties in the Pacific,** on page 131, is useful for this whole section though it does not deal with the Bryan treaties.

Additional material on these treaties can be seen in a World Peace Foundation pamphlet for October, 1916 (Vol. VI, No. 5), by Myers: **Conciliation Plan of the League to Enforce Peace; A History.** On page 21

is a discussion of the Wilson-Bryan plan, dealing with the terms of the treaties and listing those then in force. Finally there is an editorial in the *American Journal of International Law* by Finch: **The Bryan Peace Treaties; (Vol. 10, pp. 882-890).**

The League of Nations and Its Mandates

The League is a potentially important piece of machinery for the furtherance of diplomatic relations in the Pacific. As yet it functions actively in only a comparatively restricted area of the Pacific, but its influence is growing and far from negligible. Information on the constitution of the League and on its procedure is now very voluminous and quite accessible. Only a few references are given here. A very good idea of the League's origin, growth, organisation and activities can be gained from the series of **League of Nations** pamphlets published by the World Peace Foundation from 1917 to 1924. Notable sections of the series are **The Work of the Council, Vol. III, No. 6, December, 1920,** and the **Appendices** and also **American Addresses by Lord Cecil; Vol. V, No. 6, 1922.** The text of the Covenant is published in several books and pamphlets. **Text of the Covenant with Amendments: L of N Secretariat, Information Section, Geneva,** and **Pamphlet series No. 1, December, 1923, of the League of Nations Non-Partisan Association, New York,** both give the complete text. In addition there are the numerous handbooks and yearbooks published by the League Secretariat and available through the World Peace Foundation. **Eighth Yearbook of the League of Nations; World Peace Foundation, Vol. XI, No. 2, 1928,** and **The League of Nations—Its Constitution and Organisation; L of N Secretariat, Information Section, Geneva, 1926.**

A new book that can be recommended as a comprehensive study of all departments of the League's work is written by Howard-Ellis: **The Origin, Structure and Working of the League of Nations; Allen & Unwin, London, 1928.** It contains a valuable section on the problems of international law and some discussion of the movement to outlaw war and of the Peace Pact of Paris.

Additional works are Duggan: **The League of Nations; Atlantic Monthly Press, Boston, 1919,** and Harris: **What the League of Nations Is; Allen & Unwin, London, 1925.** Finally there are the two books already often mentioned: **Problems of Peace, 1927,** and **Problems of Peace, Second Series, 1928,** published by the Oxford University Press, London. The lectures contained in the chapters mentioned below are authoritative and stimulating expressions of the recent tendencies in the League's development. Rappard: **The League of Nations as an Historical Fact; Chapter II, First Series; The Evolution of the League of Nations; Chapter I, Second Series.** Professor Rappard, who has served on the League Mandates Commission, is also the author of a book produced by the Institute of Politics: **International Relations Viewed from Geneva; Yale University Press, New Haven, 1925.** Mantoux: **Action of the Council of the League of Nations in International Disputes; Chapter IV, First Series.** Scott: **The Judicial Settlement of International Disputes; First Series.** Laski: **International Government and National Sovereignty; First Series.** Abraham: **The Settlement of Non-Justiciable Disputes Through the League; Second Series.**

One very important part of the League's activities in the Pacific is in the field of the Mandates entrusted to several of the Pacific countries. The best official introductory statement on the subject is in the small pamphlet of the League Information Section, entitled **The League of Nations and**

Mandates. Besides this there are numerous Reports and Minutes of the League Permanent Mandates Commission and official reports from the various countries concerned. Detailed information on these last is available from the bibliographies and lists of League publications given in nearly all the League pamphlets. Of special relevance to the subject are two publications dealing with the Pacific mandates and the relation of the United States to the Pacific mandates. The first is a very helpful and well-documented study with a fine select bibliography, by Batsell: **The United States and the System of Mandates; International Conciliation, No. 213, October, 1925.** Section II, dealing with the relations of the United States to the "C" mandates in the Pacific is of most importance. The second, an article in *Foreign Affairs* for September, 1922, is by Professor G. H. Blakeslee, who was Pacific Expert at the Washington Conference: **The Mandates of the Pacific.** Buell devotes Chapter XV of his **International Relations; Henry Holt, New York, 1925,** to a short study of the mandate system. The *American Journal of International Law* contains three articles by Wright which ought to be consulted if possible. They are: **Sovereignty of Mandates** in the issue of October, 1923; **Status of the Inhabitants of Mandated Territory** in April, 1924; and **Treaties Conferring Rights in Mandated Territories** in October, 1924. A study of the administration of the Australian mandate in New Guinea takes up the last two chapters of the Australian Group's **Studies in Australian Affairs; Macmillan, Melbourne, 1928.** The question of Mandates was discussed thoroughly at the 1927 Conference of the Institute, and the data papers and reports of the Round Table on mandates are valuable for reference. A summary of the round table appears on page 192 of **Problems of the Pacific; (Condliffe, Ed.) Chicago University Press, Chicago, 1928.** On page 513 is found a statement on the work of the League of Nations in the Pacific area, including a study of the administration and special problems of the Pacific mandates; a short authoritative study prepared by members of the League Secretariat. A brief treatment of the principal mandated areas in the Pacific is included in Chapter II of White: **Mandates; Jonathan Cape, London, 1927,** a book which concludes with an interesting chapter on "Doubts and Hopes" of the mandatory system. Toynbee in Part III, page 395 of **Survey of International Affairs—1926; Oxford University Press, London, 1928,** also considers the problems of administration involved in the mandates and other dependencies of the Pacific. Additional literature is to be seen in the *Annals* of the Academy of Political and Social Science for July, 1921; in the London *Contemporary Review* for February, 1925 (Harris: **The Mandatory System After Five Years Working**); and in the London *Edinburgh Review* for October, 1923, which contains an article by Sir Frederick Lugard entitled **The Mandate System.**

The Washington Conference

The agreements entered into at the Washington Conference and the Commissions set up there to deal with certain international problems in the Far East must necessarily form a major part of any discussion of diplomatic machinery in the Pacific. Literature on the question is abundant. The complete record of the conference with the discussions and treaties and resolutions is published in English and French under the title: **Conference on the Limitation of Armaments Held at Washington, November 12, 1921—February 6, 1922; Proceedings; Government Printing Office, Washington, 1922.** Apart from this there were some remarkable reports made by the various delegates to their respective governments, and it will

be found that these are of greatest use for consultation. Noteworthy among these reports are: **Conference on the Limitation of Armament: Report of the Canadian Delegate; Canadian Govt., Ottawa. Sessional Paper 47. 1922.**

Report of the Australian Delegate; Commonwealth Parl. Paper. No. 2F 7421. 1922.

Report of the New Zealand Delegate; N. Z. Parl. Paper. A5 1922. Wellington.

Report of the American Delegation; Senate Doc. 125, 1922. Washington.

British Parl. Paper. Cmd. 1627. 1922; H. M. Stationery Office. London.

A full semi-official account of the Conference is obtainable in two International Conciliation pamphlets, No. 169, December, 1921, and No. 172, March, 1922.

There is a wide range of good books dealing with the Conference and its effects in the countries of the Pacific. An indispensable book that should be read first is Toynbee: **Survey of International Affairs, 1920-1923; Oxford University Press, London, 1925.** Part VI of the book on **The Far East and the Pacific** treats the Conference thoroughly and is fully documented and provided with chapter bibliographies. The subject is discussed rather briefly but well in Howland: **Survey of American Foreign Relations, 1928; Yale University Press, New Haven, 1928,** in Section V and Chapter 3. One of the recognised standard books on the conference is Buell's: **The Washington Conference; Appleton & Co., New York and London, 1922,** which gives good analyses of the parts taken by Japan, China and the United States in the negotiations. Several appendices give the text or summaries of the various treaties. Buell's other book on **International Relations** also has some sections on the Conference, while parts of Professor Blakeslee's **The Recent Foreign Policy of the United States; Abington Press, New York, 1925,** deal briefly with the question. The bearings of the Conference on China are discussed in two well-known books by Willoughby: **China at the Conference; Johns Hopkins Press, Baltimore, 1922,** and **Foreign Rights and Interests in China; Johns Hopkins Press, (2nd ed.) 1927,** and Bau's books on the foreign relations of China and the open-door doctrine contain many passages of interest. Ichihashi: **The Washington Conference and After; Stanford University Press, 1928,** is a recently published book by the secretary to the senior Japanese delegate to the Conference. It can be recommended for its presentation of a Japanese view of the Conference's results.

The report of the Commission set up at Washington to consider extra-territoriality in China is available, either as a British White Paper: **China: No. 3, 1926. Cmd. 2774,** or as an American State Department document: **Report of the Commission on Extra-territoriality in China; September 16, 1926; Government Printing Office, Washington.** The special conference provided for under the Nine Power Treaty to consider the Chinese Customs Tariff did not meet till October, 1925, and was then abandoned before completion owing to the internal strife in China. The best account of it is in Bau: **China and World Peace, Revell, New York, 1928.** and in the **China Year Book, 1926,** in Chapter 29.

Others of the many books on the Conference are:

Taft: **Japan and the Far East Conference; Macmillan, London, 1922.**
Archimaud: **La Conference de Washington; Payot, Paris, 1923.**
Kawakami: **Japan's Pacific Policy; Dutton & Co., New York, 1922.**

The Paris Peace Pact

The most recent piece of diplomatic machinery that may be available for the conduct of international relations in the Pacific is the Pact of Paris signed in August, 1928, and ratified by the American Government early in this year. Probably the best account of the history of the drafting of the Pact is that given in Shotwell: **War as an Instrument of National Policy; Harcourt Brace & Co., New York, 1928.** Dr. Shotwell had a great deal to do with the formulation of the Pact and gives an authoritative account of the negotiations and draft agreements that preceded the final treaty, and a valuable analysis of the implications and limitations of the Pact as it now stands. Miller: **The Peace Pact of Paris; Putnam, New York, 1928,** is useful for the discussion it conveys of the legal history of the Pact. It comprises most of the important diplomatic documents relating to the agreement. After these two books, it is best to consult an introductory syllabus on the subject published by the Inquiry, New York: **The Inquiry; Occasional Papers, Vol. V, No. 2, February, 1929.** This study is based on Dr. Shotwell's book but is supplemented by articles from other writers and suggestions for further reading. Some of them are given here. A later publication by Dr. Shotwell is of interest. It is given in an International Conciliation pamphlet for October, 1928, after the signing of the Pact: **The Pact of Paris with an Historical Commentary; No. 243,** and a somewhat similar study is made by Buell in a research report for the Foreign Policy Association: **The Treaty for the Renunciation of War, History and Analysis; New York, 1928.**

The relation of the Pact to the earlier movement for the outlawry of war is discussed in a paper by Kerr: **The Outlawry of War; Journal of the Royal Institute of International Affairs, London, November, 1928.** The *Bulletin of the Association for International Understanding,* London, gives a summary of the negotiations in the numbers for May 12, and June 23, 1928, while the number for February 2, 1929, gives two interesting studies on **The United States and the Peace Pact** and **The U. S. S. R. and the Peace Pact.** A good review of the various proposals that have been made since the Peace of 1918 and an interpretation of the present Pact will be found in the *Information Service* of the Foreign Policy Association for November 9, 1928. For opinions on the probable effectiveness of the Pact as a means of preserving peace, recourse must be had to contemporary newspaper and magazine files. All the leading newspapers of the Pacific countries contained statements and articles on the Pact during the weeks that followed its signing and again after the ratification by the United States in February, 1929. On Armistice Day Mr. Kellogg delivered a speech on the Pact in New York. The reports of this are worth reading in the papers on and after November 12, 1928, especially in the *New York Times* and the *Christian Science Monitor.* Another article from the pen of Mr. Kellogg was printed in the *Peking Leader* on October 13, 1928, and in the same paper on December 5 there are reports of the discussion on the Pact in the September meeting of the League of Nations.

Other interpretations and appraisals of the Pact in magazine articles may be seen by consulting the *Literary Digest,* New York, for September 8, 1928, and an editorial in the *New Republic* for December 5, 1928, on **The Future of the Kellogg Pact.** The *Japan Chronicle* and the *China Weekly Review* for September 6 and 8, respectively, have articles on the relation of Japan and China to the Pact. Other expressions of opinion may be seen in Lodge: **The Meaning of the Kellogg Treaty; Harpers Magazine, New**

York, December, 1928; Mackay: **The Kellogg Peace Pact;** the **Dalhousie Review** for October, and in a book by Page: **The Renunciation of War; Doubleday, Doran & Co., New York, 1928,** which attempts to give "an evaluation of the strength and the weakness of the Pact and a consideration of the next steps in the foreign policy of the United States." The best collection of documents on the doctrine of the renunciation of war is that made by Wheeler-Bennett: **Information on the Renunciation of War; Allen & Unwin, London, 1928.**

There are a number of standard and essential collections of treaties to which reference should be made for the text of all the agreements in force among the various Pacific nations. Six of these collections are given below:

Treaty Series: State Department. United States Govt. Printing Office.

Treaty Series: British Parliamentary Papers. H. M. Stationery Office. London.

Treaty Series: Publications of the League of Nations. Geneva.

Treaties, Conventions, International Acts, Protocols and Agreements between the United States and Other Powers. 3 vols., 1776-1923. **Government Printing Office. Washington.** The third volume covering the period 1910-1923 appeared in 1923. The earlier volumes were compiled by Malloy.

MacMurray: **Treaties and Agreements with and Concerning China; 2 vols. Oxford University Press, New York, for the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1921.** The two volumes cover the period 1894-1919. It is expected now that this collection will be brought up to date in time for the Conference.

Hertslet: **China Treaties; In force on January 1, 1908; 3rd Ed., 2 vols., 1908.**

For the text of the important series of trade treaties lately concluded by China with other nations, it is best to consult the files of the papers already noted under "China" in this review. *L'Europe Nouvelle* and the *China Weekly Review* can usually be depended on for the publication of all new treaties.

DEFENCE POLICIES AND DISARMAMENT

Requests have been made that disarmament and defence policies should be made subjects for consideration at the Kyoto Conference. The Institute cannot expect to deal thoroughly with the intricate problems of disarmament, but it is hoped that some of the books here recommended will give some idea of the main problems and policies of the Pacific nations in regard to defence and disarmament. A good introduction to the problems and policies of defence in the Pacific can be obtained from two books by Bywater: **Sea Power in the Pacific; Constable, London, 1921,** and **Navies and Nations; Houghton Mifflin, New York, 1927. Studies in Australian Affairs: Campbell, Mills and Portus (Ed.); Macmillan, Melbourne, 1928;** includes a statement of Australia's defence policy by G. R. Campbell: **Australian Defence Policy,** which gives a short readable presentation, concluding with the opinion that there is not yet any room for applying proposals of disarmament to Australian defence forces. One point of view of the British Commonwealth is set out in King-Hall: **Imperial Defence; Unwin, London, 1926.** The Soviet policy of non-aggression is one that may have some bearing on the defence policies of the Pacific. A good study of this is made in the *Bulletin of the Association for International Understanding,* under the title: **The U. S. S. R. System and Non-Aggression; (June 9, 1928).** A number

of American opinions on the subject of defence and security are brought together in the first section (on Disarmament and Security) of **International Problems and Relations,** published as part of the **Proceedings of the Academy of Political Science, July, 1926; Columbia University, New York.** Dalton, in **Toward the Peace of Nations; George Routledge & Sons, London, 1928,** gives an analysis of the problems of security and sanctions and of the League of Nations machinery for dealing with them.

On the general subject of limitation of armament a good deal of important material is to be found in the books already mentioned under the heading of the Washington Conference and the League of Nations. For a comprehensive guide to the literature on disarmament, readers should consult a select bibliography in **Proceedings of the Institute of International Relations, Second Session; (Harley, Editor) University of Southern California, Los Angeles, 1928,** in the report of the round table on armament limitation. It covers the question much more fully than is needed here, but is a very useful guide. The British Association for International Understanding has produced two excellent books, which give practically all the necessary information, namely, Wheeler-Bennett: **Information on the Reduction of Armaments; Allen & Unwin, London, 1925,** and Wheeler-Bennett and Langerman: **The Problem of Security; Allen & Unwin, 1927.** The first book is the more important, but the second has a small section on the matter of security in the Far East. In addition to these, Enock: **The Problem of Armaments; Macmillan, London, 1923,** and Baker: **Disarmament; Harcourt Brace & Co., New York, 1926,** can be recommended as reliable and helpful pesentations of the problem. A very forceful address by Senor Madariaga appears in **Problems of Peace; Oxford, 1927,** under the chapter **Current Problems and Progress in Disarmament.** Senor Madariaga is an acute and critical observer of international affairs who has served on the League of Nations Secretariat. Here he gives some of the inherent difficulties in all proposals for disarmament in a most arresting fashion, and in the second series of **Problems of Peace; 1928,** in Chapter VI he discusses the preparation of the first general disarmament conference. The best books to see are the official publications of the League of Nations, the British League of Nations Union, the World Peace Foundation, the Association for International Conciliation, and the Foreign Policy Association. Dulles: **Some Conceptions About Disarmament** in the April number of *Foreign Affairs* for 1927; an article and discussion on disarmament in the *Journal of the Royal Institute of International Affairs* for May, 1928, London; and two International Conciliation pamphlets, Nos. 245 (December, 1928) and 220 (May, 1926) are probably the most useful of the shorter articles to consult.

It is very desirable that some use should be made of the official statistical sources on the subject of disarmament. For this purpose the essential book to see is the **Armaments Yearbook for 1928-1929,** if it is available, published by the League of Nations at Geneva. In it will be found comprehensive monographs on the armaments and systems of defence of some 58 countries, both members and non-members of the League. A shorter but helpful classification is to be found in the Foreign Policy Association *Information Service* of May 8, 1926, Vol. II, No. 5, which gives a table of the comparative strengths of the armaments of some 21 countries; and a similar presentation is made in **Armies and Navies of the World,** an article in *Current History* for the months of January to June and August to October of 1926.

Japanese-American Relations and the Second Generation

By V. S. McClatchy

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In discussing the subject of Japanese-American relations it is well to remember that two friends cannot clear up a misunderstanding by interchange of meaningless compliments, meanwhile ignoring obvious conditions and deceiving each other as to facts and opinions. Facts, and opinions too, may be handled with mutual toleration and courtesy, but above all there must be entire frankness.

Responsibility for peace on the Pacific rests, it is said, on the shoulders of Japan and the United States. Peace may be maintained for a time between two nations, even in the presence of ill will, through a desire to maintain valuable trade interests or to avoid war, so disastrous even to the conqueror. But the best guarantee for peace lies in that mutual confidence, that cordial relation, which prevents or removes misunderstanding. That is the spirit which, it is hoped, will always actuate the people of Japan and the United States in their intercourse with each other. While that spirit lives, misunderstandings may occur, but will disappear.

The traditional friendship of the two countries was threatened for a time by differences growing out of our immigration problems; and while the major differences have been resolved, at least temporarily, it is still felt by many that the question involved could have been settled in some way equally effective from our point of view and more satisfactory to Japan. It is fair, however, to say that this belief is held usually by those who lack intimate knowledge of the three months' consideration given to the matter by Congress in the spring of 1924. During that period every other plan suggested before or since, including quota, received full consideration, and each was rejected in turn for clearly defined reasons.

The plan chosen seemed to be the one which should cause least reasonable protest. It is not discriminatory in itself, for it permits the entrance as immigrant of anyone eligible to American citizenship. If our naturalization law, which declares certain colored races ineligible to citizenship, were modified in favor of the Japanese, they would have the right to enter as immigrants under the present immigration act. It is therefore the naturalization law, and not the immigration law, against which the charge of discrimination should be made.

Some other plan may yet be suggested which will meet Japan's views without violating basic laws or principles adopted by this nation; but until then (as was said by President Coolidge, the earnest friend of Japan) "We must seek by some means besides immigration to demonstrate the friendship and respect we feel for the Japanese nation." Japan, however, has declared frankly through various official sources that she expects that friendship to be shown ultimately by such modification of the present law as will place her nationals on the same plane as white Europeans.

Our Policy as Originally Outlined

Curiously enough the present misunderstanding in the matter of immigration has grown out of our desire and determination to so regulate our immigration policy that through it no rift would be created in the traditional friendship between Japan and this country; and it was President Roosevelt himself who clearly defined the issue in the interest of both nations.

California had become much alarmed by the rapid increase in Japanese immigration, 19,774 having entered at the ports of San Francisco and Seattle, and 26,255 at Honolulu, during the two years ending July 1, 1908, at which date the Gentlemen's Agreement went into effect. In consequence there were introduced in the state Legislature in January, 1909, a number of bills directed against the Japanese in various ways. President Roosevelt strongly protested, declaring some of these bills illegal and some of them unfair, and finally secured the withdrawal of all of them on the assurance that the Federal Government had adjusted the immigration matter with Japan in line with California's desire; that the plan had worked so well in its first six months' operation ending January 1, 1909, that the number of Japanese in continental United States had decreased in that time over 2,000; and if, in the next year or two, it failed to be similarly successful the matter would be remedied by further action, meaning by an exclusion law. These matters are covered in his seven hundred word telegram to the California Legislature, February 9, 1909, and in his autobiography, at page 311 and following, both quoted in full in the hearings of the Senate Immigration Committee, March 11, 12, 13, 1924.

Roosevelt's view was that large influx would be certain to produce racial friction and international trouble. The plan agreed upon with Japan *re* settlement of the nationals of either country in the land of the other was that she would guard against increase of Japanese population in the United States through her passport system. The object sought was thus explained in a letter from Roosevelt to Hon. Wm. Kent, February 4, 1909, a few days before his telegram to the California Legislature:

"Let the arrangement between Japan and the United States be entirely reciprocal. Let the Japanese and Americans visit one another's countries with entire freedom as tourists, scholars, professors, sojourners for study or pleasure, or for purposes of international business, but keep out laborers, men who want to take up farms, men who want to go into the small trades, or even in professions where the work is of a non-international character; that is, keep out of Japan those Americans who wish to settle and become part of the resident working population, and keep out of America those Japanese who wish to adopt a similar attitude. This is the only wise and proper policy.

"It is merely a recognition of the fact that, in the present stages of social advancement of the two peoples, whatever may be the case in the future it is not only undesirable, but impossible that there should be intermingling on a large scale, and the effort is sure to bring disaster. Let each country also behave with scrupulous courtesy, fairness and consideration to the other."

The Gentlemen's Agreement and Its Operation

California learned afterwards that the arrangement was in the nature of a secret agreement, since referred to as the Gentlemen's Agreement, the text of which has never been made public, and the clearest explanation of which has come from Roosevelt, the man who made it. Under the Agreement Japan was permitted to flood Hawaii with Japanese (Japan subsequently relinquished this concession) provided she did not promote the increase of Japanese in continental United States. Her passport was to be accepted without question as entitling any Japanese to enter. There was thus surrendered to Japan this nation's sovereign right of choosing its immigrants, and the executive branch of our government assumed the right to manage immigration, which is the sole prerogative of Congress.

Unfortunately, the plan failed, the Japanese population of continental United States increasing from 72,000 in 1910 to 150,000 in 1920; and Congress in 1924, after repeated complaints from California, was compelled to take action which nullified the Agreement.

Japan, long before Roosevelt enunciated the principles above quoted, had safeguarded herself from possible danger of this character by discouraging immigration, even of people of her own color, by forbidding profitable use of agricultural land to foreigners, and by declining to grant citizenship to children of aliens who chanced to be born on Japanese soil. In consequence, Japan today possesses the most homogeneous population of any great nation in the world; one race, practically one religion, a common heredity, and a unified national outlook. Note what she has been able to accomplish in 50 years in consequence. In such matters the United States has made serious blunders, with the result that the birth rate of her original stock is now approaching the vanishing point, and she faces grave problems created by the presence within her borders, as settlers and even as naturalized citizens, of large groups of unassimilated population. She is attempting now to correct these blunders so far as she may with justice to herself and due regard for the rights of others, and certainly with no unkindly feeling towards any.

The present absence of unfriendly feeling on the part of the whites is due largely to the belief that the menace, economic, social and political, which they saw in the steadily growing Japanese population has been halted by the new law. It is noted that the State's total Japanese is not increasing apparently and that the annual births have gradually decreased from 5,275 in 1921 to 3,241 in 1927.

Open-minded Japanese people will find some excuse for the ill will in the past towards Japanese in California if they will picture to themselves the more serious consequences which would be created in Japan under similar conditions by the introduction of 100,000 white Americans, grouping themselves in favoured sections of the Empire, and securing control of land and certain activities through use of machinery and other methods familiar to Americans.

Their own complaints as to wives and land ownership will disappear in a few years with the passing of the resident alien Japanese; since among the native-born Japanese, the sexes being about equal in number, every man will have the opportunity to secure a bride; and each one, man or woman, being an American citizen, is entitled to own and lease land without restriction of any kind.

The Second-Generation Japanese

More serious than any phase of the subject thus far considered is the problem presented by the second generation, the Japanese born here and entitled thereby to American citizenship, and trained in public school and university to American standards and ideals. These young men and young women are fine specimens, physically and mentally, a credit to their race and to this country. Undoubtedly they earnestly desire to be thorough Americans, and Japan under her present policy encourages them in that ambition; but while they fraternize freely with the whites up to the time they leave school or college, in social as well as in school activities, they find themselves set apart in later years by a racial barrier which is apparently too strong for either side to break down. There is an added complication in that the Japanese, like many of the whites, prefer "white collar jobs." They no longer fill positions as house boys, and Filipinos have taken their place. Many abandon liberally-paid work on farm and orchard to the Mexicans.

Naturally, the Japanese employ their own people in business, and so too do the whites. In consequence, a Japanese professional man—physician, dentist, lawyer or engineer—finds himself restricted to practice among his own people. Intermarriage being frowned upon by both races and even forbidden by California law, the races drift apart socially, meeting only occasionally at public functions. Inevitably the Japanese become race conscious, American citizens in rights, but a group apart with separate interests. Thus is produced an unfortunate situation, detrimental alike to Japanese and whites, and most serious from the national point of view, since the country must look to a homogeneous citizenry for permanent stability and progress.

This result is the fault of neither race. It is due to the fact that each is marked by racial characteristics so strong and so different that assimilation, in the perfect biological sense, is not possible. Both are capable of cultural assimilation, but each resents absorption by the other, the real assimilation which makes for national homogeneity.

Even in Hawaii, where the Japanese constitute over one-third of the total population, and furnish more than one half of the school children, where they outnumber the whites three to one, where there is every encouragement for intermarriage and biological assimilation, the second generation Japanese find themselves a group apart, and their vernacular press calls upon them to cast their votes, not for the benefit of the Territory and the Nation, but in support of those who will pay most attention to Japanese interests.

Friendly Cooperation Necessary

It is through no wish or fault of their own that the second generation Japanese find themselves in an unfortunate position for which there does not appear to be any adequate remedy, but which should receive intelligent and kindly consideration from both sides. It offers striking demonstration of the unwisdom of any nation inviting the entrance, as immigrants or citizens, of elements which, however worthy or even superior, cannot amalgamate with the mass of resident citizenry. It offers conclusive justification for President Roosevelt's announced policy of preventing an increase of Japanese population in the United States, through the Gentlemen's Agreement.

The question remains: What can we do with this problem of the second generation Japanese? There does not appear to be any immediate solution. It is possible that in the absence of further friction and with the goodwill which exists on both sides the more serious phases of the problem will gradually diminish and in time sink out of sight. It is probable that continued cooperation of Japanese leaders in California with certain white organizations and individuals, all anxious to avoid friction and to preserve friendly relations, will aid materially in an improvement of the existing condition; and may be able in time to find a partial remedy. That certainly is the sincere wish of those for whom this writer sometimes speaks.

The situation occasioned by the immigration question and outgrowth therefrom, as thus frankly outlined, confronts two friendly nations each of which has every desire to respect the rights of the other while jealously caring for the welfare of its own people and institutions. It should be the effort of the loyal citizens of each nation to see that no misunderstanding is created through ignorance or misrepresentation of the facts, or prejudices, and that those who discuss the matter are charged with the duty of investigating and carefully weighing the facts. Surely then, with frequent intercourse and conference between leaders on both sides, all material differences should gradually disappear.

Pacific Items

Sino-Japanese Negotiations

Since the signing of the Sino-Japanese Tariff Agreement, just prior to the operation of tariff autonomy on February 1, further negotiations between Foreign Minister C. T. Wang and various representatives of the Japanese government have passed through a series of vicissitudes and have just at this writing attained settlement. On February 4 the leading news journals of China and Japan carried announcements to the effect that the negotiations regarding the Tsinan Incident had been satisfactorily concluded between Dr. T. C. Wang and Mr. Yoshizawa, the Japanese Minister to China, who had recently been delegated to Nanking with plenipotentiary powers for the purpose. This report was affirmed by both Dr. Wang and Mr. Yoshizawa, as they came from conference, and the expectation was that the formal ratification by the two governments would follow immediately. On February 8, however, the Chinese and Japanese press carried stories of the complete breakdown of the parley, with no arrangements agreed to on either side. This contradictory news was interpreted in the Chinese press as resulting from the Japanese Minister's announcement that he had received orders from Tokyo to alter the arrangements which he had previously made with the Chinese Foreign Minister. The terms of that agreement were "reliably quoted" to be: Withdrawal of Japanese troops from Tsinan, regrets from both governments, mutual compensation for losses sustained to be named by a Sino-Japanese commission of reparation. The foreign press in Japan at that time stated it as their understanding that the situation was due to the Japanese minister's refusal to name a definite date for the evacuation of Shantung by Japanese troops and the rejection, through instructions from Tokyo, of the proposed Sino-Japanese commission on reparation. As the former had been from the first a *sine qua non* so far as the Chinese were concerned, this action on the part of the Japanese government nullified all previous discussion and left the matter where it was at the beginning. The Chinese press, both foreign and vernacular, expressed great pessimism over the resumption of negotiations. Some time later, however, conversations were resumed, following a somewhat checkered line of progress until, on March 4, Japanese news agencies cabled abroad a report to the effect that once more papers had been made ready for signature but that this time the Chinese government had refused to sign the agreement. No further news on this issue came to the outside world until late in March, when it was announced that a formal pact was again ready for signature, which ceremony was expected to take place on March 28. On that date the actual signing was confirmed in dispatches from Nanking and Tokyo, together with a reported order from the Japan military chief of staff relative to the withdrawal of Japanese troops from Shantung.

Sir Frederick Whyte as Advisor

The Kuo-min News Agency, official bureau for the dissemination of government news in China, states that Sir Frederick Whyte, ex-president of the Indian Legislative Assembly, Liberal member of Parliament some years ago, and head of the British Group at the 1927 Conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations, has been offered an advisorship to the National Government. The *North-China Herald,* Shanghai, for February 23, carried an enlarged story based on the Kuo-min telegram, in which it was stated that a group of influential members of the government had recommended to the

state council Sir Frederick's appointment as Advisor. Sir Frederick has been in China a larger part of the time since the summer of 1927, when he went there at the invitation of the China Group of the Institute. His presence there has been considered to be very useful in the interpretation of Chinese political conditions to his own country. The above-mentioned report, the last to reach Honolulu, stated that it was not known whether Sir Frederick would accept the position or whether he preferred to remain "an independent friend."

Chinese Debt Commission

The Minister of Foreign Affairs for China on February 24 released news of identical communications sent to the various creditor nations of China relative to the debt situation. Announcement was made that a committee for the Liquidation of Domestic and Foreign Debts has been organized and that an annual sum of $5,000,000 was to be set aside from the increased customs revenue, for meeting these obligations. It was further stated that owing to the difficulty of ascertaining the actual amount of unsecured loans incurred by the defunct Peking government, it might be necessary for the committee to call a meeting of representatives from the various nations concerned, in order to arrive at satisfactory conclusions.

Anti-Opium Law

China's drastic new anti-opium law became operative on March 1, 1929, according to official announcement.

Sino-French Commission

On February 25 an agreement was arrived at by the Chinese and French members of the commission named to assess damages resulting from the Nanking Incident. The sum agreed upon amounted to $106,100. The Chinese government announced its intention of setting aside the sum of $20,000 for the use of the international committee for the improvement of seri-culture in China and the sum of $10,000 for the use of the anti-smallpox dispensaries, this being in recognition of the French government's renunciation of claims for damages in the case of the death of Father Duguot.

Chinese Ministers Abroad

According to a United Press dispatch of March 18, arrangements were made on that date for Wu Chao-chu, new Chinese Minister to the United States, to present his credentials to President Hoover. Alfred Sze, retiring Minister, sails for China on March 30. He goes immediately thereafter to London, whither he has been transferred.

China's Foreign Relations

Dr. C. T. Wang, Minister of Foreign Affairs for China, has organized a commission on Publications, headed by Vice-Minister Y. L. Tong. The chief function of the committee is to make public all available material on the diplomatic situation of China. One such volume has already appeared, namely, "The History of the Restoration of Tariff Autonomy in China." Four new volumes are in course of preparation, namely, (1) "The New Treaties;" (2) "The Nanking Incident;" (3) "The Tsinan Incident;" (4) "Rules and Regulations Governing the Ministry and Its Subordinate Offices."

China's Third National Congress

The third national council of the Kuomintang, National Government party, opened in Nanking on March 15, as scheduled. Two hundred and eleven delegates were present from all sections of China, despite many rumors to the effect that party conflict was imminent and that armed forces were menacing the recently achieved peace and unification of the Chinese Republic.

After a week of apparently peaceful progress and a second week of reported difficulties, during which time serious military revolt broke out in Shantung and threatening disturbance occurred elsewhere, the congress closed on March 28 in order that President Chiang Kai-shek might take the field against the "rebels." The situation is still too confused and information too scanty for intelligent comment. Friendly observers do not consider the situation as unduly menacing to the national regime.

Cultural Communication

The *Canton Gazette* reports the establishment of a compilation and translation office, under the direction of the Commission on Education, the function of which is to be to release to the world the literary treasures of China and to introduce into that country the works of the outside world. The plan of the bureau is ambitious and includes the erection of a central headquarters, printing plant, etc. This is a Kwantung Provincial undertaking, and is provided for out of the budget of the Department of Education.

News Suppression in China

The *North-China Star,* American owned newspaper published at Tientsin, was, as reported in the March issue of *Pacific Affairs,* denied the mails by the Chinese governmental authorities on February 5 of this year. This alleged arbitrary action has been the subject of vigorous protest on the part of numerous foreign newspapers in China, even from those editorially not in accord with the *Star.* It was felt by the editors of these papers that the act of the National Government, taken without notice, charge or hearing, was not in accord with the liberal and democratic principles supposed to be in operation in New China today. On February 16 the *Peking Leader* reported that the ban had evidently been lifted, as copies of the *Star* reached the *Leader* office through the mails. This was later denied by Dr. Charles Fox, editor of the *Star,* who said that although his paper was being sold on the street and being mailed abroad on foreign steamers it was not, so far as he knew, going through the Chinese mails. Following other reports and denials, a Nanking official dispatch on March 26 announced that the incident had been "satisfactorily settled" and mail privileges restored. The whole subject of Chinese government supervision over foreign publications issued on Chinese soil is one of very far-reaching significance.

Homo Sinanthropus

Peking newspapers have been full of comments on the discoveries and deductions of Dr. Davidson Black and his associates, in the vicinity of Peking, where, in a cave near Chou Kou Tien, jaws, skulls and a bit of tooth were found, which are expected to contribute largely to anthropological lore. The creature which Dr. Black has reconstructed out of his finds is pre-human but considered to be one distinctly in the line of human development. He has given this "link" the name of "homo sinanthropus" or the "Peking man."

Japan Parliament

The Imperial Diet in Japan has been undergoing stormy sessions during the past month. Premier Tanaka, who is concurrently Foreign Minister, has been the object of persistent attack on the part of various groups in and out of the Diet, largely because of his China policy. A vote of non-confidence was not, however, sustained and the Premier emerged from the struggle apparently stronger than before. Opposition to his governmental policies has not on that account ceased. There has also been marked dissension between labor members and other factions in the Diet. The session ended on March 25.

Japan and Manchuria

The interest of Japan in Manchuria is economic and strategic only, not political, and administrative control over the Three Eastern Provinces does not come within the desire or policy of the Japanese government, according to an American in the employ of the South Manchuria Railway Company, the Japanese-owned line. Henry W. Kinney, publicist for the South Manchuria Railway, is appearing in numerous newspaper interviews to this effect during the course of a tour of the United States, where he has gone to study railway problems and policies as well as "to inform public opinion in this country on the present situation in Manchuria," according to a San Francisco dispatch.

"Cultural Relations"

Japanese newspapers are full of what they term a new stage in the "westernization" of Japan. The criminal element in Japan is, according to news reports, copying the West in its new methodology. Police are greatly worried over the change in tactics of the lawless element with which they have to deal. These marked changes in violence are supposed to be echoes from the criminal procedure of Chicago and other western metropolitan centers, and the "cultural medium" of the movies is recognized as having been one of the most potent elements in stimulating the observed changes.

Asiatic Labor Conference

It is being announced by the International Labour Office that the first meeting of the Asiatic Labour Conference will take place this year, probably in India. Mr. Bunji Suzuki, president of the General Federation of Labour in Japan, has been named as the chairman of the conference. There will be three secretaries, a Chinese, an Indian, and a Japanese. The date has not been set.

American Tariff

The tariff increases contemplated by the United States in response to the demands of almost every branch of industry and agriculture in the country, have called forth universal protest from every important nation of the civilized world. The Ways and Means Committee of the United States House of Representatives has been considering the suggestions and demands of these various interests in connection with proposed Congressional revision of the tariff. As a result American diplomats at home and abroad are much concerned over the international situation which may be precipitated by any such drastic revision. Official notes of protest are, according to a Washington news report, daily coming in to the government and much excitement is known to exist in various foreign official circles over the proposals which directly affect the trade interests of those countries. It is expected that the new tariff schedule now being drafted for the Ways and Means Committee will be presented to the House when the special session of Congress convenes on April 14, at President Hoover's call. President Hoover is known to have spoken warningly against any blanket increase in the tariff which may serve to stifle foreign trade.

American Samoa

One of the last acts of President Coolidge, as his term of office came to an end, was in approval of the resolution sponsored by Senator Hiram Bingham and passed by both Houses of the 70th Congress, providing for formal annexation of that part of Samoa known as "American Samoa," over which the American Navy Department has had jurisdiction. This Senate resolution is supposed formally to confirm the cession of the Islands by native chiefs.

It is intended to make provision for a civilian government in the territory. Samoa now passes under the jurisdiction of the bureau of Insular Affairs.

Mexican Migration Problems

According to news dispatches from Mexico City, that government is making a vigorous campaign to stem the tide of emigration by which it is losing thousands of its citizens annually to the United States. The Mexican President has ordered an investigation of the problem which, it is believed, has its roots in the lack of employment existing south of the Rio Grande. The creation of new industries, rearrangement of tariff, prosecution of irrigation plans, etc., are proposed as means to combat this outward flow of labor. It is stated that proposals urging the United States to limit immigration from Mexico are directly in accord with the wishes and plans of the Mexican government.

In the allied field of immigration into Mexico, the Kuo-min News Agency recently carried a dispatch from Sonora, Mexico, which stated that the Mexican government was intending to tighten its regulations concerning the immigration of Chinese into Mexico upon the expiration of the Sino-Mexican treaty. The Chinese Legation in Mexico, however, is said to have the matter under discussion with the Mexican Foreign Office, in the hope that the new regulations will be cancelled.

Australia's "Empty North"

The *Melbourne Argus* has been showing considerable interest of late in the problem of a developmental policy for the large empty areas of the far north and center of the continent. The issue of February 11 contains a long and interesting article by Dr. J. A. Gilruth, first Administrator of the Northern Territory under the Commonwealth government. Dr. Gilruth discusses various aids to pastoral development in these areas. In order to stimulate settlement he suggests long-time leases free of rental and land tax, grant-loans for capital expenditure on improvements and original stocking, and government bores where necessary to insure adequate water supply. He discusses also the dire difficulties of those attempting to engage in pastoral activities in these regions and expresses the belief that if policies such as he suggests were adopted by the Home Affairs department the long standing difficulties of that department would be much mitigated and the potential wealth of Australia would be vastly increased.

Mineral Oil in Australia

A news dispatch from Perth, Western Australia, dated February 23, reports the recent discovery of mineral oil in that country which is already regarded as remarkable for its range of mineral resources. The Minister of Mines for Australia gives assurance of the credibility of the report as to the existence of crude oil. This should have considerable bearing on the various world problems resulting from a limited known oil supply.

Western Samoa Report

Sir Joseph Ward, Prime Minister for New Zealand, announces the publication of a report of the commission sent by the New Zealand government to investigate the situation in Samoa. Three members of the New Zealand Civil Service went to Samoa last November to make this investigation, at the request of the Administrator for Samoa, who felt that the government should be advised concerning the organization of the official staff and finances of the territory. The report states that the Public Service of Western Samoa was in need of immediate reorganization and that among other causes the long period during which the Service had been out of contact with New

Zealand had contributed greatly to organizational deterioration. The report further states that "whatever the causes may have been, we are entirely satisfied that the Samoan service as it exists today is by no means creditable to New Zealand and that urgent and drastic action is necessary to improve the position."

In this connection, it is interesting to note that, according to another news dispatch, Sir Maui Pomare, himself a Maori and an official of the New Zealand government when the Reform party was in power, suggests at this present juncture that an attempt should be made to reconcile the Samoans by reconsidering the government's present policies concerning the deprivation of hereditary titles of native chiefs and the restricting of deputations. He also recommends the extension of the franchise.

International Commerce Study

The International Chamber of Commerce, with headquarters in Paris, has nominated a Provisional Committee for the study of Chinese questions. Members named from China, Britain, Germany, the United States, Belgium, France, Italy, Holland and Japan, met together in Paris on February 8 last to outline a study into problems of Chinese reconstruction and the development of commercial transactions. Information to this effect was contained in the *Bulletin of International News* for February 16, 1929.

International Postal Conference

The International Postal Union holds its periodical conference early in May of this year in London, where agreements will be reached on any necessary changes in the laws and practices governing international postal service, such as tariffs, transit charges, new air-mail regulations, etc. Chinese news reports state that the Chinese government is particularly interested to cooperate, in view of the difficulties which the Chinese postal service has been encountering. Mr. Alfred Sze, Minister to Great Britain, Mr. Liu Shu-fan, Director-General of Posts, and five others have been appointed as representatives of the Chinese Republic to attend this conference.

Caribbean Institute

A new institute for the study of Caribbean relations has been founded in Boston, under the directorship of Mr. Whiting Williams, who has been a student of current phases of Nicaraguan, Colombian and other South American relations. This Institute plans schedules of travel and study throughout the South American region.

Negro Labor Conference

The National Urban League, a Negro organization maintained for the study of problems arising out of the recent migrations of negroes from the agricultural South to the industrial North, is holding a conference to consider present trends in the employment of Negro labor in America. This conference will be held at Louisville, Kentucky, April 9 to 12, 1929. The conference expects to discuss such questions as the following: "After ten years of increased employment in the major industries of the United States, what is the status of the Negro Worker? Can this status be improved? What is happening to the so-called 'Negro Jobs'? With the expansion of the Negro's industrial opportunity in the North, is there a concurrent shrinkage of his industrial opportunity in the South? How can barriers against his employment be overcome? What should be done to enhance the position of Negro women workers? Are Negroes taking advantage of training facilities? Are Negro schools meeting the demands for training?" The National Urban League has its headquarters at 17 Madison Avenue, New York City.

Reflections

Editorial Opinion on the Pacific

LABOR AND THE DIET

From the *Japan Weekly Chronicle,* Kobe, Feb. 28, 1929

It is remarkable that among all the interpellations in the present session of the Diet, that of Mr. Suzuki Bunji on the factory law last Tuesday and the reply of Mr. Nagaoka, of the Social Bureau, represent a much higher level of parliamentary discussion than anything that has preceded them since the session began. Mr. Suzuki made reasonable criticisms, and Mr. Nagaoka replied, explaining some points, admitting that others were matters of opinion, and heartily agreeing with the interpellator on others—a manner of dealing with the interpellation that gives ground for hope of progressive administration. Japan's Labour Party is making a good start. There was a passage in Mr. Suzuki's questioning where he complained that the compensation for persons injured while at work was not sufficient. The worker who is accidentally injured and is disabled for a losg time, or perhaps permanently, naturally cannot regard the law as too generous; he has to suffer all his life. Yet the requirements of the law are such as to be little short of ruinous to a small employer who, through some accident, may have two or three men badly injured. The official idea is that the employer ought to suffer, and that the prospect of suffering is the only thing that keeps him up to the mark in guarding machinery and such-like matters. For the small employer it is a serious matter, and Mr. Suzuki would be doing a good service to all if he brought in measures for compensation insurance.

JAPAN AND MANCHURIA

From the Canton *Gazette,* Feb. 23, 1929

The only Power that remains unwilling to recognize the validity of China's contention that she is a Sovereign Nation is Japan. Only Japan, under the crushing yoke of a despotic militarism, still talks of special rights and interests. Japan has always had a good deal to say in regard to Manchuria, giving the whole world the impression that her aim has always been to turn the Three Eastern Provinces into a protectorate. She has hoped all along to succeed as well in Manchuria as she has succeeded in Korea and under the Tanaka regime she has made certain maneuvers which compel us to doubt the sincerity of her assurance, made through her propagandists, that she recognizes Chinese Sovereignty over the territory. . . .

Now that General Chang Hsueh-liang has hoisted the Nationalist flag over Manchuria, the Japanese Consul-General at Mukden declared himself greatly surprised and offended, affirming that he should have been consulted first. He has now gone to a hot-spring to recover himself from the shock!

If Japan recognizes the Sovereignty of China in Manchuria, why should her consular officials there expect to be approached in connection with a domestic move on the part of the Chinese?

The fact of the matter is that Japan does not recognize the Chinese Sovereignty over Manchuria. She is still holding out in the hope that her militarists could discover something new with which to excuse her imperialistic designs in China. That Baron-General Tanaka has something up his kimono sleeves is the opinion of Chinese in general and this assurance of Japan's recognition of China's Sovereignty in Manchuria is but to hoodwink the European Powers and America into believing that Japan is about to turn a new leaf.

OPIUM

From the *Japan Weekly Chronicle,* Kobe, Feb. 28, 1929.

The Chinese delegate always seems to be regarded at the Geneva Opium Conference as a nuisance—a vulgar person who disturbs the equanimity of the council by saying inconvenient things. The *Manchester Guardian* report of the meeting on January 25th brings this out very clearly.

> "At the afternoon session the Chinese delegate, Mr. Wang King-ky, Minister at Brussels and last year's representative of the Nanking Government on the League Council, had to be requested by the President not to discuss political matters. He irritated Sir Malcolm Delevingne by his insinuations that the Great Powers, by the application of their extraterritorial rights, are protecting the illicit drugs traffic in China conducted by their own nationals. He also alleged that in a certain Shanghai concession seized opium is sold with

great financial profit to the neighboring colony. Mr. Wang King-ky declared that the new Chinese Government is determined to suppress opium cultivation in China, but demands from the other Powers the limitation of drug manufacture to the needs of medicine and science. . . . The speech, which had its tone been more moderate, might have made a greater impression, aroused a protest from Sir Malcolm, who demanded the withdrawal of all political allusions outside the scope of the Opium Committee. . . . Mr. Wang King-ky replied that a discussion of the opium situation in China is impossible without taking the extraterritorial rights and the unequal treaties into consideration."

And Mr. Wang was perfectly right. The delegates do not assemble with the intention of doing all they can to suppress the traffic in injurious drugs, but with that of maintaining their own nationals' rights to get their share of whatever profits are going. The political conditions prevailing in China are an essential part of the whole question, and will remain so, however annoyed Sir Malcolm Delevingne becomes, and however indignantly Mr. Sato may deny Mr. Wang's charges.

THE EXCLUSION LAW

From the Osaka *Asahi*
Translated in the *Trans-Pacific*, Feb. 2, 1929

In his speech as Foreign Minister, Baron Tanaka referred to relations with America and pointed out that the question of the American immigration law was still pending. If we remember rightly, it was the first occasion on which a Foreign Minister alluded in his official capacity to that law, conveying our eager hope for its amendment. We are gratified with his frank argument and appreciate his statesmanlike discretion.

The law under review is an absolute prohibition against the residence of our countrymen there and is discrimination against them. It is obviously an insult, and we hope that the Americans will amend it on their own initiative and thus demonstrate their goodwill toward Japan. It is far from us to conceal our resentment and displeasure with that law, and we venture to show our feeling candidly so that the Americans may rectify their injustice. Baron Tanaka has done what he ought as Minister for Foreign Affairs at an important opportunity, and his speech represents our national sentiment. We urge both nations to exert their utmost endeavors with unfailing determination that they may succeed in the amendment of the immigration law.

THE CHINA DISCUSSIONS

Relative to the breakdown of Sino-Japanese Tsinan negotiations in mid-February after a reported agreement, the Japan Weekly Chronicle, British owned journal in Kobe, has the following to say, amongst other things:

It is said, however, that there is more than meets the eye in all this. One version has it that though there was nothing upon which Nanking was so insistent as the evacuation of Shantung by the Japanese troops, this evacuation is really the last thing that the Nationalists want. It is pointed out that the Christian General, Feng Yu-hsiang, has not been heard of for quite a long time, and that this means that we shall soon hear of him again. He also regards Shantung as the strategic centre of China, and intends to march in just as quickly as the Japanese march out . Whoever holds Shantung has something to say in Manchurian affairs, and that is another complication to consider. Therefore the argument runs, General Tanaka is trying to serve the Nationalist cause by dragging out the discussions until they can see some way to dispose of the Christian General, who is a cloud over both the Chinese and the Japanese landscape. If this be the true explanation, General Tanaka is an extremely generous statesman, for he has allowed the whole blame for the negotiations to be placed on his shoulders, and the burden of an intensified boycott on those of the Japanese merchants. There is also another consideration. The Chinese have learnt one lesson pretty thoroughly. It took them a long time, but it appears that they have now made up their minds that though the policy of playing off one Power against another may still be useful, it must never go so far as seeking definite help from any foreign body against any Chinese rival. No slogan that General Feng might utter would be so potent as "The Nationalists are using Japanese troops." With that he could make himself the most popular man in China, and the Nationalists would find, as many Chinese have already found, that foreign support, or even too definite foreign approval, is the worst possible recommendation that a Chinese leader can have among his own countrymen.

It is somewhat difficult, therefore, to believe that General Tanaka is leaving things unsettled and keeping the troops in Shantung merely to please the Nationalists and to scare away the dreaded Christian General.

WHY NOT A CONFERENCE ON THE SHANGHAI QUESTION?

From the *China Weekly Review,* Feb. 23, 1929

The most logical way to settle the Shanghai question would be for the Powers chiefly concerned in the International Settlement to hold a regularly constituted conference with China and thus arrive at an equitable understanding on the question. This would enable foreign interests with their so-called vested rights to present their case and at the same time would enable China to present her case. Out of it would ultimately emerge an understanding that would be satisfactory to both sides in that it would provide for stability where only instability and uncertainty now exists. Obviously the present situation is unsatisfactory because the Chinese are not satisfied with their minority representation on the Council and their constant agitation for greater representation, if not granted, is certain to lead to constantly increased bitterness on both sides. What the authorities of the Settlement do not seem to realize is that China is quite likely to succeed in obtaining an abolition of extraterritoriality within the next year or so, in which case the Settlement as a purely foreign-administered political entity will no longer be of value. The passing of extraterritoriality will make it impossible to maintain the Volunteer Corps or foreign police department, because the personnel of both services will become subject to Chinese law and the Chinese courts. In view of this situation the logical thing to do would be for Powers chiefly concerned here to hold a conference with China and reach a definite understanding with China on the future status of the Settlement. The only other way out is to continue the present method of gradually increasing the Chinese representation on the Council and in the city departments, but as stated, this method is unsatisfactory because neither side is ever satisfied and this situation is largely responsible for the existing state of uncertainty, which is detrimental to all parties concerned, as is evidenced in the general slump and slackness in the local real estate and debenture market.

CHINESE REALITIES

From the *Peking Leader,* February 23, 1929

Speaking at the annual Washington's Birthday dinner in Peking on February 22, the American minister, Mr. J. V. A. MacMurray, said among other things that the present Chinese government had shown a sense of realities which set it sharply apart from Chinese governments of recent years and which entitled it to more consideration than these others had deserved. He urged all Americans to view the Chinese efforts to solve their problems with sympathy and understanding, and said the Administration should be given the benefit of all fair doubt, in the hope that the present seedling would develop into a stalwart tree.

A SUBTLE UNTRUTH

From the *North-China Herald,* Feb. 16, 1929

In general practice one has almost given up attempting to correct the inaccuracies of Chinese propagandists and their adherents. It is impossible to overtake them, and the statements sent out are for the most part so recklessly false and wild, that people who would believe them would believe anything. But the *China Weekly Review* of February 9, in speaking of Chinese ambitions regarding the future of Shanghai, published a very subtle untruth, which it is important to nail to the counter at once. This is it:

There are certain facts or known elements in the so-called Shanghai Question, which must be faced by both foreigners and Chinese. The first is that the International Settlement of Shanghai is Chinese territory *which was leased to foreigners* for purposes of residence and business. The words underlined indicate the position which the Chinese are trying to assert, for the obvious reason that a lease is always terminable on one side or the other. But it is wholly untrue to suggest that foreigners hold their land in the International Settlement on any such terms. On the contrary, they bought it outright from the Chinese owners, paying from twice to four times the market value. Some Chinese families refused to sell and to this day enjoy all the amenities of foreign municipal administration without paying any rates. There is just this amount of foundation for the "China Weekly's" innuendo, namely, that the Chinese Government in 1843 raised the point that land could not be sold to foreigners; but it immediately got over the difficulty by the fiction that it was rented to them in perpetuity, in recognition of which a nominal land tax is payable to the Government. But there has never been any suggestion of a lease terminable at any date or under any conditions, until it was invented by adroit propagandists, trusting to the average ignorance of history.

THE ABORIGINE

From the Melbourne *Argus*, Jan. 21, 1929

The problem of the relations between the white man and the black, of how to fit children into the scheme of a "man-sized" civilisation, is as old as history and as unsettled as ever. In these later centuries the matter has been and is of vital interest to most great nations. The United States of America, not content with its own aboriginal problem, has created a second in its negro population, an importation which, like all coloured peoples, has only too literally fulfilled the injunction to "increase and multiply." In old days the solution had the merit of simplicity. A conquered race was slain or enslaved. The conquered, if intellectually equal to the conqueror, at times won its individual way to power. . . .

The Australian aborigine is no more than a child of five. As a child he must be treated; with the indulgence shown to children, but with the firmness needed for disobedient children. In the inquiry now proceeding some most significant evidence has been given by persons who know, as distinguished from those who are zealous in good works but ignorant of their facts. Pastor Heinrich, for 10 years with the Lutheran mission at Hermannsburg, in Central Australia, spoke two cogent truths in giving evidence. He declared that able-bodied aborigines should be compelled to work; otherwise they remained about stations and became arrogant. He also advocated "legalised corporal punishment for blacks who misbehaved." In other words, he regards the aborigine as a child whose moral code, whatever it be, is utterly alien from ours. For him no code can work save that of childhood. . . .

It is a pardonable error to treat them as equals, in submission to Christ's teaching of the brotherhood of man. But even Christianity does not in fact by "brotherhood" mean equality. Men are still men, and children children.

With all its attempts to do the right, the world of today has yet found no solution of the problem. For its own aborigines the United States has adopted the policy of segregation in reservations. This seems to be but the provision of comfort for the declining years of a dying race. There may be no other course in this world-wide clash between the adult intellect and that of childhood when white meets black, yet the measure taken seems to be little more than a confession of failure, combined with a determination to be kind. . . .

Fortunately for Australia she has no negro problem, for in America the negro has come to stay. So far as he is concerned, despite negro universities and movements on his behalf, he is the hewer of wood and drawer of water for his white fellow-citizens. Australia has her White Australia policy; the United States was example enough to teach that. There may be short-sighted greed which would introduce coloured labour among us, but it is as rare as it is short-sighted. In the existence side by side, or intermingled, of two wholly different planes of development there is inevitable danger for all concerned.

CHANGES IN SAMOA

From the *New Zealand Herald*, Feb. 12, 1929

The reorganisation of staff and finances in Samoa, announced by the Prime Minister, has been decided upon, according to the statement, partly in consequence of the report made by the official committee which recently visited the islands. . . . The inquiry should throw light on the persistent allegation that Samoa is over-ridden with officials. This charge is usually advanced with a comparison between the number of officials under the German regime and the number at present, but seldom contains any reference to the great expansion of official activities, notably in the provision of education and medical and social services. An impartial survey such as can be expected from the committee should bring these two aspects of the question into proper perspective. Meantime it is possible to say quite definitely that, so far as the reorganisation contemplated can be expected to produce a saving of expenditure, it is welcome. Extravagant statements have sometimes been made about what administering Samoa costs New Zealand; they have been met and answered. Samoa is not supposed to be a profit-making asset. The ideal should be to have the territory self-supporting. That point has not yet been reached. The accounts, for instance, show an annual subsidy of £20,000 paid by the New Zealand Government during the past few years for educational and medical purposes. Presently that should become unnecessary, and any economy in administration helping to make it so is to be commended.

BRITISH-AMERICAN POLICY

From the *Spectator,* London, February 9, 1929

British policy in regard to America, as it seems to us, should henceforward be threefold. We ought first of all to insist that the Kellogg Pact, which by a not unhappy coincidence was ratified in the same session that saw the passing of the Cruiser Bill, is the governing factor. Secondly, we ought to go very slow in the matter of naval building, as Mr. Baldwin has promised to do. Thirdly—and this is the most important point of all—we ought to undertake with America as soon as the opportunity arises a full discussion on maritime law. An accidental clash between the two nations owing to the immemorial difference between our opinions on maritime law is actually the only danger. This opinion is fully supported by the conclusions to be drawn from two of the latest works on international law which we review elsewhere.

SENATORIAL ELOQUENCE

From the San Francisco *Chronicle,* Feb. 6, 1929

More eloquent than anything that can be said about it is the Senate vote on the cruiser bill. This, and the House vote last spring, tell clearly that the American people have not been fooled by pacifist sophistry. Only two classes have been fooled. One includes the foreign observers who thought the failure of the Senate to pass the bill before the last adjournment meant a victory for pacificism. The other includes the pacificists themselves.

The American people still recognize the Navy as the country's first line of defense and are determined to give that line an efficient completeness. The bill does not mean at all that this country is starting a new naval competition. The bill does not carry a bigger Navy. It is only for completion of the Navy we have.

Still less does this bill carry suggestion of an aggressive attitude toward the rest of the world. It is provision only of a prudent defense. The notice in it is not a threat, but only a warning that we will not be trampled on.

Senator Borah's amendment calling for an international conference to define the war time rights of neutrals does not affect the cruiser construction program by one iota. The cruiser bill is only a vehicle by which the Borah idea gets a free ride through the Senate.

By itself Senator Borah's amendment deals with a highly important subject, probably the most important problem now existing in international law. The question of war time rights of neutrals has caused a number of wars in the last century and a half. In our own case it caused our near war with France in 1798, brought on the War of 1812 with England, caused us much trouble in the Civil War, and was the means of bringing us into the World War. Actually it has been the source of just one-half of all our wars with foreign countries, if we count as a war the early flare-up with France.

The rights of neutrals need definition. But to get the definition is another matter. The definition that suits us one time does not suit us at another. The same goes for England. When the rights of neutrals are being trampled on it all depends on who is doing it. In the Napoleonic wars it was England that did the trampling and we objected. In the Civil War it was the other way around and England that did the objecting. Any country is for the rights of neutrals when it is the neutral. When a country is a belligerent it sees the horse as of a different color.

THE NEW QUOTAS

From the New York *World,* March 3, 1929

Congress having failed to suspend further the operation of the Immigration Law, the new quotas based upon national origins must come into effect on July 1. This is the arrangement that the Secretaries of State, Labor and Commerce once practically gave up as a bad job. A new committee of experts has finally worked out a system which President Coolidge has sent to Congress as the report of the three Secretaries. This will be used, unless Mr. Hoover finds another way before April 1. . . . Though the principle of restricted immigration seems fixed beyond repeal for the present, no one can claim that the law of 1924 is more than a stop-gap. Quota building is no easy task. The law needs more elasticity to enable the immigration authorities to soften cruelty in individual cases. That racial origins are not easily reckoned may be inferred; the experts have made three trials at figuring them, and the three results arrived at differ considerably. However, we must accept and use the national-origins test until or unless a better one is discovered and enacted into law.

MEXICAN IMMIGRATION

From the *Seamen's Journal*, San Francisco, Mar. 1, 1929

The number of natives of Mexico residing in the United States, according to our census figures, were 77,853 in 1890; 103,393 in 1900; 221,915 in 1910; and 486,418 in 1920. During the eight years of the present decade no less than 398,000 Mexicans were legally admitted to the United States. No one knows how many came across the border surreptitiously, but it is estimated that the total number of illicit arrivals approximately equals the legal entrees. It was this mass migration of peons during recent years that has caused a demand for restrictive legislation.

Certain California farmers' organizations still maintain that they could not get along if the influx of Mexican peons should be greatly reduced. They maintain that agriculture depends upon cheap and docile labor. Unfortunately, the Mexicans do not remain on farms as agricultural laborers but crowd into the slums of the cities. This is clearly shown by the increase in the Mexican population of various cities.

Sixty-two per cent of these immigrants are illiterate, and less than five per cent have become citizens. This is stated to be the worst showing made by any nationality.

The American Federation of Labor has finally declared in favor of placing the Mexicans under the quota system. It is to be regretted that this declaration came only after four long years of dallying with futile phrases about the regulation of immigration through "self-restraint" and a gentlemen's agreement. To be sure, every organization that aims to move forward is bound to make mistakes. It is doubtful, however, if the American Federation of Labor throughout its history has made a more serious blunder than this childish trial to prevent a horde of Mexican peons from improving their living conditions. No sane person can blame a poor Mexican peon for making an effort to double and treble his wages. And this is exactly what is accomplished when the aforesaid Mexican moves northward across the border of the United States. Certainly, it is utterly ridiculous to expect the hungry, illiterate Mexican immigrant to stay at home because a few well meaning men have declared that self-restraint is a nobler and higher achievement than the enactment of another exclusion law.

The same fatuous gentlemen's agreement also promised on the part of Mexican signatories "a restrictive policy, and if necessary, legislation excluding all peoples of Oriental birth or extraction."

All available data have settled without serious doubt the deplorable fact that the Oriental population of the Mexican border states is increasing at an alarming rate. The Chicago Tribune of recent date, quoted a member of the Mexican Congress who complained that Chinese are pouring into Sonora, Sinaloa and Lower California in alarming numbers and that Mexican laborers are leaving those districts. It is estimated that at least 20,000 Chinese have entered Mexico in twelve months. While the Chinese who formerly went to Mexico were merchants, traders and farmers, the majority are now laborers.

Confirming this news, *Current History* quotes no less a person than A. Aoki, Japanese Ambassador to Mexico, as follows: "We are sending our immigrants only where they are welcome. At present they are welcome in Mexico and Brazil."

Does this indicate that Mexico has adopted a restriction policy toward Orientals?

Happily, the foredoomed gentlemen's agreement has come to an end and the officers of the American Federation of Labor stand instructed to work for exclusion by law instead of waiting for results through beautiful words and phrases!

The Senate Committee on Immigration has already favorably reported a bill introduced by Senator Harris, placing Mexicans under the quota restriction. The application of this quota, according to Commissioner General of Immigration, will limit Mexican immigration to 1557 each year. Let us hope that real statesmanship will prevail and that the Harris bill will be enacted into law at an early date. Every additional group of Mexicans who enter the United States under the present arrangement, whereby the gates are kept wide open, adds to the already existing unemployment situation.

WAR-MAKING TARIFFS

From the *New Leader*, New York, Jan. 19, 1929

The ideal of the owners of American mass production appears to be to make our tariff walls prohibitive of imports and to insist that the tariffs of other nations be low enough to admit American exports. As a result we are again facing a tariff war with France and a few other countries.

In 1927 France agreed to postpone action in increasing her tariff on nearly 500 items in expectation that the United States would make some concessions. Now it appears that no American concessions will be made. On the contrary, it appears that

American rates will be increased. France will certainly retaliate by increasing her import taxes. This will bring protests from the United States and bitter feeling will be engendered between the two countries.

But other nations are affected by the American tariff policy which now enables the United States to export three times the manufactured goods that we import. What this means to other nations is evident if we reverse it. The United States would then object to high rates abroad because of the more reasonable rates maintained here.

American policy cannot continue without leading to bitter international relations and possibly to war. Commerce is international and one nation cannot hog it without danger to other nations. The tariff-making at Washington may prove to be war-making in the next few years.

THE CRUISERS AND A CRUISER

From the *Nation,* New York, February 13, 1929

So the militarization of America goes on apace. Here we have the latest and ripest fruits of the war to end war and to safeguard democracy. Here we have another legacy from Woodrow Wilson who wanted force without stint and blindly believed that he could exorcise force from the world by spilling the blood of a hundred thousand Americans. Now, ten years after the end of that war, Americans are compelled to read from the lips of the Reeds, the Bruces, and many others the precise language of national defense of militarism and imperialism which when it came from the Germans in 1914 was portrayed to all Americans as meaning the destruction of democracy and the end of civilization! We had not thought to live to see the German militarists thus justified.

ANOTHER PHILIPPINE ANGLE

From the *Honolulu Star-Bulletin,* March 23, 1929

We have listened to so many demands from Filipinos in the past for the complete independence of their islands that there is still an odd sound to the new note being heard more and more frequently of late.

Leaders just as important as the old-time claimants of full freedom are now protesting that the Philippines are far from ready for economic and political expatriation. Those who wish immediate liberty for the Philippines, said a recent speaker in the national house of representatives, are wishing them the liberty of a man when he is discharged from employment.

The speaker was Pedro Guevara, resident commissioner at Washington from the Philippine islands, and his speech was a vehement defense of the United States policy in the islands and a warning to his people to be not too impatient in their demands.

"Opposed to immediate separation but committed to eventual independence and militantly against the integration and annexation of the Philippines to the United States —such is my position," he said. "It is dictated by prudence, common sense and the aspiration to see a real and enduring Filipino nation."

Guevara declared the Filipinos are mentally prepared to maintain an independent government, but that it would be extremely unwise for the Filipinos to separate from the United States now and thereby lose the political, the diplomatic, the economic and the military protection of the United States.

WHAT THEY SAY

From the *Christian Science Monitor,* Jan. 15, 1929

Stanley Baldwin: "I think the influence of great literature on both sides of the Atlantic, if we read wisely, may be a far better means of interpreting one to the other than can be accomplished by either politicians or the press."

Philip Kerr: "Human progress depends more on raising the thinking power of the people than on any government in the world."

Books of the Pacific

JAPAN UNDER TAISHO TENNO
By A. Morgan Young
George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., London, 1928. 12s. 6d

The era of Taisho is comparatively a brief period that followed a long and illustrious era of Meiji. During Meiji Japan witnessed a great awakening and remarkable development, that have aroused marvel and admiration all the world over. The Taisho has been, however, no less important and interesting than the period preceding, especially from the political and social point of view. "During those fourteen years Japan became the third maritime Power of the world both in naval strength and commercial tonnage; her warships swept the Pacific and Indian Oceans and the Mediterranean; her representative at Versailles enforced her will on a reluctant Europe; her officers took part in determining Europe's new boundaries; her manufactures were in the most eager demand in every country in the world; and her growing power so alarmed the United States that the President called a conference at Washington to try to limit it, while the Congress passed a bill to prevent Japanese immigration."

The volume before us by an able editor of the *Kobe Chronicle* is an admirably clear presentation of the more or less important events and affairs of the Taisho period, very well packed into a handy and readable bulk. Nearly all of the important political and social occurrences of the period have been touched and commented upon. Certainly a perusal will impress the reader with the multitudinous nature of the problems which have confronted the empire during the brief period of a decade and a half.

One may not agree with all the interpretations of the author on the many facts that he has dealt with. Not infrequently the reader is reminded that his is the attitude of an editorial writer for a journal which stands in opposition to the government administration. It is only natural for the author to be consciously or unconsciously inclined to adopt a British viewpoint. But it should be admitted that generally speaking the narrative is fair and accurate, and the remarks and comments are very well pointed. I found no dull page in the whole book. —T.H.

THE PROBLEM OF INDIAN ADMINISTRATION
By Lewis Meriam and Associates
Institute for Government Research
The Johns Hopkins Press, Baltimore, 1928. G$5.00

As explained in the foreword, this survey of Indian affairs in the United States was undertaken in 1926 by the Institute for Government Research, at the request of Secretary of Interior Work. The Institute in the beginning set two years as necessary for an adequate and authoritative survey while Dr. Work wanted it in six months, explaining that two years would be too late "to be of any real value to him." A compromise was made on approximately one year, and the completed report submitted to Secretary Work on February 21, 1928. Yet notwithstanding the urgency of some of the remedial legislation recommended in the report, particularly for relief of the semi-starved children in boarding schools, the report seems not to have been submitted to Congress, and was not released until May 28, last year, too late for any action during that session.

Manifestly an effort to set forth fairly the monstrous evils of Indian administration with a minimum of embarrassment to the powers that ordered

the survey, it could never be mistaken for a report from any anti-Indian-Bureau agency. In text or footnote, the reader is constantly being assured that no attempt is being made to hold the Indian Bureau accountable for this or that intolerable and shameful condition—Congress is entirely to blame because it has not furnished larger funds. One may be pardoned, in the light of this report, for wondering whether, had there been larger funds available, there would now be *any* Indians left!

For the very reason that it is the result of a year's survey by a carefully selected group of scientists (well-known experts in their several fields), and made at the behest of the head of the Department responsible for the guardianship of the Indians and their vast interests, and because the findings are couched in conservative language with no attempt made to place responsibility, this report will carry conviction where the same facts more dramatically and more minutely presented by forces working frankly in the Indians' behalf would be refused credence.

The very first pronouncement of the General Summary negatives most emphatically the notion generally existing, and fostered by the Indian Bureau, that the Indians are rich: "An overwhelming majority of the Indians are poor, even extremely poor." Running through the volume are a wealth of statistics to prove the statement.

There is much repetition of identical facts and recommendations by the several investigators, especially in the reports of education and health experts, that but serves to emphasize the gravity of the evils disclosed. In no particular are the revealed conditions so appalling as in that relating to the children—conditions which have repeatedly been reported to Congress and the general public by the American Indian Defense Association, Red Cross and other agencies, and vigorously denied by the Indian Bureau. On page 16 the report says, "Both the government and the missionaries often failed to study, understand, and take a sympathetic attitude toward Indian ways, Indian ethics, and Indian religion." One result of this attitude has been the policy of wholesale tearing away of children from their families as early as six years old and keeping them herded in morally and physically unhealthful boarding schools during their formative years in order to cure them of being Indian.

In the very first recommendation "for immediate action" the survey staff urges that an appropriation of one million dollars be sought from Congress "at the earliest possible moment to improve the quantity, quality, and variety of diet available for Indian children in boarding schools." It also recommends at other points in the report abandonment of the boarding school policy at the earliest possible moment,—in the meantime vast changes in buildings, revolutionary changes in educational methods and scope, teaching and official personnel, abrogation of half-time work for the children, etc. The following quotations support these recommendations:

> "The survey staff finds itself obliged to say frankly and unequivocally that the provisions for the care of the Indian children in boarding schools are grossly inadequate. The outstanding deficiency is in the diet furnished the Indian children, many of whom are below normal health. The diet is deficient in quantity, quality, and variety." (p. 11)
>
> "The average allowance for food per capita is approximately eleven cents a day, exclusive of the value of food secured from the school farm. The amount from the farm varies greatly. It permits a few schools, a very few, to approach a reasonable standard. . . . At Rice School, the average amount spent for food was nine cents a day. The children were not receiving an adequate amount of food even of the very limited variety supplied. Malnutrition was evident." (p. 327)

"Next to dietary deficiencies comes overcrowding in dormitories. The boarding schools are crowded materially beyond their capacities." (p. 12)

Of the fact that the children are compelled to work half time in productive work for school maintenance, the survey says:

"The normal day at the boarding schools, with its marked industrial features, is a heavy day even for well, strong children. It is too much for a child below normal. Added to insufficiency of diet and overcrowding, it may be an explanation of the low general health among children in Indian boarding schools." (p. 192)

"The labor of children as carried on in Indian boarding schools would, it is believed, constitute a violation of child labor laws in most states." (p. 376)

Of special and perhaps hopeful interest to the growing number who believe that physical vigor is to be achieved and maintained by means of wholesome food and healthful living habits rather than by medicines and so-called preventive serums and vaccines are the survey's disclosures concerning two of the most widespread diseases among the Indians which have developed and grown to devastating proportions under Government protection.

"The major diseases of the Indians are tuberculosis and trachoma. Tuberculosis unquestionably can best be combated by a preventive, curative diet and proper living conditions, and a considerable amount of evidence suggests that the same may prove true of trachoma." (p. 12)

"As a vital measure in preventive medicine the Indian Service should take immediate steps to increase the quantity, quality, and variety of the diet of Indian children in boarding schools. . . . Also as a measure in preventive medicine the existing overcrowding in boarding schools should be eliminated."

Concerning trachoma the statement is made that while it has been the practice of the Bureau to treat the disease by "a radical surgical operation . . . the result has not borne out the theory" that this would effect cure. On the other hand, the health report goes on to say that it is strongly indicated that the disease is due to diet deficiency:

"Stucky, in his work among the mountaineers of Kentucky, has found splendid results following dietetic management of his cases. Other workers have obtained gratifying results by the same means." (p. 210)

"It seems a questionable procedure to try to heal a localized condition by localized applications, when the whole body lacks the food necessary to nourish it." (p. 212)

The report on economic conditions, while disclosing some startling facts concerning the mismanagement of Indian property, leaves much to be desired in the way of information concerning tribal reimbursable debts and the handling of Indian trust moneys and natural resources. It will be interesting to add to this illuminating volume the reports of the Senate Committee and that of the Comptroller-General made during the past year, which ought soon to be available. —B. G.

RUSSO-CHINESE DIPLOMACY
By Ken-shen Weigh
The Commercial Press, Ltd., Shanghai, China, 1928

There is an extensive literature on Chinese international relations written by foreigners. Here is a monographic treatment of a specific topic, "Russo-Chinese Diplomacy" written by a Chinese scholar, Ken-shen Weigh, Ph.D. (Johns Hopkins), Former Chief of Bureau, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the National Government of the Republic of China.

The study covers the whole field of the diplomatic relations between these two contiguous states from the Treaty of Nertchinsk, signed in 1689, to the conclusion of the Agreement on General Principles on May 31, 1924, with emphasis, however, on the relations since the Sino-Japanese War. A

concluding chapter, written in December, 1927, discusses the question of Bolshevism and China.

The book is divided into two parts: Part 1, "China and Czarist Russia;" Part 2, "China and Soviet Russia," and contains the following chapters:

Early Relations Between China and Russia; Russia's Political Ambitions in Manchuria; Russia's Further Political Ambitions in Manchuria; Relations between China, Russia and Mongolia; White and Red Intrigues in Mongolia; The Chinese Eastern Railway and Its Zone; Chinese-Russian Diplomacy (1917-1924); Bolshevism and China.

The Appendices include:

Contract for the Construction and Operation of the Chinese Eastern Railway, September 8, 1896; Statutes of the Chinese Eastern Railway, December 4, 1896; Sino-Russian Agreements, Declarations, and Exchange of Notes, May 31, 1924.

Dr. Weigh's study will be reviewed in a future number of "Pacific Affairs." —C.F.L.

THE CITIES OF AUSTRALIA
By Kathleen Ussher
J. M. Dent & Sons, Ltd., London, 1928. 5s

Miss Ussher uses her cities as media for presenting the spirit of her nation's people, saying: "In the building of a city is expressed the spirit of its people. National characteristics are here writ large in the enduring language of stone and brick and steel." It is for this reason that her small volume may have, for students of the Pacific, interest somewhat more fundamental than a mere guide to travel. Yet for the reader who only wishes to become acquainted, friendly fashion, with dwellers on the other side of the earth, the book serves that purpose too, quite delightfully and with small drain on one's leisure or one's thought processes. Her cities become very human, homely, pleasantly comprehensible places, set off by flashes of beauty and often touched with something of magic by the author's own warm feeling.

For Miss Ussher is Australia born—city born, which last has a special significance in a land where such sharp distinction is drawn and felt between dwellers of the towns and dwellers of the "bush." She can, then, make the cities live for us as she might not the "up-country," and it is amusing to note from her preface that she intends this volume quite as much as an interpretation to her countrymen of the bush, as to the outside world. In fact she questions if the former would, because of her coast-city birth, consider her "worthy to be classed as Australian at all!"

"The Cities of Australia" is one of a series recently inaugurated by Messrs. J. M. Dent & Sons, London, under the general title, "The Outward Bound Library." There is a companion volume on "The Australian Bush," by Mary Fullerton. This series of handbooks is intended to comprise the main overseas territories of the British Commonwealth of Nations, possessions, dependencies, protectorates, etc., and to give "information and entertainment to travellers and emigrants and their friends at home."

In living up to this last quoted purpose Miss Ussher does not omit, in the course of her description of social conditions in Australian cities, to tell the prospective feminine "immigrant" just what she may expect of the housing problem and what "quantities" of tub-frocks—"fresh and frilly and flippant" tub-frocks—she will need for the summer weather! There are chapters devoted to a not-too-detailed study of educational life and opportunities, music and the arts and the more romantic aspects of industry and shipping. —E. G.

THE NEW ZEALANDERS
By Hector Bolitho
J. M. Dent & Sons, Ltd., London, 1928. 5s

In "The New Zealanders," Hector Bolitho carries readers of the "Outward Bound" series rapidly through the several stages of the Dominion's known existence. The picturesque "yesterday" of the Maori discoverers, the amazing coming of the first whalers, the stern romance of early settlement, pass rapidly across the first five pages of his narrative. There follow vivid paragraphs sketching the warfare waged in the settlements by those whom he refers to surprisingly as "the Maori invaders;" and then the ever sordid story of native depression in the wake of white conquest. He tells this rather pithily, as when he says of the defeated Maori: "Then they sat back and became demoralised. The missionaries came with their ten commandments and their mouth organs and their pills. 'By kripey, this Wikitoria, she rule one very big tribe,' they [the Maori] thought. They smoked tobacco and took pills and they wore trousers and they threw away their magnificent mats and feathers and war clubs, and they fumbled with the triggers of guns, like children mesmerised before the window of a toy-shop." (p. 6)

Contrary to the average recorder, Mr. Bolitho is not at this point fulsome in praise of the missionary. Instead he says: "I am inclined to be niggardly in giving general praise to missionaries because they have approached their work in such varied ways, with such varied results. I believe that only men of extraordinary knowledge and wisdom and love are capable of moulding the lives of people who cannot intellectually comprehend what is meant by Divine Grace. There have been too many unfortunate examples of the white man's morality and ethics in the South Seas to warrant the European's patronage of the black heathen," (pp. 7-8); and then adds—perhaps a questionable compliment—that at least "the missionaries are able to make native people conscious of sin." He does, however, give due credit to the greatness of certain early leaders, adding: "All pioneers pave the way for second-rate men."

Then came the excitement of Gold, and with it the colony's leaping growth. Here he is apt to startle the literal reader, familiar with pioneer history in other parts of the world, with such statements as: "Somehow or other only the right people came." He explains this by saying, "The authorities . . . frowned on the charlatan, the ne'er-do-well . . . They kept the country for British people. . . . They frowned on the Asiatic when he screwed his mysterious face into a smile at the door. . . . They kept it British and they made it England. . . . Their policy was selfish and good and wise." (p. 12)

Of the Maori, that section of the population which perforce those wise authorities could not legislate out of existence, the author says: "The Maori stands apart from all the other dark men of the earth . . . To understand them completely, to appreciate the poetry that stirs within the Maori consciousness, we may turn to their legends and see that they were no ordinary brown men whom the white subdued; they were no unbelieving, barbaric natives who shook their defiant spears at the intruding barquentines that rested in the harbours and poked their impudent bows into the rivers," (p. 14). He retells the Maori legend of the beginning of life to illustrate the beauty of spirit of those mystic warriors, a spirit that has become entangled with the very life strands of white New Zealanders.

And these white New Zealanders, we are told, after they are compared with other Empire populations, emerge as the most British, the most conserva-

tive, and yet the most constructive of all the British peoples on the earth. New Zealand has accomplished what other nations failed to gain through revolution, and accomplished it with a "conscientious, humanitarian, efficient, Conservative Government." We are told that "there is no other country on the earth today where the artisan and the labourer, their wives and children, may live in such comfort and harmony with the people who control finance and labour;" that New Zealand's officials are "honest, solid and good," being mainly "bluff, hearty farmers . . . men who never lose touch with the earth; men who know farming produces the greatest moral and material riches." And while all this may seem a trifle too generously sweeping in tone, one is inclined to let the author off the charge of creating too perfect a Utopia, until a certain smug note of self-righteousness creeps into his description of the social structure. "Honest husbands, faithful wives and dutiful children, all living happily under one roof," are, we should believe, fairly scarce except in New Zealand. New Zealand has something of a monopoly on social virtue, especially when compared with other Empire outposts. Immorality and licence have fairly conquered the world; "but New Zealand has escaped this so far;" and "a respect for virtue and a reluctance toward ungodly living have permeated young New Zealand life." Perhaps it is only the skepticism born of this restless age in more benighted portions of the earth that leads one to reject such desirable descriptions as a bit oversugared.

The wealth of material embodied in this small volume is put together in rather higgledy-piggledy fashion but with a certain charm—youthful memories, descriptive bits, careful evaluations, unrelated items of interest. From it exudes the pungent odor of old wharves and shipping, the smell of brown, sunbaked soil, of clover and fern and green grazing land, all crammed oddly in amongst painstaking chapters on educational systems, prisons, national health, etc. But though he describes women's socio-political activities, and sheep-dipping, with equal solemnity and exactitude, it is obvious that the author's heart is really put into such subjects as the mountains, fishing and hunting, Maori legends, picnic places, strawberries and primroses. This makes of an otherwise dull book a very pleasant human record. —E.G.

VITAL FACTORS IN CHINA'S PROBLEMS
By Lee Teng-hwee
The Commercial Press, Ltd., Shanghai, 1928

Mr. Lee Teng-hwee of Tuh Tan University, Shanghai, has here attempted to prepare an English reading-book for advanced students in China, in harmony with modern educational practice. He has set up for himself the following difficult criteria in his selection of material—that it be a guide to patriotic and constructive endeavor, that it be inspirational, stimulative and practical, and that it have special bearing on China's problems. In his foreword he explains that while some of the material incorporated in the text may seem to have international rather than purely national bearing, yet "students, in order to be intelligently patriotic, must not be blind to the great world movements, which directly or indirectly affect China; for, according to modern conception, patriotism is inevitably bound up in the spirit of internationalism."

The lessons consist of individual essays or articles on various phases of China's educational, economic, political and moral life and on current international affairs, selected from various Chinese and western publications, such as the Chinese Social and Political Science Review, the Chinese Student Monthly, the China Weekly Review, the China Press, the Popular Science

Magazine, American Review of Reviews, Current Events, etc. The authors and sources are mainly Chinese, but there are several western writers included, such as John H. Reisner, of the Agricultural College of Nanking University, J. Stewart Burgess, of the Sociology Department of Yenching University, Julean Arnold, U. S. Commercial Attaché in China; and there are bits from the writings of the late Woodrow Wilson and Samuel Gompers, Elihu Root, Otto H. Kahn and Jan C. Smuts, on general or international questions.

The book is interesting as an exposition of the type of English material on which Chinese students of today are being grounded. There is much emphasis upon the mental and moral discipline needed to fit the young generation for service in China's glorious future. In that respect the opening essay, by S. J. Chuan, formerly of Tsinghua College, sounds the keynote:

> "China stands today at the dawn of an extraordinary age. Freed from the chains of ancient thought and superstition, she is beginning to win victories in the domains of science, commerce, and industry. From the very depths of corruption and the immobility of conservatism, she is emerging into the realms of progress and prosperity. Indeed, with her tremendous population and the unlimited amount of her natural resources, no region is too remote for her hand to reach, no place too sacred for her eyes to penetrate. Filled with burning patriotism within and cheered by these bright prospects without, there runs in every man's and every woman's mind but one thought—the thought of making his country strong. But will the aforesaid means make China strong? No! They may be efficient means to make China brutally strong, but not truly great. For, if China is ever to be a great nation, it must be by means of strong individualities."

Industrial and political weakness are faced frankly. International relations, though discussed but briefly from the political aspects, are treated in a moderate, liberal spirit. There is much space given to peace and its agencies. Party politics is wholly omitted. There is but slight reference to traditional ethics. Social problems—as for instance the Opium Question, which has large international implications—are treated with uncompromising firmness but with moderation. C. C. Wu contributed the article on Relations between China and the West, an historical summary written dispassionately and fairly. One of the most forthright essays in the book is on Extraterritoriality, in which, in no uncertain terms, the author (Chong-su See, Ph.D.) tells of the origin and functioning of the system, cites types of abuse, and states the conviction that its circumstances have been a strong deterrent, among other things, to the spread of foreign trade over China. Manchuria is discussed only in relation to the wool industry and incidentally in a factual summary of early Chino-Japanese relations. —E. G.

CHINA AND JAPAN
By Frank F. Bunker
J. P. Lippincott Company, Philadelphia, 1928. G$1.50

The many who are ever on the lookout for books on the Orient for use in schools or to give to their own children will welcome this second book by Dr. Bunker in the series of "Lands and Peoples." The 149 illustrations alone are enough to intrigue and hold the interest of a boy or girl. The pictures are especially well chosen, carrying as many of them do human interest of people at their work, photographs of children and animals. The book contains a mass of interesting information and the subjects are such as to interest not only youth, but adults as well.

China is especially well handled. But for some unexplainable reason, unless it is that Dr. Bunker arrived in that country five months after the disaster, the section on Japan starts off with the earthquake of 1923 and the gratitude of the Japanese for American aid, then moves on to the industries

of Japan, and finally into the period of Western contacts. The result is that the reader is historically dizzy. This approach would be especially confusing to a child. The reader is never given the folkloric background of Japan in which the Enthronement literature is so rich, but is rather left with the feeling that Japan's early history and arts were but a Chinese offshoot.

And yet, despite this, some of the most interesting material in the book is on Japan. Especially noteworthy is the portion regarding the visit of the first Japanese ambassadors to the United States. Everyone knew this was their first glimpse outside their own little island kingdom, yet they showed no surprise at anything. This was, of course, due to their Samurai code of self-control. Their dairies, of which Dr. Bunker publishes portions, tell a very different story. When they visited Congress there were speakers "wildly brandishing their arms as if they had lost their tempers. Our impression was that some important State affairs were under discussion, but of course we did not understand a single word, and we did not ask what was going on, as we were afraid that it would not be the correct thing to inquire into the State affairs of another nation." And again, when they saw women in the enormous crinoline skirts of the period, "It was, of course, with no small wonder that we had witnessed this extraordinary sight of men and bare-shouldered women hopping around the floor arm in arm, and our wonder at the strange performance became so great that we began to doubt whether we were not on another planet. . . . It seems very funny indeed to us, as dancing in our country is done by professional girls only, and is not at all a man's pastime."

Of the industrious farmer folk Dr. Bunker says: "It seemed to me that they were always at work. Never yet have I seen any of them sitting down to rest. Perhaps they do, but I never caught them at it, much as I traveled about in the rural districts. Neither have I ever been up too early in the morning to find them in their fields or on the way to them, and yet I often saw the day break. As long as I could see at night they were there. Moreover, rarely did I ever observe a Japanese farmer look up from his work when our train went rumbling swiftly by." These people are pictured as not much above dumb beasts. A little investigation in these rural districts would, no doubt, have enabled Dr. Bunker to give a very different mental picture to his readers. As Abraham Lincoln said, "God must have loved the common people, for he made so many of them."

It is amazing in a book that is confessedly written to aid in cultivating good will between nations to find at the end of the chapter on concentration of population in China the following exclusion propaganda: "Enough has been said about the thrift, perseverance, and industry of the laboring classes and their standard of living to show how disturbing it would be if any great number were permitted to enter a country, such as the United States, where conditions are very different. It is clear that it would be impossible to effect an adjustment without untold trouble."

On the paper jacket we find a reference to "heathen temples" which recalls China's exclusion of the moving picture of "Ben Hur" on the ground that it encouraged superstition.

The criticisms of this book may, perhaps, seem more severe than it deserves, but we believe they are justified because this is an era when educators are striving to educate children away from nationalistic tendencies and into world citizenship, and writers for youth can well afford to be severe with each other and with themselves in an effort to raise the standards of education.

—B. M.

COMING OF AGE IN SAMOA
By Margaret Mead
William Morrow & Company, New York, 1928. G$3.00

Between the covers of this book we are given the picture of a people who are perhaps as happy, from the standpoint of every person in it, as any civilization the world has ever known. Life is gracious. The pattern of life is simple. Compared with our civilization, there are few misfits in life; few tabus. It is amazing that in this psychological study of the youth of Samoa, Dr. Mead has made the characters live and move before us. The work was undertaken by her under a scholarship from the National Research Council. Her object was to study a primitive society, compare it with that of the United States, and then decide whether or not the difficulties of our adolescents are "due to being adolescent or to being adolescent in America."

There are interesting comparisons. While our tendency is to encourage the precocious child, in Samoa he is scoffed at for "presuming above his age," and even punished. Only in the dance is precocity encouraged. Children are cared for by older children and there is no mother complex to be reckoned with. Youth is inclined to shirk responsibility by saying, "I am but young," but the group activities of the boys stimulate them to skill, and they early learn the lesson of cooperation, which is no part of a girl's training.

Dr. Mead's conclusion is that "Adolescence is not necessarily a time of stress and strain, but the cultural conditions make it so," thus giving our much maligned youth a verdict of "not guilty." Dr. Mead's study is valuable to the West. In the chapter on "Our Educational Problems," she says, "Realizing that our own ways are not humanly inevitable nor God-ordained, but are the fruit of a long and turbulent history, we may well examine in turn all of our institutions, thrown into strong relief against the history of other civilizations, and, weighing them in the balance, be not afraid to find them wanting." She pleads that our children may be so educated that they may be able to choose for themselves the way of life from our bewildering civilization. As it is, she states, "We present to our children the picture of a battlefield where each group is fully armoured in a conviction of the righteousness of its cause. And each of these groups makes forays among the next generation. . . . Samoa knows but one way of life and teaches it to her children. Will we, who have the knowledge of many ways, leave our children free to choose among them?"

It is seldom that a scientific study goes into edition after edition. But Dr. Mead's subject has popular appeal. Here more than in novels, more even than in confession stories, the reader may peer into the lives of other people. With Judge Lindsey baring the lives of the youths of the United States, it is no small wonder that Samoa, too, must go on the dissecting table. Dr. Mead spent nine months in Samoa. She went into the country without a knowledge of the language. We ask, along with some Polynesians, how can a foreigner who must learn the language get from the people with certainty the truth of their most intimate personal affairs? As a cultivated and much-traveled Polynesian has remarked upon the book, "I, who speak their language and am of their blood, could not get these facts from them. Some of them I fear are not facts, but 'yes-es' carelessly given, or given to be agreeable." These facts can only be proven when the book is read and understood in the three villages, as it surely will be. Dr. Mead says the names are fictitious in order to shield those who do not wish publicity. But how is it possible to keep these secrets when all Samoa knows where the investigations were

made? Some of the picturesque islands of the Pacific are still smarting from "true" stories written about them. Surely some day there will appear a searching study of our civilization from the standpoint of another people. Then we will taste the bitterness of the "native" who finds his personal and stained family laundry is flapping back and forth on a clothesline across another country's Broadway.

One omission in the book caused wonder. This is a scientific study published as a popular book. It is read by old and young, especially the young. And yet there is no mention of the consequences of promiscuity. Is it possible that Samoa, which has for so long known the white man, who carries along with his superiority his diseases, is not at all concerned nor even troubled with social diseases? Are the young American readers to assume that Samoa has retained her early physical purity, or are they to assume that promiscuity has no lurking danger? —B. M.

FORCED LABOUR
Report and Draft Questionnaire
International Labour Office, Geneva, 1929

This report is to be submitted to the 12th session of the International Labour Conference. It contains information on the conditions and regulation of forced labour in several Pacific dependencies. There are sections dealing with Malaya, French Indo-China, Papua, the smaller Pacific islands and the Dutch East Indies, on which last a fairly complete and valuable account is given of the purposes for which recourse is had to compulsory labour. There are four main purposes: public works, porterage, compulsory cultivation and emergencies, and they may be with or without remuneration. The report concludes with two chapters which examine the effects and value of the system and set out the principles which should form the basis for its regulation where the system is regarded as indispensable. This discussion is based largely on the recommendations of various reports on the subject and on the experience of former administrators. The text of the draft questionnaire to be sent to the delegates to the Conference is also appended. —W.L.H.

BRITAIN'S INDUSTRIAL FUTURE
Being the Report of the Liberal Industrial Inquiry
Ernest Benn, Ltd., London, 1928. 2s 6d

For the modest sum of two and sixpence, the Yellow Book—as it has come to be called—provides a thorough survey of the main social and economic problems of Great Britain. It represents the conclusions and opinions of the English Liberal Party. As this party has greatly shrunk in numbers and power since pre-war days, readers may be inclined to dismiss the Report as being of little importance. This, however, would be a great mistake. In the first place, the names of those who helped to compile it form a sufficient guarantee of its value. Men such as W. T. Layton, the Chairman, E. D. Simon, the Vice-Chairman, and (to mention a few chosen at random) J. M. Keynes, B. S. Rowntree, Sir John Simon, and Sir Josiah Stamp, are renowned throughout the world. In the second place, the reception given to the Report was very interesting. The Conservatives thought it, upon the whole, quite sound but not at all "liberal," whilst the Labour Party complained that their own views and policies, slightly adapted, were incorporated in it.

The Report is divided into five books. Book I is, quite appropriately, a survey and analysis of the present condition of British industry. Book II deals with the organisation of business, and treats of such subjects as public concern, control of monopolies, and the need for an economic general staff.

Book III is concerned with industrial relations, and suggests a programme of industrial cooperation, together with means of improving the status of the worker and of diffusing ownership more widely. Book IV lays down a somewhat ambitious, but carefully planned, scheme of national development, with the object of reducing unemployment. Book V is concerned with national finance, and contains *inter alia* the proposals for the reform of the rating system which possibly inspired the present schemes of Mr. Winston Churchill.

The whole of the Report is clearly written, and is packed with valuable information and statistics. Whilst there is room for considerable differences of opinion concerning the remedies suggested, there is no other diagnosis of the present problems of Great Britain which covers the field so completely and so well. —F.C.B.

PROPAGANDA
By Edward L. Bernays
Horace Liveright, New York, 1928. G$2.50

Today, when the travel-speed of ideas across the world may no longer be gauged by the one-time hyperbole—"swift as the arrow in its flight . . ." —mankind needs more than ever before to know whence its ideas come. A study of "The Public Mind in the Making" (the subtitle of this book by Edward L. Bernays) should be important. And yet somehow the volume in hand fails to be important.

Not that the author does not have significant material within his grasp. He was, as a member of the United States Committee on Public Information during the last European war, and of Edgar Sisson's Committee at the Paris Peace Conference, in a position to gauge the tremendous drive of propaganda, the force of withheld facts and "carefully formulated opinion" which were such powerful factors in the life of the nation—and of the world—during those years. He is regarded as the man chiefly responsible for the growth of the "new profession of public relations counsel" in the United States, and has for many years practiced that profession both at home and abroad. He knows the art of propaganda from the point of view of the commercial advertiser, the personal press agent and the political "thought-monger," as well as in the role of "public relations" counselor to large industrial organizations. Truly, as the publishers state, Mr. Bernays should be thoroughly at home "behind the scenes" of the world's important economic and political movements, thoroughly conversant with the string-pulling mechanism of what he calls "the New Propaganda."

Yet for persons who have thought at all in terms of the problem which a manipulated public opinion presents, there is not much that is new or stimulating in Mr. Bernays' latest book. Perhaps the public of today no longer needs to be awakened to the existence of "an invisible government" which shapes its thoughts, desires and actions, but is already sufficiently aware thereof. Students of the problem would wish for something more comprehensive than Mr. Bernays' statement that "the need" for such "invisible government has been increasingly demonstrated," and his clever analysis of how that government of thought-direction functions in all departments of life, through what amazing new mechanical devices, and with "propaganda as the executive arm." In the end the author tells us that: "Propaganda will never die out. Intelligent men must realize that propaganda is the modern instrument by which they can fight for productive ends and help to bring order out of chaos." —E. G.

THE AMERICAN NEGRO
By Melville J. Herskovits
Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1928. G$1.75

This study presents results of four years' work in which the author sought answers to the following questions:

What is the American Negro? How much racial mixture does he represent and between what stocks? Can Negro genealogies be used to help solve these problems, and what solutions result?

His conclusions are that Negroes, in spite of the crossing which went into the composition of these people, are establishing a definite physical type through breeding within their own groups and following a pattern of marriage based on skin-color values. These results are all the more significant in that they run counter to most of the accepted theories regarding the Negro and the effects of racial crossing.

In concluding his study—which represents research conducted as a result of an appointment from the Board of Fellowships in the Biological Sciences of the National Research Council, and with further financial aid from the Columbia University Council for Research and Social Sciences,—Mr. Herskovits says:—

"Most of our knowledge of what happens under racial crossing comes either from studies of animals or from studies of human groups that have been made without sufficient statistical analysis. . . . The data which have gone into this study of the American Negro thus far do not seem, when analyzed, to show any tendency to act according to the requirements of the Mendelian hypothesis. . . . . The theoretical significance of the work which has been presented in these discussions seems to be that it furnishes a dramatic illustration of how little we are able to define a word ["race"] that has played such an important role in our political and social life, while it further illustrates how much we take for granted in the field of the genetic analysis of human populations." . . . —C.F.L.

Pamphlets

POLICY OF THE UNITED STATES AND OTHER NATIONS WITH RESPECT TO THE RECOGNITION OF THE RUSSIAN SOVIET GOVERNMENT
By N. D. Houghton
International Conciliation Series No. 247, February, 1929
Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, New York City

The preface by Nicholas Murray Butler states that this 33-page pamphlet is "a precise statement of the policy of the United States and other nations with respect to the recognition of the *de facto* government of Russia."

REVIEW OF ECONOMIC CONDITIONS 1928 AND OUTLOOK 1929
By the Commercial Attache of the American Embassy in Tokyo
Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce
United States Department of Commerce, Washington, D. C., January 15, 1929

The review covers the principal industries of Japan and gives tables of preliminary statistics on foreign trade.

THE METROPOLITAN LIBRARY RECORD
Volume I, No. 2
The Metropolitan Library, Peiping, January, 1929

The list of books relating to China in Peiping libraries is interesting. It would be invaluable to students of China if the names of publishers were given. As it is, just the title, the author of the book, and in which Peiping library it can be found, are given.

MINORITIES
League of Nations publication, No. 268, January, 1929. 3d
League of Nations Union, 15 Grosvenor Crescent, London, S.W.1

40-page pamphlet on the "racial, religious and linguistic minorities in Europe and their protection by the League of Nations," with a foreword by the Rt. Hon. Sir Willoughby Dickinson, K.B.E.

TEACHERS AND WORLD PEACE
League of Nations publication, No. 114, Second Edition, January, 1929. 6d
League of Nations Union, 15 Grosvenor Crescent, London, S.W.1

A booklet of 96 pages issued by the League of Nations Union, London, as a guide to teachers who wish to explain the aims and work of the League to their students. Simple statements concerning the League; lists of books of special interest to teachers; suggestions for teaching; junior memberships; visual instruction, pageant suggestions, etc.

WORLD PEACE PROCEDURE
Bolivia-Paraguay and the League of Nations
League of Nations Non-Partisan Association, Geneva Office

The dramatic story of the League's part in effecting peace between Bolivia and Paraguay in the recent frontier difficulty between these two South American countries.

"HENLEYISM" AND SAMOA
By Sir Thomas Henley; and
A REPLY TO SIR THOMAS HENLEY
By Captain T. B. Slipper
The Samoa Guardian, Apia, Samoa

A 15-page pamphlet containing a reprint of the interview with Sir Thomas Henley, published in the "Fiji Times" of August 7, 1928, and a reply by Captain Slipper, solicitor of the Mau, who is very indignant that in his 44 waking hours in Samoa Sir Thomas Henley of the Legislature of New South Wales should consider himself capable of getting the Samoan's point-of-view and of pointing to the solution of "The Trouble in Samoa." Captain Slipper's reply is very personal. The same facts stated in a less peppery fashion might perhaps be received more sympathetically by the world whom he is addressing.

THE OUTLAWRY OF WAR
By Philip Kerr
League of Nations Union, 15 Grosvenor Crescent, London, S.W.1. 3d

Reprint of paper read at the Royal Institute of International Affairs, November 13, 1928. A small pamphlet of 31 pages. The author believes that the problem of peace and security can be solved only by taking into account the arguments of both the idealists who abhor war and the practical people who abhor it equally but "dislike lifting their heads above the clouds lest they should also take their feet off the ground of national security." He then takes up the arguments in clear and forceful language.

SAMOA AT GENEVA; Misleading the League of Nations
By O. F. Nelson
National Printing Company, Ltd., Auckland, New Zealand. 1928. 3d

Mr. Nelson, who was deported from Samoa by the Reform government, wrote this 42-page pamphlet after he received "Extract from the Minutes of the Permanent Mandates Commission." It was first printed in the "Samoan Guardian."

A BILL FOR THE INCORPORATION OF THE KLAMATH TRIBE OF INDIANS, AND FOR OTHER PURPOSES
Introduced by Senator McNary
Bill S. 5753, 70th Congress, 2nd Session, Senate of the United States
Washington, D. C., February 9, 1929

A bill introduced to make the Klamath Tribe of Indians a municipal corporation upon receipt of petition signed by not less than two-thirds of the adult members of the tribe, thus terminating the jurisdiction of the Bureau of Indian Affairs over these Indians. The corporation to "be an instrumentality for the administration of laws" pertaining to the tribe; local administration; preservation of their own traditions, etc.; to manage all assets, "except selling real estate to others than members of the tribe."

NEWS FOR OVERSEAS
League of Nations—Information Section, Geneva, March, 1929

Number one of a new plan for making League news items available, in convenient form, for reproduction in newspapers. Notes on Radio, Opium, Armament, Tariff, Most-Favored-Nation Clause, etc.

NINE YEARS OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS, 1920-1928
By Denys P. Myers
World Peace Foundation Pamphlets, Boston, 1929

This ninth yearbook of the League of Nations gives articles on: I. What the League of Nations is; II. Organs of the League; III. Promotion of International Cooperation; IV. Achievement of Peace and Security, and a list of meetings. This may sound dry and uninteresting, but the subjects covered are far from that. They show the enormous amount of energy going into the attempts to solve world problems.

REPORT OF THE HISTORICAL COMMISSION OF THE TERRITORY OF HAWAII
Volume 1, Number 5, Publication of the Historical Commission
Honolulu Star-Bulletin, Honolulu, T. H., 1929

This report shows the work done by the Commission in publication of two textbooks and plans for another one; and plans for marking historical sites. The appendix consists of historical documents.

INTERIM REPORT OF THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE FIRST GENERAL ASSEMBLY THE INTERNATIONAL UNION FOR THE SCIENTIFIC INVESTIGATION OF POPULATION PROBLEMS
American Statistical Association, September, 1928

Delegates present at the first assembly on July 4, 1928, were from Europe and the United States. Other national groups are to be admitted by two-thirds vote of the General Assembly. The preliminary work of the organization had the financial and moral aid and support of the National Research Council and the Social Science Research Council. The pamphlet states that "the Union confines itself solely to scientific investigation in the strict sense, and refuses either to enter upon religious, moral or political discussion, or as a Union to support a policy regarding population, of any sort whatever, particularly in the direction either of increased or of diminished birth-rates."

ENTHRONEMENT OF THE 124TH EMPEROR OF JAPAN
Enthronement Edition
The Japan Advertiser, Tokyo, November 1928

This is a very lavish and beautiful book approximately 12x17 inches. It contains an account of the Enthronement Ceremonies, special articles giving interpretations of them, and greetings to the Emperor and the Japanese people. The illustrations, printing and binding make the book an art edition of high rank. The articles are well written and well chosen. They, like the Enthronement Ceremony, carry one from the mythological age of Japan on into the year of 1929 when Japan has a 28-year-old emperor who reveres his ancient heritage and at the same time rides in an automobile, believes in the value of golf and takes as the emblem of his reign the word "showa," which means enlightenment and peace.

JOURNAL OF ADULT EDUCATION
American Association for Adult Education
41 East 42d Street, New York

For February comes number one of a new 112-page magazine published by the American Association for Adult Education. The publication is experimental. Two more issues will appear, one in April and one in June, following which a definite policy will be determined on. This issue contains articles by L. P. Jacks, James Harvey Robinson, Glenn Frank, James Y. C. Yen, Everett Dean Martin, and others.

THE BANK OF JAPAN
Annual Report for 1928
In English—Abridged
Tokyo, February, 1929

The address of Governor H. Hijikata of the Bank of Japan, at the general meeting of the shareholders on February 16 last, together with statistical report of banking operations for the year 1928, with appendices and tables.

In the Magazines

Note: All the following references to magazines published in the Orient are for English language publications. National ownership of such publications is indicated.

AGRICULTURE

AGRICULTURE (in Japan); editorial; *Japan Today and Tomorrow* (Japanese), Osaka, December, 1928.

"The government will carry out a 3,663,000,000 yen development program for larger crops to help solve population and food problems."

AGRICULTURAL REGIONS OF NORTH AMERICA; by Oliver E. Baker; *Economic Geography,* Worcester, Massachusetts, January, 1929.

CRITICAL SITUATION IN TWO ONE-CROP WHEAT FARMING DISTRICTS IN CALIFORNIA, A; by John Wesley Coulter; *Economic Geography,* Worcester, Massachusetts, January, 1929.

DEPENDENCE OF BRITISH AGRICULTURE ON INTERNATIONAL FACTORS, THE; address given on November 27, 1928, by Sir Daniel Hall; *Journal of the Royal Institute of International Affairs,* London, January, 1929.

"We are always accustomed to think of agriculture as perhaps a national, but certainly a local, and even almost a parochial affair. I want to try to put before you the fact that it has certain international relationships, and that many of the features which characterise agriculture at the present day are by no means national in origin, but are world-wide and may have to be met by international action."

INTERNATIONAL AGRARIAN INSTITUTE IN MOSCOW, THE; by B. Breslau; *Weekly News Bulletin,* Moscow, December 8, 1928.

"The Institute is an independent international scientific organisation for the study of agricultural questions, questions of agrarian policy and legislation, the peasant movement, the life of agricultural labourers, etc. The organisation of the Institute was decided upon in 1926, and it was opened in March, 1926.

"From the very beginning the Institute entered into correspondence with a large number of scientific and public organisations as well as with individual scholars in various parts of the world. At the present time there are about 120 scholars and public men of various countries, members of that Institute and about 25 political and economic bodies affiliated to it."

INTERNATIONAL SITUATION IN AGRICULTURE AND THE WORLD'S ECONOMIC CONFERENCE—1927, THE; by R. R. Enfield; *Journal of the Royal Institute of International Affairs,* London, January, 1929.

KWANGSI GOVERNMENT'S INTEREST IN AGRICULTURE; by Hin Wong, the *China Weekly Review* (American), Shanghai, February 23, 1929.

CHINA—GENERAL

FORTHCOMING KUOMINTANG CONGRESS AT NANKING, THE; editorial; the *China Weekly Review* (American), Shanghai, February 9, 1929.

JOURNALISM OF CHINA, THE; by Dr. Walter Williams; *Japan,* Tokyo, April, 1929.

Dean Williams of the University of Missouri School of Journalism, which is the Alma Mater of so many journalists of the Orient, makes a study of Chinese journalism.

"Four periods constitute the history of the Chinese press, as described by Don D. Patterson and Y. P. Wang, two recent students of journalism. If this somewhat arbitrary division be followed, the periods may be described as, first, the period of the official gazette; second, the period of foreign influence; third, the rise of the native press; fourth, the present period of the modern native press.

"China, in changing from an absolute monarchy to a republic, from an ancient civilization to a modern democracy, offers native journalism an unparalleled opportunity for public service and unselfish guidance. The steady hand and the wise counsel of a patriotic native journalism is badly needed to assist in the stupendous task of turning the disordered, unsettled, and conservative nation into a prosperous, peaceful, and democratic republic."

NATIONAL CENTRAL UNIVERSITY, THE; A General Statement; by Chang Nai-yen; the *China Critic* (Chinese), Shanghai, February 7, 1929.

Interesting details on this university which is designed for those who seek to KNOW, whereas all others are more intended for the people who seek to DO." The colleges are: Science, Arts, Law, Education, Engineering, Agriculture, which are at Nanking; and the College of Medicine at Wusung, and Commerce at Shang-

hai. The faculty consists of 255 teachers and there were 2060 students in 1928. $75,000 is available for scholarships abroad. The Division of Extension Education has charge of mass education, social education, and the education of farmers.

"The National Central University is the first one to put into practice the novel system of University District, similar to that of the France 'Academie.' What have been already achieved and what it seeks to achieve are briefly set forth here. As the task is not only great and delicate but also new, its final success will depend upon the zealous effort and cooperation of its members and the ardent support and sympathy of the public."

OFFER TO SIR FREDERICK WHYTE, THE: editorial; the *North-China Herald* (British), Shanghai, February 23, 1929.

Concerning the proffered post of Advisor to the Chinese National Government.

OUTLOOK FOR CHINA, THE; editorial; the *New Republic*, New York, February 27, 1929.

SAN MIN CHU I, THE; by L. T. Chen; the *China Critic* (Chinese), Shanghai, January 31, 1929.

A discussion of the "Three Principles" of Nationalism.

COMMUNICATIONS

CANADA'S ARCTIC GATEWAY; by D. M. LeBourdais; the *New Republic*, New York, March 6, 1929.

Regarding the building of the first railroad to Hudson Bay, thus allowing the trains of grain an Arctic outlet.

"As long as Canada's eastern outlet is by way of the St. Lawrence in summer, and St. John and Halifax in winter, she is doomed to remain a long, attenuated strip bordering the northern edge of the United States. Only recently have Canadians come to realize that their country is the only one in the world that is bounded by three oceans; and that the Arctic, so far as Hudson Bay is concerned, is hardly less available than the Atlantic or the Pacific."

CHINESE VERNACULAR PRESS, THE; editorial; *Bulletin of International News*, London, February 16, 1929.

A special supplement giving translated excerpts from Chinese newspapers. A section of great potential value. It is suggested that the excerpts might have more significance for the uninformed reader if it were indicated in each instance whether the journal in which it appeared was Chinese or foreign-owned.

"PRIVATE-CONFIDENTIAL—NOT FOR THE PRESS"; editorial; the *China Weekly Review* (American), Shanghai, February 9, 1929.

An article on propaganda being conducted in China inimical to Chinese interests.

CULTURES

ANCIENT GUILDS AND SOCIAL CHANGE—2 parts; by J. S. Burgess; the *China Weekly Review* (American), Shanghai, February 23, March 2, 1929.

DISINHERITANCE OF AMERICA, THE; by L. B. Namier; the *Nation and Athenaeum*, London, February 2, 1929.

" . . . The more the Americans (and also the younger Dominions) attain stability, and become conscious of their historic continuity, the more they will reach back to their English past; and the moral and psychological problem will increase in importance: how that English past, which is the common inheritance of all Anglo-Saxons, can be made truly common to them all; for Englishmen are its trustees rather than its sole heirs."

EAST AND WEST; editorial; the *Trans-Pacific* (American), Tokyo, February 14, 1929.

" . . . The idea of 'radical' and incompatible differences belong to the jungle but not to humanity. . . . But when we have agreed that 'under heaven there is but one family' we are going to get into another maze of misunderstanding if we do not admit the existence of differences. Those differences of manners, even the difference between Western efficiency and Eastern inefficiency which correspondents were pointing out the other day, are the expression of a different attitude to life which, broadly speaking, distinguishes East from West."

FORWARD, FOUR MILLION! The Mass Education Movement in the New China; by Yu Chuen James Yen; *Journal of Adult Education*, New York, February, 1929.

HARVARD-YENCHING INSTITUTE, THE; by Professor William Hung; *China*, New York, January, 1929.

JAPANESE GARDENS; editorial; *Japan Today and Tomorrow* (Japanese), Osaka, December, 1928.

NEW CITIZENS FOR CHINA; by Y. C. James Yen; *Yale Review*, New Haven, December, 1928.

RACIAL RELATIONSHIPS AND INTERNATIONAL HARMONY; by Frank H. Hankins, Department of Sociology, Smith College; *World Unity Magazine,* New York, March, 1929.

This is Part II and covers Race Pride and Prejudice. " . . . Race pride has been essential not merely to human survival as a species but to man's conquest of the globe. True, it has drenched in blood the whole course of history, but we must understand man as he is if we are to grapple seriously with problems of human betterment. . . .

"I incline, therefore, to the view that feelings of race pride and prejudice are permanent elements of the human drama. They change their form and vigor with every shift of the scene. A few of us, who take pride in our intellectual breadth, may rid ourselves of their most virulent forms and most silly absurdities. But for the mass of any population they seem likely to remain, playing their ancient roles of elevating the individual sense of worth, strengthening ambition and courage, but nevertheless producing their due quota of injustice, social disharmony and social inefficiency."

RANDOM THOUGHTS ON JAPANESE POETRY; by Yone Noguchi; *Japan Today and Tomorrow* (Japanese), Osaka, December, 1928.

DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS

ADMINISTRATION OF THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE (United States), THE; Its Organization and Needs, by William T. Stone; *Information Service,* Foreign Policy Association, New York, February, 1929.

CURSE OF THE PASSPORT, THE; by Leonard Matters; the *Review* of South and Central America, London, February, 1929.

The first instalment of a forceful article against passports. The headings are: The Origin of Passports, The Badge of Medievalism, The Lying Face of Passports and A Costly Nuisance.

DR. WANG CHUNG-HUI on "THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT—IN LAW, IN DIPLOMACY AND IN RECONSTRUCTION"; *Kuo Min News Agency,* Nanking, January 31, 1929.

FREEDOM OF THE SEAS, THE; editorial; the *Spectator,* London, February 23, 1929.

FREEDOM OF THE SEAS AND THE KELLOGG PACT, THE; by F. G. Stone; the *Nineteenth Century,* London, February, 1929.

FREEDOM OF THE SEAS, THE CRUX OF DISARMAMENT; by Henry Wickham Steed; *Current History,* New York, February, 1929.

HOOVER'S FOREIGN PROBLEMS—The Chief International Questions which the New Administration Must Answer; by Raymond Leslie Buell; the *New Republic,* New York, February 20, 1929.

The first of two articles on questions with which Hoover will have to deal.

"Mr. Hoover may be asked to recognize Soviet Russia, to revive the Treaty of Lausanne with Turkey, to adhere to the World Court Statute, to reopen the immigration question with Japan, and to abandon our extraterritorial rights in China. He may be obliged to negotiate a new canal treaty with Panama, and he may have to decide whether or not to build the Nicaragua Canal. He may be asked to settle the future status of Porto Rico and the Philippines, and to terminate our occupation of Haiti."

HOW THE KUOMINTANG INTERPRETS THE IDEA OF A "CONSUMMATION OF THE NATIONAL REVOLUTION"; by Asiaticus; the *Pan-Pacific Worker,* Sydney, March 1, 1929.

JAPAN AND WORLD PEACE; by I. M. Tokugawa; *Advance! Australia,* Sydney, March 1, 1929.

KELLOGG PACT AND REPARATIONS SETTLEMENT AS STEPS TOWARD PEACE; by J. T. Gerould; *Current History,* New York, February, 1929.

KELLOGG TREATY, THE (in Russian); by L. Ivanoff; *World Economic Relations and World Policy,* Moscow, December, 1928.

MANOEUVRES IN THE SOUTHERN PACIFIC; Ruddy F. Tong, editor; the *Universal Review,* Honolulu, December, 1928.

" . . . The South Americans do not like the idea of this North American giant flexing his biceps in front of their doorsteps. He may say that he is coming to pay a friendly call, but he seems too anxious to take his dinner coat off and display his remarkable sinews. Reliable advices establish that the visit of the navy will probably result in a new wave of resentment against America. Can the navy give any good reason why these manoeuvres should be held on the doorsteps of Latin-America at this time? Can the venture be construed in any other terms than as a gesture of overlordship over the whole American continent? How far will America get in the enterprise of peace if she continues to sign peace documents with one hand and to fondle the revolver trigger with the other?"

MINORITIES' RIGHTS; by H. Wilson Harris; the *Nation and Athenaeum,* London, February 23, 1929.

"Unless what today is merely a problem is to become a peril, the League must find a means of gaining the confidence of both the minorities and their Governments as it has not done so far. By the nature of the case it can never achieve full success, but it needs to improve on its present record."

THE MYTH OF DISARMAMENT; by Albin E. Johnson; the *Nation,* New York, March 13, 1929. France, England, the United States, Italy, Japan and Russia spent for armaments in 1909—8,011,000,000 gold francs; in 1929—13,205,000,000!

NATIONAL GOVERNMENT FROM A LEGAL, DIPLOMATIC AND RECONSTRUCTION STANDPOINT, THE; by Wang Chung-hui; the *China Weekly Review* (American), Shanghai, February 9, 1929.

PACTS AND CRUISERS; editorial; the *Inquiry,* New York, March, 1929.

PACTS, CRUISERS AND—THEN WHAT?; by Paul U. Kellogg; the *Survey Graphic,* New York, March, 1929.

Mr. Kellogg, the editor of *Survey Graphic,* has among many other interesting statements and facts the suggestion that the price of one cruiser be given to the State Department to use to remedy our "stark need for a united service of foreign relations."

RELATIONS BETWEEN CHINA AND JAPAN; by Walter Buchler; the *China Critic* (Chinese), Shanghai, January 31, 1929.

". . . Japan's policy of commercial penetration has, from a strictly commercial point of view, been very successful in China; her political tactics cannot, however, be said to have had the same results. . . .

"Winning the goodwill of other peoples helps to promote foreign trade and there is no reason why Japan by following such a policy of international friendship, should not be able to build up a sufficiently large export market to solve her population problem by increased industrialization of her Empire. Likewise, and nowhere more so, is the goodwill of the Chinese masses essential to Japan's prosperity and to her very existence. Sabre-rattling, coercion in any form, or political intrigue does not bring one much further in China."

RUSSIA'S DISARMAMENT PROPOSALS; editorial; the *Pan-Pacific Worker,* Sydney, January 15, 1929.

Continued in the following issue, February 1, 1929.

TEETH FOR THE KELLOGG TREATY; editorial; the *Nation,* New York, February 27, 1929.

"Our feeling that Congress does not take the Kellogg Treaty seriously is reinforced by its attitude toward the proposals of Senator Capper and Representative Porter to give the agreement teeth through use of the embargo."

UNITED STATES AND RUSSIA, THE, 2 parts; by Vera A. Micheles; *Information Service,* Foreign Policy Association, New York, February 20, March 6, 1929.

A study of the requirements, implications and difficulties of recognition of the U. S. S. R. by the United States, with the various arguments for and against, previous policy, etc. Part II is devoted to an examination of trade relations between the United States and Russia, the Soviet Government's position before American courts, and the effect, if any, that recognition may be expected to have on intercourse between the two countries.

ECONOMICS IN PACIFIC—GENERAL

CHINA MERCHANTS S. N. COMPANY, THE UPS AND DOWNS OF; by B. Y. Lee; the *China Weekly Review* (American), Shanghai, February 23, 1929.

"As China has only a few thousand miles of railroads, her transportation along the coast depends almost entirely upon steamships. The commercial prosperity of towns and cities along the coast and inland rivers has to depend to a great extent upon efficient and orderly services of navigation companies. On account of the lack of sufficient capital, efficient management, and practical experience, the Chinese navigation companies that have been organised are rather small or under inefficient management, and consequently the foreign-managed navigation companies, especially the British and Japanese, which own a greater percentage of tonnage in China inland coast trade, have been unusually prosperous. Whenever a Chinese thinks of a Chinese navigation company, he instinctively has the China Merchants S. N. Company in mind, for it is the only Chinese navigation company worthy of the name. . . ."

CHINA'S LOAN OBLIGATIONS; by E. Kann; the *North-China Herald* (British), Shanghai, February 9, 1929.

FINANCE MINISTER'S BUDGET PLAN; by T. V. Soong, the *Week in China* (American), Peking, February 9, 1929.

HIGH TARIFF DIPLOMACY; by Drew Pearson; the *Nation*, New York, February 27, 1929.

INDUSTRIAL CHINA; by H. P. James; *Economic Geography*, Worcester, Massachusetts, January, 1929.

"China probably has more people engaged in manufacturing than the United States. Millions of her inhabitants play a dual role in the economic development of the country. The farmer's home is at times his workshop, where all the members of the family are employed, even the farmer himself, when work is impossible on the land."

A lengthy article supported by statistical tables.

JAPAN'S FOREIGN TRADE IN 1928; editorial; *Japan Today and Tomorrow* (Japanese), Osaka, December, 1928.

KEMMERER COMMISSION AND CHINA'S ATTEMPT TO REORGANIZE HER FINANCIAL AND CURRENCY SYSTEM; editorial; the *China Weekly Review* (American), Shanghai, February 23, 1929.

LANCASHIRE COTTON CORPORATION, THE; by J. M. Keynes; the *Nation and Athenaeum*, London, February 2, 1929.

MINERAL WEALTH OF NORTH AND SOUTH MANCHURIA; by Boris P. Torgasheff; *Chinese Economic Journal* (Chinese), Shanghai, January, 1929.

"The meager knowledge on the geology of Manchuria does not permit full and satisfactory treatment of the outstanding mineral features of Manchuria, as a whole. While in South Manchuria geological researches are actually carried on, and are already so advanced that the first geological map of South Manchuria was published in 1926 by the Japanese Dairen Geological Survey of the South Manchuria Railway, North Manchuria remains practically unexplored from the geological standpoint."

MODERN PAPER MANUFACTURING IN SHANGHAI; by B. Y. Lee; the *China Weekly Review* (American), Shanghai, February 9, 1929.

NATIONAL PRODUCTS EXHIBITION, THE; editorial; *Chinese Economic Journal* (Chinese), Shanghai, January, 1929.

"The efforts and determination of the Chinese Government at developing home industry were much in evidence at the National Products Exhibition, held recently at Shanghai at the Exhibition Ground on Kuo Huo Road, under the auspices of the Ministry of Industry, Commerce and Labour."

The exhibits encompassed agricultural and textile machinery, printing machines, bricks and tiles, radio apparatus and electric machines, enamel ware, cosmetics, tea, Commercial Press products, etc.

OUR MUDDLING WORLD: AN ENGLISH CRUSADE FOR FREE TRADE; by Salvador de Madariaga; *Forum*, New York, February, 1929.

POST-WAR DEPRESSION IN THE LANCASHIRE COTTON INDUSTRY, THE; by Prof. G. W. Daniels and J. Jewkes; *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society*, London, 1928.

RECENT DEVELOPMENT OF COTTON MILL INDUSTRY IN SHANGHAI; by B. Y. Lee; the *China Weekly Review* (American), Shanghai, February 9, 1929.

SOME ASPECTS OF AMERICAN INDUSTRIALISM; by Eleanor S. Wymes; the *Nineteenth Century*, London, February, 1929.

WHITHER AUSTRALIA?; by Earle Green; the *Pan-Pacific Worker*, Sydney, March 1, 1929.

"As the difficulties of capitalism cause world interest to shift to the Pacific Ocean area, making Australia an important factor in imperialist policy, class forces in Australia are changing rapidly."

ZINC IN THE FAR EAST; by Boris P. Torgasheff; the *China Weekly Review* (American), Shanghai, February 2, 1929.

This article is continued in the February 9 issue of the journal.

JAPAN—GENERAL

BRITISH INFLUENCE IN JAPAN; by H. Vere Redman; the *Contemporary Review*, London, February, 1929.

"It is the illusion that Britons are popular and that British influence and prestige are very high. Side by side with this idea, or almost a part of it, is one to the effect that Americans are unpopular and in consequence their influence and prestige suffer. It is the purpose of this article to show that exactly the reverse is true, if possible, to explain why. . . .

" . . . But whether anything can be done about it or not, it is well that the British public should know what the real position in Japan is and be prepared for a future when Japan has passed out of the melting-pot and assumed a definite

shape as a modern State, impregnated everywhere with American ideas. It is well, too, that the British public should reflect that it is with this State that Great Britain will have to treat in the coming era of the Pacific, with this State that it will have to deal sooner or later when the time comes for clearing up the Chinese muddle, this State who will be, if she is not already, a sort of arbiter in the naval competition between Great Britain and America. It seems a pity that we can do nothing to leave our mark on her before it is too late."

CHOSEN (Korea); editorial; *Japan Today and Tomorrow* (Japanese), Osaka, December, 1928.

"How wonderful a progress has been achieved in cultural and industrial enterprises in the peninsula since its annexation to Japan is here described."

GENERAL SURVEY OF 1928; A; editorial; the *Japan Magazine* (Japanese), Tokyo, January, 1929.

Includes political, economic, literary and artistic and social aspects.

IMPERIAL NAVY, THE; by Mainichi Naval Correspondent; *Japan Today and Tomorrow* (Japanese), Osaka, December, 1928.

IS JAPAN GOING DEMOCRATIC?—by Stanley High; *Harpers Magazine*, New York, January, 1929.

JAPANESE AND THE OUTER WORLD, THE; by Shujiro Watanabe; the *Japan Magazine* (Japanese), Tokyo, December, 1928.

This Chapter XVII is entitled "Communications with Nueva Espana and the Philippines" and gives interesting history regarding the early trade relations between these countries. Chapter XVIII, in the January, 1929, issue treats of "The Japanese People in the Philippines and Macao—Their Descendants;" and Chapter XIX, "Communication with Annam, Cambodia and Siam." Chapter XX, in the February number, is entitled, "Prince Takaoka's Journey to India."

THE LABORATORY OF THE NEW ASIA; by Upton Close; *Japan*, S. F., April, 1929.

"As viewed by other Asiatic nations, Japan's leadership in Asia has gone through two phases and is just now entering the third. As the first Asiatic country successfully to stand up and fight the encroaching west with its own weapons Japan became the leader and instiller of morale throughout Asia. She was adulated as master and teacher; young men crowded her schools to learn how she did it. But her new educational system, still in the experimental stage, was unable to meet their needs, the licensed system of Japan, making dissipation so much easier than in their continental homes, absorbed their resources, and Japan was far too nationalistic and busy with her own problems to exercise the detached pedagogical spirit. Then followed the period when Japan, trying her new power on her Asian neighbors, inspired them by goad and irritation. The time has already arrived when they are recognizing this as a valuable part of their national education.

"Japan is the laboratory of Asia. In many phases, she is today what Asia will be half a century hence. If such a thing interests us or concerns our interests, we cannot allow the opportunity for studying Japan at first hand to slip by."

PHYSICAL IMPROVEMENT OF THE JAPANESE; anonymous; the *Japan Magazine* (Japanese), Tokyo, December, 1928.

An unsigned two-page article attributing the physical improvement of the Japanese to: Interest in sports; physical exercise in schools, and proper desks and chairs; improvement in sanitary conditions; doing away with the tight and heavy garments of girls; national realization of the importance of physical culture.

WOMEN (in Japan); editorial; *Japan Today and Tomorrow* (Japanese), Osaka, December, 1928.

"Yesterday they were petted as frail creatures, today they are brushing men aside, and reaching toward their natural rights, tomorrow—they will themselves give the answer."

LABOR IN THE PACIFIC

EMPLOYMENT OF WOMEN IN JAPANESE INDUSTRY: Part I; by Iwao F. Ayusawa; *International Labour Review*, Geneva, February, 1929.

"The question of the employment of women is of special importance at the present time, partly on account of the very large proportion of women in some of the leading branches of Japanese industry (about eighty per cent of the workers in the textile industry are women and girls), partly because much of the labour legislation on modern lines which has recently been put into force applies especially to women workers. The following article, in which Mr. Ayusawa has collected a large amount of detailed information on the conditions of employment of women in Jap-

anese industry, is therefore of much interest. The first part, given below, contains a statistical survey of the position of women in Japanese industry (including mining). Conditions of employment in general (including hours of work, wages, hygiene and safety, maternity protection, and the dormitory system) and the relevant legislation will be described in subsequent numbers of the Review."

GENEVA LABOUR OFFICE AGENT IN THE FAR EAST; editorial; the *Pan-Pacific Worker*, Sydney, February 1, 1929.

LABOUR MOVEMENT; THE; editorial; *Japan Today and Tomorrow* (Japanese), Osaka, December, 1928.

"Ever fighting against odds, Japanese workers are gaining their legitimate place in the modern industrial world."

NEW CONCILIATION AND ARBITRATION ACT IN AUSTRALIA, THE; by O. de R. Foenander; International Labour Review, Geneva, February, 1929.

"The substance of the new Act and its relation to present conditions are discussed in the following article, which has been contributed by an observer on the spot, who has made a special study of the subject. The survey of the facts is supplemented by the expression of the writer's views on the various elements of the problem, and on the psychological difficulties that lie behind the failure to reach an agreed solution."

NEW ZEALAND: POSITION OF WORKERS AND THE TRADE UNIONS; by R. I. Griffin; the *Pan-Pacific Worker*, Sydney, February 15, 1929.

THINGS AS THEY ARE IN CHINA—Chinese Trade Union Movement in 1928; report by Lo Chau-lung; the *Pan-Pacific Worker*, Sydney, February 1, 1929.

LATIN-AMERICA

HANDS ACROSS THE RIO GRANDE; by José Miguel Petersen; *American Mercury*, New York, January, 1929.

LATIN-AMERICAN CRITICISM OF THE MONROE DOCTRINE; by Francisco Garcia Calderon; *Current History*, New York, January, 1929.

MEXICO'S LAND OF PROMISE IN THE WEST; by Andrew R. Boone; *Current History*, New York, January, 1929.

NEW ERA OF PEACE AND JUSTICE IN THE AMERICAS; by Ricardo Joaquin Alfaro; *Current History*, New York, February, 1929.

NEW LATIN-AMERICAN POLICY; by Raymond Leslie Buell; *Forum*, New York, February, 1929.

NEW PEACE IN THE CARIBBEAN; by Cyrus French Wicker; *Century*, New York, February, 1929.

SOUTH AMERICAN INVESTMENTS; editorial; *World's Work*, New York, February, 1929.

WHAT CALLES DID FOR MEXICO; editorial; the *Review* of South and Central America, London, February, 1929.

"In this splendid picture of the Calles administration, it must not be forgotten that these four years have seen several serious attempts to disrupt the peace of Mexico. There was the threat, happily short-lived, of ambitious, disgruntled military elements; there was the long-standing United States-Mexican oil controversy, finally settled to the satisfaction of both sides, but which almost precipitated international difficulties for the Calles Administration; there has been the so-called State-Church conflict; and there was the unrest inherent in a period of contesting for the presidential succession initiated in 1926 and which had its effect especially on national industry and commerce. . . ."

MANCHURIA

EXPANSION IN MANCHURIA; editorial; the *Japan Weekly Chronicle* (British), Kobe, February 28, 1929.

FREAKISH CENSORSHIP, A; editorial; the *Japan Weekly Chronicle* (British), Kobe, February 7, 1929.

Comments on the censorship regarding mention of the assassination of Chang Tso-lin in Manchuria. This publication states: "One can only express surprise that it was ever imposed, since it only prevented patriotic Japanese from defending their countrymen against suspicions, while it could not hold in check the Chinese journalists who were only too ready to suspect Japan of what turns out to have been a Chinese crime. But the censorship was always a mystery and appears to be obsessed with the belief that silence is golden."

Under the title of "The Grave Affair Again," the same subject is taken up and the gist of speeches in the House of Peers is given.

In Mukden; by Grover Clark; the *Week in China* (American), Peking, February 9, 1929.

"As far as the Chinese at Mukden are concerned, the prospects for continued harmony seem fairly good. Intrigue and jealousy still are at work, but the execution of Yang Yu-ting and Chang Ying-huai apparently eliminated any likelihood of serious efforts to upset the administration—whether from within Mukden circles or from other Chinese sources.

". . . that open friction will develop between the Japanese and Chinese in Manchuria now seems distinctly unlikely. . . ."

Japan's Plan in Manchuria; editorial; the *North-China Herald* (British), Shanghai, February 16, 1929.

Japan's Policy in Manchuria; by Otto Mossdorf; reprint from the annual number of *Zeitschrift für Politik*, Berlin, January, 1929.

Manchurian Governor Reserves Right to Deal With Purely Manchurian Problems; editorial; the *Trans-Pacific* (American), Tokyo, February 2, 1929.

"At the Mukden military headquarters General Chang Hsueh-liang gave an interview to Japanese press representatives . . . when he talked on the issues of moment such as the railway construction, the enforcement of the new customs tariff and the execution of Yang Yu-ting and others.

"'The Three Eastern Provinces of Manchuria being part of the Chinese Republic, their political and diplomatic business naturally should be handled by the Central Government at Nanking, but discrimination must be made between the problems belonging to the Central government and those confined to the local administration, which are to be handled by the executives of the Three Eastern Provinces,' he explained."

Who Killed Yang Yu-ting?—editorial; the *Japan Weekly Chronicle* (British), Kobe, February 14, 1929.

Further comment on the "certain grave affair," or the murder of Chang Tso-lin in Manchuria and the later murder of Yang Yu-ting.

"It is not hard for the wise to foresee that after the mysterious death of Chang Tso-lin and the murder of Yang Yu-ting it will be Chang Hsueh-liang's turn next. Will the continued disturbance of Manchuria by the reactionary influence while all this is going on be advantageous and desirable for Japan? Will it be wise or foolish to hurry up in this way accomplishment of the inevitable fate of coming face to face to the rising generation and people of the three Eastern Provinces which must be realised when that intervening period of trouble is over?"

Who Will Have the Chinese Eastern Railway?—by Rodney Gilbert; the *North-China Herald* (British), Shanghai, February 9, 1929.

NATIVE PEOPLES

Australian Aborigines: A Noble-Hearted Race; by C. E. C. Lefroy; the *Contemporary Review*, London, February, 1929.

A plea that the unfortunate Australian aborigines, who have been parcelled out to the states of Australia, be considered as charges of the Central Government and be put on a similar basis as the happier natives of Papua and New Guinea. Facts and incidents are given to prove that the aborigines are "capable of appropriate civilisation and uplift."

Japan's Mandate Over South Seas Islands; editorial; *Japan Today and Tomorrow* (Japanese), Osaka, December, 1928.

Red Man's Burden, The; editorial; the *Nation*, New York, February 20, 1929.

". . . To kill a wealthy Indian would be like killing the goose that laid the golden egg. It is much wiser to let him live and exploit him. If you are a man, you can rob your victim without serious interference by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. If you are a woman you can marry him."

POPULATION AND MIGRATION

Australia and Italian Immigration; by Percy F. Martin; *Fortnightly Review*, New York, December, 1928.

Emigration From Japan; by Saneharu Ojima; the *Trans-Pacific* (American), Tokyo, February 21, 1929.

Filling the Open Spaces of Australia; by W. K. H.; the *New Statesman*, London, February 2, 1929.

An article based on "The Peopling of Australia," edited by P. D. Phillips and G. L. Wood, for the Institute of Pacific Relations.

Is Japan Suffering from Overpopulation?—by I. Taiguin; *World Economic Relations and World Policy* (in Russian), Moscow, December, 1928.

MIGRATIONS OF ASIATIC RACES AND CULTURES TO NORTH AMERICA; by Franz Boas; *Scientific Monthly,* February, 1929.

NATURALIZATION LAW OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, THE; by S. G. Pandit; *World Unity Magazine,* New York, March, 1929.

A valuable study to which the editor of "World Unity" has added the sub-title, "Has Racial Prejudice Become a National Policy?" Many cases are cited by the author, who is an attorney of Los Angeles.

PEOPLING OF HAWAII, THE; by O. W. Freeman; the *Journal of Geography,* Chicago, Illinois, April, 1929.

PREMIER (OF JAPAN) FAVORS BIGGER POPULATION; editorial; the *Trans-Pacific* (American), Tokyo, February 2, 1929.

PROSPERITY AND POPULATION; editorial; *Advance! Australia,* Sydney, March 1, 1929.

SMUGGLING CHINESE INTO PHILIPPINES; editorial; the *North-China Herald* (British), Shanghai, February 9, 1929.

SOCIAL ASPECTS OF BIRTH CONTROL—The Law of Supply and Demand; by "M. D."; *Advance! Australia,* Sydney, March 1, 1929.

SOME SOCIAL, POLITICAL, AND ECONOMIC PROBLEMS IN BRITISH MALAYA; by Prof. W. J. Hinton; *Journal of Law and Commerce,* Organ of the Hongkong University Law and Commerce Society, Hongkong, November, 1928.

TRENDS OF POPULATION; by John F. Sinclair; *Review of Reviews,* New York, February, 1929.

MISSIONS

MISSIONARY CONFESSION, A; by R. B. Whitaker; the *Chinese Recorder* (American), Shanghai, January, 1929.

"I came out to China and found myself living in a missionary community where the living standard was higher than anything I had known during the years I had served in a pastorate at home. Missionaries were living in large, and in many cases fine looking residences; they kept numerous servants to run their establishments; they ate more than the average American does in the homeland; and I soon discovered that an ordinary missionary family spent enough to support from six to twelve Chinese families of the same size as his own, according to the class of society from which they came. My first reactions were very critical. They are still critical, although I realize as I could not then the almost insurmountable difficulties with which the missionary is faced in trying to make any radical changes in his living standard.

"I have written the foregoing because I am seeking for light. I hope that someone who has made more progress than I have towards finding a solution will take the discussion up, and try to suggest the Christian way forward. I don't know what it is. . . . If the Christian home as the missionary has maintained it in China has been worth while to the Christian cause, then perhaps the missionary with a family ought to stay by, even though his higher living standard does create difficulties. On the other hand, if the barrier created by this foreign standard of living is an insurmountable obstacle, then there is no other way left but that of the Roman Catholic Church. We should resort to a celibate missionary force, accepting as missionary candidates only those single men and women who are willing to undergo whatever hardships may be involved in living on the same standard as their Chinese colleagues for the sake of winning China for Christ."

YOUNG CHINA AND THE HOLY SEE; by Pascal M. D'Elia, S. J.; the *Chinese Recorder* (American), Shanghai, January, 1929.

WAR AND PEACE

PEACE ON EARTH AND THE U. S. A.; by William Martin; *Atlantic Monthly,* Boston, January, 1929.

PROSPECTS FOR PEACE; by Charles Austin Beard; *Harpers Magazine,* New York, February, 1929.

WAR-CHECK VOTE; by Thomas Hall Shastid; the *World Tomorrow,* New York, March, 1929.

"When the question of a proposed extraterritorial war arises, it is voted on first by Congress. If Congress votes against the war, that ends the matter just as it would do now. The people, having no initiative in the affair, could not under the amendment 'force Congress into wars' as has often been alleged they do. But if Congress votes *for* the war, it must leave the final decision to a vote of the people, before it can actually initiate the war. That is what is meant by the 'check.'

"Military authorities have declared repeatedly that the next war will mean the destruction of civilization surely and of the human race possibly. What would you not give, in case a war like that should threaten, to have some check (as you did not have during the World War) upon your government? What would you not give, at such a time, to be able to go into a voting booth and vote a secret ballot against such a disaster? Do you think that treaties (mere governmental promises) will prevent future wars? Even if, in spite of the history of treaties, you still believe in them, would it not be well in addition to give the people the war-check vote —not a chance to make, but a chance to check or prevent all wars outside of their boundaries? It is a question worth pondering."

War Embargoes—Planned or Involuntary; editorial; the *New Republic,* New York, February 27, 1929.

Youth and World Peace; by Joseph B. Matthews; *World Unity Magazine,* New York, March, 1929.

"If the World Youth Peace Congress was torn by conflicting economic and political philosophies, at times approaching a complete break-down, it was merely reflecting the stern *reality* of the world situation. Thus it was a gain in reality for the delegates to find themselves face to face with the world as it is.

"Perhaps the spiritual value for many cannot be better expressed than to quote one of the American delegates who said: 'After this, all sight-seeing is anti-climax'—notwithstanding a long-dreamed-of visit to Paris that was to follow the Congress."

MISCELLANEOUS

Address by Dr. John Mackay on "The Meaning for Canada of the New Era on the Pacific;" Proceedings of the Twenty-second Annual Convention of the Manitoba School Trustees' Association, Winnipeg, February 28, 29 and March 1, 1928.

American Citizens of Japanese Ancestry in Hawaii and Their Problems, The; by Ken Kawachi; *New Japan,* New York, January, 1929.

"The Christianity that influences the second generation of Japanese in Hawaii is that of the modern pattern. It is the religion that is expressed in the scientific, democratic and the capitalistic pattern. . . .

"Trained in the culture and education of America, the new generation will think, act and live as an American; but inheriting the rich heritage of the Orient, he will strive also to combine the best of the two civilizations. Supplementation, fusion, and filtration will be the approach and process in his attempt to make Christianity his own."

Awakening in the East; by John Palmer Gavit; the *Survey Graphic,* New York, March, 1929.

The short article has special reference to India and China. "The so-called white races junked whatever they might be said to have had in the way of moral supremacy when in 1914 they flew at each other's throats and devoted their utmost resources to wholesale mutual slaughter and the destruction of the best products of cizilization. It was a great show, and a great object-lesson, for the 'inferior' peoples looking on. . . ."

Chicago: A Cross-Section of Negro Life; by E. Franklin Frazier; *Opportunity,* New York, March, 1929.

"Opportunity" this month is largely given over to articles on the Negroes of Chicago, their housing, mortality rate, place in industry, churches, etc.

Chinese Family and Property Law in Netherlands-Indies; by Dr. Godfried Von Faber; *Journal of Law and Commerce,* Organ of the Hongkong University Law and Commerce Society, Hongkong, November, 1928.

New Pacific Era, The; by Dr. John Mackay; the *Kiwanis Magazine,* Chicago, September, 1928.

Pacific Era Begins; by Nicholas Roosevelt; the *Review of Reviews,* New York, January, 1929.

Pacific Mind, The; by Motosuke Kodo, Editor-in-Chief of the Osaka Mainichi; *Japan Today and Tomorrow* (Japanese), Osaka, December, 1928.

"Pregnant with immense possibilities for human welfare, the vast expanse of the Pacific Ocean calls upon us to assert our creative power to make it pacific in fact as well as in name. The world has long recognized the general tendency of international affairs shifting their scene from the Atlantic to the Pacific, bordered by several states, mighty in their potency, either apparent or latent."

Institute Notes

The data published in this department are issued officially by the International Secretariat of the Institute of Pacific Relations at Honolulu.

THE KYOTO CONFERENCE

October 28, 1929, has been set as the opening date for the third biennial conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations at Kyoto, Japan.

The Pacific Council, International Research Committee and Program Committee will hold a series of preliminary meetings at Nara, from October 23 to 27.

The sessions at Kyoto are scheduled to continue for twelve days, coming to a close on November 9.

Agenda

It is evident that the major issues for round table discussion at the Kyoto Conference next October are to be the following:

1. Problems of Food and Population and Land Utilization.
2. Questions concerning China's revision of treaties, her financial reconstruction, and the problems of the Three Eastern Provinces (Manchuria).
3. Questions arising out of the economic development now going on in the Pacific, including tariffs, foreign investments, industrialization and its social consequences.
4. Diplomatic Relations in the Pacific, including a consideration of League of Nations activities in the Pacific, existing treaties, war prevention policies, the perfection of the machinery for peaceable settlement of disputes, disarmament and security in the Pacific, immigration exclusion and the Latin-American policy of the United States.

It is not possible to forecast at this time what particular aspects of these major issues will be considered at the Kyoto round tables. These, as well as other issues which may later arise, will be determined by the Program Committee at Kyoto.

Cultural Contacts

It has been suggested that the important question of Cultural Contacts in the Pacific should be handled by publications of an historical and interpretative character, by several formal lectures, and by first hand study in Kyoto itself.

Communications

It is proposed that the International Research Committee, meeting in Kyoto, consider the subject of Communications in the Pacific in order that adequate preparation may be made for discussion of this topic at the 1931 Conference.

Pacific Dependencies

Material is in preparation by several groups on The Administration of Pacific Dependencies. The best use of this material will be decided by the Program Committee at Kyoto.

Questions on the Kyoto Agenda

The purpose of the following list of specific issues is to stimulate discussion and comment in order to define more sharply the questions likely to be discussed at Kyoto.

This list is based on a large number of personal interviews, memoranda of individuals and groups, letters, etc., which have come in from the several interested countries. A reprint of this list of issues is being circulated to the different member groups inviting an evaluating check as to their relative importance for the Kyoto Conference.

It is hoped that similar lists of questions which have emerged from discussions held by the various groups may appear in later issues of *Pacific Affairs*.

I. *Food and Population—*

1. What criteria can be used to measure the over-population of a country?
2. What countries in the Pacific area are over-populated today?
3. How can we measure under-population?
4. What countries in the Pacific area are under-populated today?
5. What forms of control are justifiable in reason and law for checking or encouraging the flow of population across national boundaries?
6. Which of the following "cures" for over-population are of value, and to what extent, under what regulative conditions and on what grounds?
   a. Decreasing birth rate as a result of birth control, later marriage age and higher standard of living.
   b. Industrialization.
   c. Emigration.
   d. Development of land utilization.
7. What methods for controlling the supply of raw materials are compatible with conditions in present-day international relations? Why? How can these forms of control best be put into operation?
8. What is the extent of the present international exchange of food stuffs? What are the results of this exchange? What measures should be taken, if any, to facilitate this exchange?

II. *China—*

1. What new problems for China and for international relations are raised by the recognition of China by the Powers as a fully sovereign nation?
2. What is to be the policy of the Chinese government as to tariff schedules, and what will be the effects of these revisions on international relations?
3. What *modus operandi* should now be worked out by the Powers in relation to extra-territoriality? What material facts bear upon the method: for example, recent progress in judicial reform, experience of the U. S. S. R. and Germany?
4. What *modus operandi* should now be worked out by the Powers in relation to foreign concessions? What material facts bear upon the method to be employed: for example, the present status of the former Russian and German concessions in Hankow, Tientsin, etc.?

5. What should the Powers now do in regard to their military policy in China?
6. Under what conditions should China undertake to accomplish her financial rehabilitation, including currency reform, public debt, public works, military and naval establishments, etc.?
7. What has been the experience of China in regard to foreign capital investments? In the light of this experience and other relevant facts, under what conditions should future investments be made?
8. What pertinent facts do we find in the Manchurian situation which demand early attention? What are the possible solutions?
9. What is the existing treaty situation between China and the Powers? What is the issue as to the validity of these treaties?
10. What does the recognized sovereignty of China over the Three Eastern Provinces (Manchuria) mean in relation to the economic interests of individual nations, or their nationals?
11. What are the legal and ethical rights involved? Are there any conditions in fact which warrant special measures of protection or control in relation to these economic interests?
12. What are the realities in the strategic situation of Manchuria in relation to future military policies of the U. S. S. R., Japan and China?
13. What are the population movements from various areas into the Three Eastern Provinces? What are the effects of these population movements? What are the policies and programs of China, Japan, U. S. S. R. and other countries in relation to railroad building and control in the Three Eastern Provinces? What, if any, conflicts arise out of these situations? What solutions are valid for such conflicts in the interest of better international relations and the welfare of the people in Manchuria?

III *Industrialization—*

1. What is the importance of making new adjustments in tariff relations between Pacific countries? What should these adjustments be and what methods can be used for working them out in the interest of the welfare of the family of nations?
2. What are the present facts and trends in foreign investments? What do these mean for present and future good relations between nations?
3. What forms of control or supervision are desirable in relation to the movements of capital in the Pacific?
4. What relation do the military policies of the various interested nations bear to these investments?
5. What are the unfavorable consequences attendant on the shift from agricultural and handicraft economy to large scale machine industry as actually existent in Japan, China, the Pacific Islands, etc.
6. What experience in social legislation can the more industrially developed nations of the West furnish?
7. What other methods for social amelioration (in regard to living wage, humane hours of labor, health and safety as to working conditions, protection of women and children, etc.) are capable of useful application in the Pacific?

8. What basis exists in fact for the assumption that all Pacific countries will build and industrialize society parallel to that of Western nations?

IV. *Diplomatic Relations*—

1. What is the trend of policy of the League of Nations in relation to the problems of the Pacific area?
2. In the light of war prevention policies and the non-participation of the United States and the U. S. S. R. in the League, what new international machinery is needed in the Pacific? What present machinery can be used? What bearing does this have upon the present and future program of the Institute of Pacific Relations?
3. What steps towards disarmament can now be taken in the Pacific, and how?
4. What is the present official meaning of the Monroe Doctrine as interpreted and specifically applied by the U. S. government? What is the relation of this policy to the Pacific?

NEWS ITEMS

Announcement Bulletin

Central Headquarters has published a bulletin of announcements and information concerning the Kyoto Conference in which the official call, agenda, details of dates, housing, entertainment, steamer schedules, etc., are set forth for the convenience of conference members. Copies are available.

Data Papers Due

It is important that any data papers which the groups wish to have included in the conference documentation, together with relevant official or other material, should reach the Honolulu office the first week in August so that all members attending the Kyoto conference may receive such material before leaving their respective home lands.

Agenda Bibliography

With this issue of *Pacific Affairs* there appears the first of a series of bibliographies, prepared by W. L. Holland, assistant in the research department of the Institute. The subject matter covered in this first review includes the several aspects of diplomatic relations in the Pacific, Pacific dependencies and mandates. Next month's article will deal with the varied problems which come under the general heading of China.

Dr. Ray Lyman Wilbur

Dr. Ray Lyman Wilbur, president of Stanford University and chairman of the Pacific Council of the Institute, has been named Secretary of the Interior in President Hoover's Cabinet. Dr. Wilbur has already assumed office. On March 6, he addressed the honorary secretary of the American Council, Mr. E. C. Carter, on the subject of his resignation as chairman of the American group of the Institute. A portion of his letter follows:

"Since I was sworn in yesterday as an official of the Government—Secretary of the Interior—I think it is incumbent upon me to resign from the chairmanship of the American Council for the Institute of Pacific Relations. I do this with great regret, and with the understanding that I will be glad to be of any service which is possible for me without disturbing the general plan of organization."

Dr. Wilbur has presided at both of the previous conferences of the Institute, and his absence from Kyoto will be greatly felt.

Dr. David Z. T. Yui

The Chairman of the China National Council of the Institute, Dr. David Z. T. Yui, was a brief visitor in Honolulu on March 7, en route home from a prolonged lecture tour in the United States and Canada. Advantage was taken of Dr. Yui's presence for an extended staff conference at the Institute headquarters, followed by a luncheon with the Advisory Committee, at which Mr. Wallace M. Alexander of San Francisco was a guest. In the afternoon Dr. Yui addressed a public gathering at Mission Memorial Hall, speaking on new phases of China's development, political, educational and cultural.

Japan Preparation Committee

The Tokyo office of the Japan National Council announces the personnel of its special Preparation Committee in connection with the Kyoto Conference, as follows: Chairman, Junnosuke Inouye; Finance: Junnosuke Inouye, Akira Ishii, and Meiroku Masuda; Entertainment: Takashi Komatsu, Ino Dan and Ryozo Asano; Arrangements and General Management: Naokata Yamasaki, Hampei Nagao, Tamon Maeda, Yasaka Takaki, and Soichi Saito.

Dr. J. B. Condliffe

A letter written en route to Auckland and dated February 21, at sea, tells of an interesting luncheon meeting of important businessmen and officials, held in Suva, Fiji, for Dr. J. B. Condliffe, Research Secretary of the Institute, when his vessel touched at that port. A news story in the New Zealand Herald (Auckland) for February 25 tells of Dr. Condliffe's arrival in that city and carries an informative interview with him, regarding the work of the Institute and the Kyoto Conference plans.

A later letter from Dr. Condliffe, dated Christchurch, New Zealand, March 6, tells of a schedule of meetings and addresses throughout New Zealand, as well as conferences with the various Institute groups there. Dr. Condliffe has gone on to Australia, expecting to be in Sydney on the first of April.

Canadian Items

Letters from the Canadian branch of the Institute bring the news that Sir Arthur Currie, who has been ill during the past year and living abroad for his health, expects to return to his home in Montreal in April.

Following the annual meeting of the Canadian Executive Council on January 21, 1929, Sir Robert Borden presiding, four new appointments were made to the Executive Council. These were Mr. R. W. Shannon and L. B. Ring, of Regina, and Professor R. A. MacKay (Dalhousie University) and Mr. H. F. Munro, both of Halifax.

Mr. C. A. Bowman, editor of the *Ottawa Citizen* and member of the 1927 conference of the Institute at Honolulu, has been made a member of the Canadian Radio Commission which has been considering broadcasting and communications services.

Dr. Henry T. Hodgkin

Following an appointment as head of the new graduate school of religious education which is being established in Philadelphia by the Society of Friends, Dr. Henry T. Hodgkin has severed his connections in China and left the country to assume his new duties. Dr. and Mrs. Hodgkin, who have been residents for many years in China, and who were both members of the 1927 conference of the Institute, with the British group, left Shanghai on February 6, via Siberia, according to a news item in the *North-China Herald* of February 9.

Dr. Hawkling Yen

On February 18 the Chinese National Council of the Institute entertained at a dinner at the Chinese Bankers' Club, Shanghai, Dr. Hawkling (Heiling) Yen, the new associate general secretary for the central staff of the Institute of Pacific Relations. The *North-China Herald* for February 23 contained a long account of this meeting, giving a sketch of Dr. Yen's public career, quoting from his address of the day, and giving a summary of the aims of the Institute of Pacific Relations and the activities of its China Council. Sir Frederick Whyte was present at the dinner and spoke briefly, extending greetings to the newly appointed associate general secretary, on behalf of the British committee at London. Dr. L. N. Chang, until recently administrator of the ex-British concession at Hankow and now connected with the Ministry of Commerce and Labor at Nanking, spoke on the importance of research into international problems in general and China's problems in particular. Dr. Chang attended the first conference of the Institute at Honolulu in 1925. In the absence of Dr. David Z. T. Yui, China's national chairman, Mr. S. U. Zau, vice-chairman, presided.

Dr. Yen is spending some time in China and Japan before joining the secretarial staff at Honolulu. He expects to arrive in Honolulu on April 22.

Headquarters Visitors

There have been a number of interesting visitors at Central headquarters during the past few weeks. In addition to Dr. Yui, a few of these have been: Mrs. Edgerton Parsons of the American Association of University Women, member of the American Council of the Institute, New York; Mr. Charles Gos of Geneva; Dr. Y. C. Yang, president of Soochow University, China; Mr. Wallace M. Alexander of San Francisco; Dr. William T. Hull of Swarthmore College; Dr. Frank Milner of the New Zealand Institute Council, and Mr. Arthur K. Kuhn of New York.

Staff Tea

On March 22nd the Central Staff of the Institute at Honolulu invited members of the Advisory Committee and a few interested friends to meet and hear two visitors, Mr. Charles Gos of Geneva, and Dr. Frank Milner of Waitaki, New Zealand. Mr. Gos, writer on the staff of *Le Journal de Genève,* brought introductions from members of the secretariat of the League of Nations, and spoke informally on some of the more intimate and human-interest aspects of the League's development as he, a resident of Geneva, has observed it. Dr. Milner is headmaster of one of the two larger boys' schools of New Zealand, at Waitaki, and is particularly interested in the furthering of international education. As a member of the New Zealand Institute group, he spoke eloquently of the part the Institute can play in this important field. Dr. Milner is en route to the Empire Educational Conference at Toronto and the Adult Education Conference at London.

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HEADQUARTERS

1641 S. Beretania St., Honolulu, Hawaii

Mail address: P. O. Box 1561 **Cable address: "Inparel"**

PACIFIC AFFAIRS

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ELIZABETH GREEN
Editor

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The object of the Institute of Pacific Relations is to study the conditions of the Pacific peoples with a view to the improvement of their mutual relations.

PACIFIC AFFAIRS

No. 5 MAY 1929

Great Britain and the Pacific

A REPORT OF OCCURRENCES BEARING ON PACIFIC AFFAIRS FOR THE QUARTER DECEMBER 1928—MARCH 1929

Prepared by Stephen A. Heald

Assistant to Mr. Wheeler-Bennett

In continuation of the plan adopted by Mr. John W. Wheeler-Bennett in drawing up previous reports, the present report deals with the signing of the Sino-British Tariff Treaty and with the discussions on Chinese affairs in the British House of Commons. The House adjourned from December 19th until January 22nd for the Christmas vacation.

The text of the Sino-British Tariff Treaty has been included with a summary of the Annexes accompanying it and a note on its provisions.

THE SINO-BRITISH TREATY

Treaties dealing with tariff and related matters only have now been signed by the National Government of China with the United States, Germany, Norway, the Netherlands, Great Britain, Sweden and France.* By those treaties, the negotiation of which was voluntarily undertaken and was not due to the expiration of old treaties, China was granted complete tariff autonomy.

The Sino-British Treaty was signed on December 20th, 1928, and was put into force on February 6th, 1929, by a special protocol signed by Sir Miles Lampson, H. M. Minister in China, and Dr. C. T. Wang, the Chinese Foreign Minister, after it had been ratified by the Chinese National Government on January 9th and by the Counsellors of State on behalf of H. M. the King on 1st February, but before the ratifications had been exchanged.

The following is the official text of the treaty:

ARTICLE I

> It is agreed that all provisions of existing treaties between the High Contracting Parties which limit in any way the right of China to settle her national Customs tariff in such way as she may think fit are hereby abrogated and that the principle of complete national tariff autonomy shall apply.

ARTICLE II

> The nationals of either of the High Contracting Parties shall not be compelled under any pretext whatsoever to pay in China and the territories of his Britannic Majesty to which the present treaty applies respectively any duties, internal charges, or taxes upon goods imported or exported by them other than or higher than those paid on goods of the same origin by Chinese and British nationals respectively, or by nationals of any other foreign country.

* Treaties dealing with extraterritoriality as well as tariff matters were also concluded by Italy, Belgium, Denmark, Portugal and Spain to replace old treaties which had expired.

ARTICLE III

His Britannic Majesty agrees to the abrogation of all provisions of the existing treaties between the High Contracting Parties which limit the right of China to impose tonnage dues at such rates as she may think fit.

In regard to tonnage dues and all matters connected therewith, British ships in China and Chinese ships in those territories of his Britannic Majesty to which the present treaty applies, shall receive treatment not less favourable than that accorded to the ships of any other foreign country.

ARTICLE IV

The present treaty shall be ratified and the ratifications shall be exchanged in London as soon as possible. It shall come into force on the date on which the two parties shall have notified each other that ratification has been effected.

The English and Chinese texts of the present treaty have been carefully compared and verified; but in the event of there being a difference of meaning between the two, the same as expressed in the English text shall be held to prevail.

In witness whereof the representative Plenipotentiaries have signed the present treaty in duplicate, and have affixed thereunto their seals.

Done at Nanking, the 20th day of December, 1928, corresponding to the 20th day of the 12th month of the 17th year of the Republic of China.

(Signatures) M. W. LAMPSON,
CHENGTING T. WANG.

Attached to the treaty are four annexes, consisting of letters exchanged between H. M. Minister in China and the Chinese Foreign Minister, dealing with the interpretation of the treaty.

ANNEX 1

Sir Miles Lampson requested and received from Dr. Wang confirmation of his understanding that articles produced and manufactured in Great Britain or China and imported or exported into or from the territories of the two nations shall receive reciprocal most-favoured-nation treatment.

ANNEX 2 (i)

Sir Miles Lampson informed the Chinese Foreign Minister that the British Dominions and all the non-self governing Colonies and Protectorates similarly recognise the complete tariff autonomy of China and her right to fix tonnage dues, and requested the assurance of the Chinese Foreign Minister [given in Annex 2 (ii)] that goods produced and manufactured in the above mentioned territories or China and imported or exported into or from the above mentioned territories from or into China shall receive reciprocal most-favoured-nation treatment.

ANNEX 3 (i)

Sir Miles Lampson invited the confirmation [received in Annex 3 (ii)] of the understanding that:

The *ad valorem* rates of duty or rates based thereon in the national Customs tariff to be adopted by the National Government, are the same as the rates which were discussed and provisionally agreed upon at the Tariff Conference of 1926, and these are the maximum rates to be levied on British goods: furthermore, that these will remain the maximum rates on such goods for a period of at least one year from the date of enforcement of the tariff: that two months' notice will be given of the coming into force of the said tariff. . . .

In view of the doubt and anxiety that may arise amongst my nationals in regard to the effect which the new tariff may have on their trade if the various levies other than Customs duties now being collected remain in force after the coming into operation of the national tariff rates, I would remind your Excellency of the proclamation issued by the National Government of the Republic of China at Nanking on July 20, 1927, announcing their inten-

tion to take as soon as possible the necessary steps effectively to abolish *likin*, native Customs dues, coast trade duties, and all other taxes on imported goods whether levied in transit or on arrival at destination, and I should welcome some assurance on behalf of the National Government that it is their intention that goods having once paid import duty to the Maritime Customs in accordance with the rates imposed in the new or in any subsequent national tariff will be freed as soon as possible from any levies of the nature specified in the above mentioned proclamation.

ANNEX 3 (ii)

In the first part Dr. Wang confirmed the understanding contained in the first paragraph of Sir Miles Lampson's note [Annex 3 (i)] concerning *ad valorem* rates, etc., and gave the assurance that these would remain the maximum rates to be levied on British goods for a period of at least one year from the date of the enforcement of the tariff and in the second declared:

I am glad to be able to confirm, on behalf of the National Government, the terms of their proclamation of July 20, 1927, and to give you the assurance which you request that it is their intention that goods having once paid import duty to the Maritime Customs in accordance with the rates imposed in the new or any subsequent national tariff will be freed as soon as possible from any levies of the nature specified in the above-mentioned proclamation.

ANNEX 4

Dr. Wang on behalf of the National Government declared that "it is their intention to apply the new Customs tariff uniformly on all land and sea frontiers of China, and that, as from the date of coming into force of the new tariff, the preferential rates at present levied on goods imported or exported by land frontier will accordingly be abolished." In acknowledging the note Sir Miles Lampson wrote that the British Government was in full agreement with the declaration.

The Sino-British treaty differs from the tariff treaties concluded by the U. S. A., Germany, Norway, the Netherlands, Sweden and France, in that it includes in Annex 3 the important and definite provision that the rates agreed upon at the tariff Conference of 1925-6 shall be the maximum rates to be levied for a period of at least one year, stipulates the abolition of *likin* and allows the Chinese National Government to fix its own tonnage dues.

Parliamentary

1. Washington Treaty Powers

Mr. Wedgwood Benn (Lib.) asked the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs on December 5th whether he could make any statement regarding Anglo-Japanese coöperation in Chinese affairs. Sir Austen Chamberlain stated in reply that he could add nothing to his statement in answer to a question on 28th November (see last Report).

Mr. Benn: Do the statements which appear in the newspapers mean that we are lending special measures of support, for example, to the present Japanese claims against China?

Mr. Rennie Smith (Lab.): Has the right hon. Gentleman's attention been drawn to the very extensive claims of the Japanese Government in China?

Sir Austen Chamberlain referred Mr. Benn to his answer of 28th November; which, he said, explained fully the nature of British coöperation with Japan and made it clear that there was nothing exclusive about it. Later, dealing with a question from Mr. Duckworth (Lib.) as to whether H. M. Government had any understanding with any other Government as to joint action in China, and urging an early friendly

settlement of outstanding and urgent questions, the Foreign Secretary referred to his answer given on November 28th (see last Report) and added "I am always anxious to do all in my power to promote a friendly settlement of outstanding questions, and shall certainly continue my efforts in this direction whenever an opportunity presents itself."

2. Shanghai Defence Force

On January 22nd, Lt. Commander Kenworthy (Lab.) asked the Secretary of State for War whether he was in a position to announce when the British forces will be withdrawn from Shanghai. In reply Sir Laming Worthington-Evans stated that "this must depend on the local situation. But of the additional battalions sent to China, three will have been withdrawn by the end of this trooping season."

Mr. Thurtle (Lab.): Is not the local situation sufficiently satisfactory now to enable all troops to be withdrawn?

Sir Laming Worthington-Evans: It is so much improved that a great many of our troops have been or are in course of being withdrawn.

Colonel Wedgwood (Lab.): Did I not see in the papers that the people in Shanghai are proposing to raise a volunteer force to take the place of our troops?

Sir L. Worthington-Evans: There has always been a volunteer force in Shanghai.

Colonel Wedgwood: Is not that volunteer force now held to be sufficiently strong to render the presence of our own troops no longer necessary?

Sir L. Worthington-Evans: No, sir.

Mr. Wardlaw-Milne (Cons.): Is it not the fact that this volunteer force is composed very largely, if not almost entirely, of British subjects, and throws a considerable strain on the mercantile community? (No reply).

Replying to an enquiry from Mr. Wardlaw-Milne (Cons.) on 24th January as to what proportion of the voluntary defence force in Shanghai, as at present existing, was furnished, respectively, by subjects of Great Britain, China, Japan and by Europeans other than those of British birth, Mr. Duff Cooper, Financial Secretary to the War Office, stated that "The Shanghai Volunteer Corps is an international volunteer unit, the responsibility for which rests with the Shanghai Municipality. I have therefore no precise figures of the composition of its units. But from such information as is available in the War Office it would appear that in May, 1928, out of a total strength of some 1,500, the strengths of the Japanese and Chinese companies were approximately 160 and 140 respectively. Of the remainder of the corps it is estimated that at least 700 were British."

Lieut.-Commander Kenworthy (Lab.): Is there not a British officer attached to this Corps as adjutant or officer instructor, and why therefore is the information not available accurately?

Mr. Cooper: British officers are lent to the Corps and a British officer commands the Corps. I have no doubt that if I had time I could ascertain the exact figure with regard to the various units.

Lieut.-Commander Kenworthy: Is it not extraordinary that the Military Intelligence Department has not this information?

Mr. Cooper: I do not think it is at all extraordinary.

Mr. Shinwell (Lab.): Is not the Volunteer Defence Force operating in association with the Government forces, and if that is so, why has the Financial Secretary not got the information?

Mr. Cooper: The force is not controlled by the Government but by the Shanghai municipality and although we have a fair idea of the exact numbers of the various units and nationalities we have not the complete figures with regard to every detail.

Mr. Wardlaw-Milne: Is it not true to say that in view of the reduction now taking place in the forces sent to Shanghai practically the real defence of Shanghai is now falling almost entirely on the British mercantile community?

Mr. Stephen (Lab.): Is the salary of the officer who has been lent to this force borne by the home Government?

Mr. Cooper: Yes, sir.

On 29th January, Mr. Wardlaw-Milne (Cons.) asked the Secretary of State for War what units of the British Army now comprise the Shanghai Defence Force; and what troops of other Powers, if any, are incorporated in that force, and was informed by Sir Laming Worthington-Evans, that "the additional British troops sent to China as the Shanghai Defence Force have for some time been divided between the North and South China Commands. Of the additional battalions, which will still be in China at the end of this trooping season, three will be stationed in the North China Command and one stationed in the South China Command. No troops belonging to other Powers were at any time incorporated in the Shanghai Defence Force."

On 23rd January, Mr. Thurtle (Lab.) asked the Foreign Secretary whether the remaining units of the Shanghai Defence Force ought not to be withdrawn now in view of the conclusion of a treaty with the Chinese Government, and of the pledge given by the Government, at the time when the troops were sent, that as soon as the special emergency had passed away all troops should be withdrawn. Sir Austen Chamberlain, in reply, said, "We have no desire to keep troops there a day longer than is necessary, but at present the conditions are not such as to admit of the total withdrawal of troops, though their numbers have been steadily reduced."

The Foreign Secretary told Mr. Thurtle (Lab.) on February 18th that he was aware that the Shanghai Volunteer Corps included a paid Russian company which was permanently mobilized and that it appeared probable that these men were utilized to assist the police. He stated further that he had no information beyond that appearing in the Press as to the uniform worn by these men (said to be British uniforms) and that he was calling for a report on this subject.

On 26th February Lt. Commander Kenworthy (Lab.) asked the Secretary of State for War what expenditure had been made or incurred to date for the Shanghai Defence Force; and what financial or other assistance had been received to date from the inhabitants of the international settlement towards the expenses of the expedition. Sir Laming Worthington-Evans stated in reply that "approximately £950,000 has been expended on accommodation, quarters and rent, etc., at Hongkong, Shanghai, Tientsin and Wei-Hai-Wei. As regards the second part of the question, the Shanghai Municipal Council have exempted from municipal taxation all lands and buildings occupied by the Defence Force, and have allowed unoccupied land and buildings which they own to be utilised rent free. In addition, they pay the extra cost of small parties of troops specially detailed to assist in the maintenance of internal order when necessary within the international settlement." In reply to a further question, Lt. Commander Kenworthy was informed that this was the only contribution made by the international settlement, and that they paid only for the troops who were actually on police duty. Sir Laming Worthington-Evans also promised to see whether he could

separate the figures for Shanghai from those for Hongkong, Tientsin and Wei-Hai-Wei.

3. Hankow

Mr. Wardlaw-Milne (Cons.) asked the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs on 24th January for information regarding the present position of affairs in Hankow.

Mr. Locker-Lampson, Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, replying stated that as regards the ex-British concession at Hankow, foreigners living and owning property there were represented in the municipality and had a voice in the matter of taxation. "The ex-German and ex-Russion concessions, in which foreigners enjoyed representation, have recently been incorporated by the Chinese authorities with the Chinese Municipality of Wuhan. The question of future foreign representation in those two districts is under discussion." British subjects, he stated, were not at any disadvantage as compared with the subjects of other nations in the matter of taxation or representation.

> Mr. Wardlaw-Milne (Cons.): Do I understand from the Under-Secretary's reply that he is satisfied with the present position of the British community in regard to representation in Hankow, or are negotiations now proceeding which will give satisfactory results?
>
> Mr. Locker-Lampson: So far as I know the conditions in the ex-British concession are satisfactory; but, as regards the other concessions, my hon. friend must realise that they are ex-German and ex-Russian concessions, which have now been incorporated by the Chinese Government in the Wuhan Municipality.

Mr. Looker (Cons.) asked the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs on January 30th whether he was aware that:

> The tenants of Lot No. IIIb, in the ex-British concession at Hankow, were forcibly ejected by Chinese troops at the beginning of 1927, who proceeded to occupy the premises in conjunction with a Chinese concern calling itself the Hankow day school; that such ejection and occupation was and is a violation of the regulations relating to the ex-British concession at Hankow made pursuant to the Chen-O'Malley agreement; that the premises concerned are owned by a British subject and are mortgaged to a British subject; that the owner has received no rent and the mortgage no interest since the ejection; that the occupiers refuse to pay for the water they consume and are protected in this refusal by Chinese troops; that the sum of tls. 17.640.90 is due to the bureau administering the district for taxes and water consumed which it is unable to collect owing to the occupation and protection referred to; and will he state what action he proposes to take to secure the observance of the regulations and the protection of the British interests involved?

Sir Austen Chamberlain stated in reply that he had received a report from His Majesty's Minister on the case and that His Majesty's Consul-General at Hankow had made representations to the local authorities in regard to it, the result of which he did not yet know.

Later the Foreign Secretary was asked further by Mr. Looker (Cons.) what action he proposed to take to secure the observance of the regulations and to protect the British interests involved in view of the fact that "about August last the bureau administering the ex-British concession at Hankow pursuant to the Chen-O'Malley agreement were instructed by the Chinese authorities to impose a tax on all property of 30 per cent of one month's rent for barrack building, and a tax of 10 per cent for bandit suppression; that such taxation is not authorised by the provisions of Articles 13 and 16 of the regulations made under

the Chen-O'Malley agreement; the payment of such taxes is nevertheless being enforced from Chinese and British owners of property."

The Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs replied that this breach of the Chen-O'Malley agreement had been reported to him but that the statement that "payment is being enforced from British owners of property" had not been confirmed. His Majesty's Consul-General at Hankow had made representations to the local authorities.

> Mr. Looker: Is the right hon. Gentleman aware that British property owners come within the scope of this tax even if they are not directly affected because wherever they own property jointly with Chinese they have to pay their share of the tax?
>
> Sir Austen Chamberlain: The first question I should want answered is whether, in fact, the British do own property either in whole or in part.

Asked by Mr. Looker (Cons.) on February 6th what steps H. M. Government intended to take to get the terms of the agreement of 29th June, 1926, between the Chinese Authorities, the late British Municipal Government and H. M. Consul-General at Hankow, carried out, and procure the payment by the Chinese Authorities concerned of their contribution towards the expenses of maintaining the Hupeh road in the ex-British Concession at Hankow, Sir Austen Chamberlain stated that he had received a report on the subject and that representations to the local authorities had been made by H. M. Consul-General at Hankow.

Later Mr. Looker (Cons.) further asked the Foreign Secretary (1) whether he was aware that "the garrison commander of the Chinese troops at Hankow and other Chinese Government Officials were constantly interfering with the Director of the Bureau established by the Chen-O'Malley agreement, and issuing orders to him, which were contrary to the regulations made pursuant to such agreement, and that such interference was undermining the authority of the Council of the Bureau, and rendering the proper and efficient administration of the District an impossible task;" and (2) whether H. M. Minister in Peking had received any representations from British members of the Council established by the Chen-O'Malley agreement as to the difficulties encountered by them in impartially carrying out the terms of that agreement and their duties thereunder, owing to the obstruction of the Chinese Government; whether any, if so, what reply had been sent to such representations: and what action he proposed to take in these two matters.

Sir Austen Chamberlain informed him that he had received reports from H. M. Minister in Peking regarding the difficulties arising in Special Administrative District No. 3 at Hankow on account of the interference of various Chinese authorities together with the text of the representations made on the subject by the British councillors. Representations had been made to the Minister of Foreign Affairs at Nanking, who had promised to issue instructions that there must be no outside interference with the former British concession, and Sir Miles Lampson was continually pressing Dr. Wang to ensure that his instructions were effective.

On February 20th: The Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs asked by Mr. Wardlaw-Milne (Cons.) what action he was taking to safeguard British interests, in view of the pledge given by the Hupeh Government that no further change would be made in the administra-

tion of the former concessions in Hankow, and of the fact that the action of the Hankow authorities in regard to the ex-German and ex-Russian concessions constituted a breach of the undertaking, replied that he was not aware of any such pledge given by the Hupeh Government regarding the ex-German and ex-Russian concessions. "The question of the cancellation of the constitutions of these Districts is being taken up with the National Government by H. M. Minister, who is stating the objections to the retrograde step taken by the Wuhan authorities and urging reconsideration thereof, with the idea of preserving some form of foreign representation in the administration."

In reply to a further question Sir Austen Chamberlain said that the Minister would not be making representations if he thought the changes were favourable to British or foreign interests, and there was hope that a friendly settlement would be reached in the course of time.

4. Trade and Commerce

Sir Philip Cunliffe-Lister, President of the Board of Trade, informed Mr. Day (Lab.) on 5th February, that the exports of the United Kingdom produce and manufactures consigned to China (including Hongkong, but excluding Macao and leased territories) during the three months ended 31st December, 1927, amounted to £3,529,000 (roughly $17,645,000).

On the 11th February, replying to questions from Sir Robert Thomas, Bart. (Lib.) as to whether he was aware that other manufacturing countries are always taking a very active interest in the trade with China, and what measures he had under consideration for stimulating British trade with new China, Mr. Douglas Hacking, Secretary of the Overseas Trade Department, said:

> The hon. Member must not assume that we are not taking an active interest, because we are . . . While every Department is anxious to see British firms participating to the full extent in any revival of trade with China, it is considered that, before any general statement can be made on this subject, a full appreciation of conditions in that country should be obtained. My Department is therefore in constant touch with its representatives in China with a view to obtaining such information.

5. Railways

Commander Bellairs (Cons.) asked the Foreign Secretary on December 17th, whether any representation had been made to Japan by H. M. Government concerning the forcible detention by the Japanese of 50 locomotives and 400 cars belonging to the Tientsin-Pukow Railway Company; and, in view of the paralysis of trade through lack of railway stock, whether it was the intention of the Government to insist on the return of this stock.

Sir Austen Chamberlain stated, in reply, that H. M. Government had made no representations to Japan regarding the rolling stock of the Tientsin-Pukow Railway, which is interned between Tsinan and the broken bridge over the Yellow River. "Since the material in question is the property of a Chinese State Railway, and British interests are only indirectly concerned, I feel sure that the Japanese authorities have no desire to hamper the international trade carried on over the railway, and that this rolling stock will be put into circulation again as soon as practical considerations make this possible."

On 6th February in answer to a question from Sir Walter de Frece (Cons.) as to whether British concessionaires were free to undertake railway construction in Manchuria under Chinese auspices; and whether the open door existed in Manchuria for all forms of engineering work, the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs said:

> Railway construction in Manchuria is subject to the China Consortium Agreement of 15th October, 1920, in all cases where the issue of loans for public subscription is involved. By this agreement the principle of complete equality is affirmed between the British, French, Japanese and American Bank Groups; and the respective Governments will give their complete support to their national groups who are members of the Consortium. Railway enterprise connected with certain specified lines, notably the South Manchurian Railway and its branch lines, is outside the scope of the Consortium and is reserved for Japanese interests. Details of the arrangement will be found in Command Paper 1214 of 1921 regarding the new financial Consortium in China. With the above important exceptions the "open door" exists in Manchuria for all forms of engineering work.

Later, Sir Austen Chamberlain informed Lt. Commander Kenworthy (Lab.) that there was no arrangement with Japan outside certain specified lines, notably the South Manchurian Railway and its branch railways, which are reserved to Japan, which prevented British firms tendering for Chinese railway construction.

6. Reconstruction

On January 23rd the Foreign Secretary, answering a question from Lt. Commander Kenworthy (Lab.) as to whether it was proposed to station H. M. representative at Nanking in view of the change of the capital from Peking to Nanking, said:

> "Nanking is the official capital of the Nationalist Government of China; but the transfer of the administration to the new seat of Government is not complete. Practical considerations make it impossible for H. M. Minister to reside in Nanking, but arrangements are being made for a member of the Legation Staff to reside at Shanghai as the Minister's personal representative, and to visit Nanking as and when required, in order to maintain touch with the National Government." In answer to a further question the Foreign Secretary stated that His Majesty was not represented at the moment in Nanking and that it was unlikely that he would be represented by anyone there in future, as there was no accommodation for H. M. Minister and practical difficulties made his residence there impossible.

Sir Austen Chamberlain informed Lt. Col. L'Estrange Malone (Lab.) on 30th January, in answer to a question as to whether H. M. Government proposed to open negotiations with the Chinese Government for the revision of existing treaties, that "the further questions involved in treaty revision were discussed by H. M. Minister during his recent negotiations with the Chinese Authorities on the subject of the tariff, and the whole subject is now being considered by H. M. Government."

Later, in reply to a suggestion from Mr. Rennie Smith (Lab.) that in view of the very large business interests at stake, trade union leaders should be sent out to help in the negotiations in regard to such treaty revision as is necessary, he said, "I confess I have not considered sending out either trade unionist leaders or representatives of the employers. I do not think that that would be necessary or a suggestion upon which it would be wise to act, though we are, of course, through the Board of Trade, in close touch with commercial interests in that country."

On January 23rd, the Foreign Secretary informed Mr. Rennie Smith (Lab.) that he had received reports of the arrival in various parts of China of German military instructors, but that he was unable to say precisely in what capacity. The matter had not been discussed by the League of Nations.

7.—Missionaries

Mr. Day (Lab.) asked the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs on 5th December, whether he had received a report and could give any particulars of the incident in which Miss Grace Muriel Mann, a woman missionary, was attacked by Chinese bandits and shot, while on her way from Taiyuanfu to Hsinchow, in the province of Shansi; and how many other missionaries, either women or men, had been captured by Chinese bandits during the last three years and how many of them had been eventually released. Sir Austen Chamberlain replied that he could add nothing to the reports in the Press, except that Sir Miles Lampson had urged Marshal Yen Hsi-shan to call for a report of the circumstances of the lady's death and to have every effort made to bring the criminals to justice. He had not complete particulars of non-British missionaries captured by brigands. In addition to the three British missionaries who had been killed (for particulars see under November 28th of Report of December 1st, 1928), during the past three years, the number of British missionaries or members of their families captured by brigands was, six men, eleven women and one child, all of whom were released after shorter or longer periods of captivity.

On 13th February Sir Austen Chamberlain informed Sir Robert Thomas (Lib.) that the occupation by Chinese Military forces of Griffith John College, the London Missionary Society's centre near Hankow, took place on 31st December. Representations were at once made locally and to the Nanking Government and by 17th January the 1,000 troops billeted there had been withdrawn.

8.—Drug Traffic

On 27th February Sir Robert Thomas, Bart. (Lib.) asked the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether "with a view to demonstrating to the fullest possible extent this country's determination to coöperate in suppressing the illicit trade in drugs, he would accede to the request of Mr. Wang King-ky, the Chinese delegate to the League Opium Committee, that foreign consuls in China be instructed in future not to extend their protection to their nationals who trade illlicitly in drugs?"

Mr. Godfrey Locker-Lampson, Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, replying, said "His Majesty's Government have already demonstrated their determination to coöperate in the suppression of the illicit trade in drugs. With a view to preventing any possible participation by British subjects in this trade in China they have enacted regulations under which British subjects would be liable to heavy penalties, and in the last resort to deportation. This has proved completely effective, and there is no reason to believe that more satisfactory results would be obtained by the adoption of the course suggested by the hon. Member."

Sino-Japanese Accord

A Review of the Tsinan Agreement

This review was prepared by the translation bureau of the Japan National Council of the Institute of Pacific Relations at Tokyo and gives a sweeping survey of official and popular expressions upon this critical problem.

The Tsinan incident which was the source of strained relations between Japan and China has been settled. As a result of successful negotiations conducted in Shanghai between Mr. K. Yoshizawa, Japanese Minister to China, and Dr. C. T. Wang, Foreign Minister of the Chinese National Government in Nanking, the following joint declaration was issued on March 28th, 1929:

> While looking upon the incident which occurred at Tsinan on May 3 last as one most unfortunate and even tragic in view of the traditional friendship between Japan and China, the two Governments, mindful of the keen desire entertained by the Government and people on both sides for the advancement of their mutual good relationship, hereby declare themselves ready to dismiss entirely from their minds all discordant feelings attending the incident in the expectation that their future relationship may be thereby greatly improved.

Under the same date both representatives exchanged the following notes:

Mr. Yoshizawa's note to Dr. Wang:

> I have the honor to notify Your Excellency that should the Chinese Government guarantee on their sole responsibility the safety of the lives and property of the Japanese subjects resident in China after the withdrawal of the Japanese troops from Shantung, the Japanese Government would be prepared to withdraw all their troops now in Shantung in two months from the date of signing of the documents concerning the settlement of the present affair.
>
> I beg to propose at the same time that both governments should respectively appoint commissioners who shall in conference on the spot make such arrangements as may be necessary in connection with the withdrawal of the Japanese troops.

Dr. Wang's note to Mr. Yoshizawa:

> I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of Your Excellency's note of even date notifying me . . . etc.
>
> I beg to state in reply that the Chinese Government, as already declared, would on their responsibility and in accordance with international law afford protection to foreign nationals in China, and that they consider it naturally incumbent on them to extend such protection to resident Japanese in the future.
>
> I beg further to acknowledge your notification regarding the date on which the withdrawal of troops shall begin and the period in which it shall be completed and also to express agreement to your suggestion that commissioners shall be appointed on both sides who shall in conference on the spot make the necessary arrangements in connection with the withdrawal of the Japanese troops.

The protocol signed in Nanking by both plenipotentiaries has also been published. It reads:

> With regard to the damages incurred by Japan and China through the occurrences of the Tsinan incident of May 3 last, it is hereby agreed that a joint commission shall be formed of equal number of members appointed on both sides which shall determine these damages through investigation on the spot.

In his interview, Baron Tanaka, Japanese Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs, states:

"It is a source of profound gratification for our two countries that a formal agreement was signed on March 28th for the solution of the most important Sino-Japanese question, as a result of sincere negotiations between Japan and China. The agreement was initialed on March 24th and its signature has been anxiously waited for in Japan as well as in China, so that great joy is expressed at the consummation of the protracted negotiations. It is understood that, consequent upon the agreement, China will suppress anti-Japanese boycott and other movements detrimental to the amicable international relations. In Japan the session of the Diet has just been closed, and in China the National Congress of the Kuomintang Party terminated its labor on the day preceding the signature. This is a mere happy coincidence. I desire on this occasion to express my assurance that I shall spare no effort in promoting friendship between the two countries."

Mr. R. Nagai, member of the House of Representatives and spokesman of the Minseito (Opposition Party) made a statement, the gist of which is as follows:

"We rejoice at the settlement of the Tsinan incident for the future Sino-Japanese relations. However, when we examine its conditions we cannot but be surprised at the inconsistency and irresponsibility of the Japanese Government. The Government announced in July last year that they could not deal with China, unless she accepted the four basic conditions, i. e., (1) the formal apology of the Chinese National Government, (2) punishment of responsible persons, (3) compensation, and (4) guarantee for the future, and the Foreign Minister repeated the announcement in the Diet. According to what has been published: (1) the Japanese Government could not make China apologize, but they expressed regret on the unfortunate incident, (2) Japan relinquished her original contention for punishment, (3) although there were a considerable number of cases of massacre, violence and plunder suffered by Japanese residents at the hands of the Chinese, the question of compensation was relegated to a joint commission, and they will, after all, receive no satisfaction, (4) no guarantee could be secured in a concrete form. Thus all the four basic conditions were rejected by China, and the Japanese Government are to recall the troops, withdrawing practically all their claims. Such a settlement as this could have been made last year when Consul-General Yada negotiated. However, the Government did not approve the result of the negotiation, characterizing it as shameful. When the Chinese National Government brought themselves closer to Western Powers and tried to isolate Japan diplomatically and commercially, the Cabinet became flurried and brought about such a disgraceful result. The Japanese Government has announced the decision to withdraw the troops, relying upon the strength of the Chinese National Government. If their strength is dependable, why have the Japanese troops been stationed up to the present time, spending fifty million yen, arousing ill-feeling of the Chinese people and sacrificing our trade with China and the South Sea districts? The Government inflicted great damage to the nation by recklessly despatching troops and impairing national dignity. The crime of the present Cabinet in leaving ineffaceable stains on the annals of our diplomacy toward China is unpardonable."

Examining the Press comments, the Japanese papers are unanimous in voicing satisfaction on the agreement, but they, with a very few ex-

ceptions, are denouncing the manner in which the Japanese Government have handled the question.

The *Jiji* states:—

> The conclusion of the most difficult negotiation conducted for six months with frequent setbacks, which tends to accelerate the solution of other pending Sino-Japanese questions is a matter for hearty congratulation. The revival of kindly feeling in mutually wishing for international friendship is a proof that the relation between the two countries cannot be left as it was. We do not hesitate to express our sincere approval of the political solution to efface the memory of the disagreeable incident. This spirit should be the basic principle in all Sino-Japanese relations. If we recall that there existed an imprudent opinion advocating the acquisition of some benefit in Shantung in order to find some excuse for sending troops, we consider that the present agreement constitutes a warning for the future. The present settlement is a most reasonable and rational one, though there may be some dissatisfaction on the creation of a joint commission which will decide the extent of the damage incurred by both parties.

The *Tokyo Nichi Nichi* says:—

> We warmly welcome the agreement. It gives hope for the improvement of Sino-Japanese relations and also for the peace of the world. But when the subject is discussed from the standpoint of our internal politics, we cannot be lenient with the Government. Judging from what has already been announced, we find that the last of the four demands is to be carried into effect, but on all other points Japan yielded to China. We believe that the concession regarding responsibility for the Tsinan incident is a demonstration that the troops were despatched for no particular purpose and also that the Government has recognized its own fault. A joint commission is to be appointed for the investigation of damages. If joint investigation arrives at the conclusion that Japan should pay compensation for China's damages, the responsibility of the Government will be augmented. An agreement on such unsatisfactory conditions could have been effected between Mr. Yada and Dr. Wang last September. We shall never pass over the responsibility of the Government for giving its agreement to such conditions. Expenses for hostile actions, the upkeep of armed forces and prizes for military merit will come to a considerable sum. The losses caused to our trade and industry by anti-Japanese boycott must reach an enormous amount. The suppression of the boycott is to be seen according to the present agreement, but we doubt how far it can be accomplished. Another civil war is recurring in the South and Chang Tsung-chang is organizing a revolt in Shantung. The safety of our fellow subjects in the province is still a matter for our concern.

The *Kokumin* argues:—

> We are much gratified in being able to lay the foundation for coöperation between Japan and China. However, the results of negotiations arrived at contrary to our original contentions point to the failure of the Tanaka Diplomacy. We do not call them shameful, because it would have been very difficult, nay, almost impossible under the present circumstances to expect a more advantageous solution. Why do we call it a diplomatic failure? Judging from the course which the negotiations followed, although the "free conversation" conducted between Mr. Yada and Dr. Wang had reached a practical solution, time has been wasted in obtaining a similar settlement. Furthermore, the Government caused a temporary break-up of Wang-Yoshizawa negotiations by changing front in connection with the question of forming a joint commission. The point to which we desire to draw the serious attention of the Government is that as a result of sending troops under the pretext of maintenance of *status quo* in Shantung, the Government acted like a man who raised his fist but failing to find the object to hit, had to knock his desk and in doing so hurt his other hand.

The *Hochi* comments:—

> With the announcement of the settlement of the Tsinan affair the failure of the Government in settling this incident has become clearer, and public

criticism of the Government attitude has been further endorsed. In making a joint declaration, the two countries mutually recognized their responsibilities and expressed mutual regret for the incident. The declaration will, first of all, make the despatch of our troops to Shantung quite meaningless, and contrary to international justice. We see that the diplomatic negotiation on the Tsinan incident was clumsy, and we lost our national dignity. Before the Diet, the Government declared that the negotiation with China on the Tsinan incident was not injuring our dignity. Now it has become plain that the Government was only fooling the Diet and the people. Only in case our residents in Shantung are not placed in danger in future can we regard it as a very lucky development.

The *Chugai Shogyo* contends:—

Reconciliation will be conductive to better relations, but the conditions of adjustment are suggestive of awkward statesmanship on the part of the Tanaka Cabinet. The question of responsibility and punishment is forsaken, compensation is entrusted to investigation by a joint commission, and Shantung will be evacuated within two months on assurances of future safety by China. This means that Japan has bowed to China. Differences could have been settled earlier on such conditions. Why were troops despatched to Shantung at enormous expense? The protection of our nationals was no doubt the purpose, but once they were despatched, national prestige should be upheld. By sending troops the Japanese residents were protected, but as a consequence of the agreement our prestige was lost. If either party does not question the responsibility of the other, it means that Japan recognizes her own fault. The evacuation of Shantung on mere verbal assurances of safety is to lose the ground which we gained and to make the despatch of troops meaningless. The establishment of a joint commission appears to have been proposed by China. If the damage is investigated closely, it may be that Japan will have to pay more compensation than China. It is conjectured that as China has conceded to leave the matter of compensation unsettled in spite of the establishment of a joint commission, the settlement of the question has been obtained. The despatch of troops to Shantung was a failure. The nation cannot thereupon overlook the grave political responsibility of the Government.

The *Japan Times* holds:—

Until the two peoples concerned cool down and accept the Tsinan accord as the only possible way out of the long-standing tangle, the statesmanship and courage displayed by the Government of Tokyo and Nanking in bridging the gulf regardless of the expected and inevitable outbursts of criticism may hardly be appreciated. Signs of better feelings are already noticeable in the removing of the anti-Japanese propaganda posters from the walls and lamp-posts in Chinese streets and in the bright dawn on the hitherto beclouded horizon of our trade with China.

As to the criticism of our politicians regarding the curious coincidence referred to by Premier Tanaka we should bear in mind that the last session of the Diet, as well as the Kuomintang Congress in China, was surcharged with almost electric sensitiveness and that an earlier announcement of the settlement might have led to many undesirable and unnecessary happenings both in Japan and China. Another thing which we shall do well to remember is the fact that the Tsinan settlement is only an introduction, so to speak, to the revised edition of the new Sino-Japanese relationship which is yet to develop at a later date.

Political China Today

A Review Bibliography*

By W. L. Holland

This article attempts to give an indication of some of the most important literature available on the very inclusive subject of "China." The sub-sections under which it is intended to class the material are: China, History and General Background; The Nationalist Movement; Present-Day Problems (Extra-territoriality, Treaty Revision, Tariff, Concessions); International Relations; and Manchuria (political aspects). So far as is possible—and in such subjects as Manchuria and tariff problems the plan is not at all satisfactory—questions that are principally economic in nature are reserved for consideration in a subsequent bibliography. It is mainly the political problems of China that are treated here.

Books and articles on innumerable and varied aspects of the China problem, written from many points of view, have poured forth in bewildering quantities throughout the last decade so as to make it a difficult task to select a small yet fairly representative list. Several such selections on a somewhat larger scale than is required here have already been made by various authorities. Some of them are quoted here for the guidance of readers who wish to read fairly extensively. The Yale University Library, New Haven, has published (in 1924) a list of "The Best One Hundred Books on China," and a similar compilation is printed in the *Literary Digest* for March 12, 1927, on page 82 under the heading "Best Books on China." Buell's review bibliography, Problems of the Pacific, prepared for the 1925 Conference of the Institute, contains a useful annotated list. It is printed as a World Peace Foundation pamphlet (Vol. VIII, No. 1, 1925). An excellent collection of references to books and articles covering a very wide range of subjects on China is that contained in Johnsen: China Yesterday and Today, H. W. Wilson Company, New York, 1928. This book is a compilation of significant passages from many sources on all angles of Chinese affairs. It presents in condensed form a useful and impartial survey which makes a very convenient reference work without being unattractive. Its preliminary classified bibliography is especially good. Other bibliographies with useful critical notes can be found in well-known textbooks such as Gowen and Hall: An Outline History of China, Appleton & Co., New York, 1926.

History and General Background

Only a small number of general works on China are mentioned here, and it will be found that many of these are partly concerned with the other sub-sections of this article. The indispensable work of reference for all study of Chinese questions is, of course, the China Year Book, Tientsin Press, Tientsin, not only for its statistical and factual material but for its excellent special articles. It is desirable that as many as possible of the back numbers should be consulted for the sake of these articles. For a brief but adequate sketch of the whole period of Chinese history, Gowen and Hall: An Outline History of China,

* This is the second of a series of review bibliographies designed to facilitate preliminary study on Kyoto agenda topics.—Ed.

Appleton & Co., New York, 1926, or the more recent history by Williams: A SHORT HISTORY OF CHINA, Harpers, New York, 1928, are the most serviceable books to read. They trace the story of the Chinese people from earliest times down to the more modern developments in 1926 and 1927, and are both helpful and readable. Necessarily they do not deal adequately with the history of the last twenty years in China, and on the latter book by Williams it appears to be the opinion of a good many critics that the sections dealing with the more recent developments are not adequate and not wholly unbiassed. This phase will be treated in the next section on the Nationalist Movement. For readers who cannot spare the time for these books, one can suggest what must be the shortest history of China yet written, namely Potts: A SKETCH OF CHINESE HISTORY, Kelly & Walsh, Shanghai, 1923. It is also incorporated in condensed form in Arnold's well-known CHINA—A Commercial and Industrial Handbook, Government Printing Office, Washington, 1926. MacNair: MODERN CHINESE HISTORY, Commercial Press, Shanghai, 1927, is a valuable collection of readings in Chinese history covering the period of the last hundred years. These selections are taken from the best sources available, and form a most authoritative and serviceable work that deserves consultation.

There are numerous books that make attempts to appraise the traditional cultural background of China, too many of them unfortunately based on rather superficial observation. The few books cited here differ widely in their treatment and interpretation of the subject but for that reason are valuable for the light they throw on the many angles of China's social background. Moreover, they are all very readable. The recently published English translation of Wilhelm's THE SOUL OF CHINA, Harcourt Brace, New York, 1928, has called forth widespread and favourable comment. It is a finely written interpretation of Chinese life, seen through the eyes of a sympathetic and observant scholar. A second English translation worth attention is that of Hovelaque's CHINA, Dutton, New York, 1923. It deals with much the same material as the first book but treats it in quite a different vein. A more interested and sympathetic missionary attitude is revealed in Bashford: CHINA—AN INTERPRETATION, Abingdon Press, New York, 1919. A very different picture is presented in Russell: THE PROBLEM OF CHINA, Century Company, New York, 1922. This brilliantly written but gloomy interpretation by a prominent English philosopher attracted much attention when it appeared, and ought to be read though its conclusions seem unnecessarily pessimistic. It is interesting to note that the attack made by Russell and other Western writers on the "materialistic" civilisation of the West and on the malignant effects of "materialism" on the civilisation of China, has met a vigorous rebuttal in the writings of some of the intellectual leaders of modern China. An outstanding example of this is seen in a remarkable article written by Dr. Hu Shih and entitled "Two Wings of One Bird." An English translation of it appeared in *The Contemporary Review* (China), No. 83, and is reprinted in *Pacific Affairs* for May, 1928. Amplification of Dr. Hu's idea is found in his chapter on "The Civilizations of East and West" contributed to Beard: WHITHER MANKIND, Longmans Green, New York, 1928. An indispensable book for anyone wishing to see the whole of the picture and not merely certain parts of it has just

appeared and is reviewed in this issue of *Pacific Affairs*. It is by T'ang Leang-li: Foundations of Modern China, Noel Douglas, London, 1928. Written by a thoroughly grounded Chinese scholar, it gives the necessary critical, rather than encyclopedic, review of China's past which has largely predetermined her present. A fuller study of the literature available on the cultural background of China will be reserved for a later bibliography.

The Nationalist Movement

The story of the Nationalist Movement is practically the internal history of China for the past 25 years, but it is sufficient here to consider the movement as beginning during the period of the Great War, and it is chiefly in this last decade that the Nationalist ideal has become articulate and conscious of itself. The roots from which the movement springs, however, go back to the first years of the century, and it is necessary to know something of them. The importance of Dr. Sun Yat-sen's teachings and writings is supreme in Nationalist China. His famous "Three Principles" and his schemes for the industrial development of China have been taken as the guiding principles of the present Chinese government. Dr. Sun's writings are now widely available. The essential book to read is his "Three Principles of the People" (San Min Chu I). This has been translated into English by the China Committee of the Institute of Pacific Relations, and was published by them at Shanghai in 1927. Dr. Sun himself published some of his books in English, among them being his developmental projects for China: The International Development of China, Putnam's Sons, New York, 1922, and his interesting Memoirs of a Chinese Revolutionary, Hutchinson, London, 1918.

A valuable article which traces the progress of the movement from its origins and discusses in detail the evolution of the Kuomintang, is printed in the final chapter of the China Year Book, 1928 under the heading "The Kuomintang." The author, G. E. Sokolsky, has carried the story up to the time of October, 1927. It is probably the best summarised account available on the Nationalist party. For a fuller and more intimate account of the party it is best to read a new book by Woo: The Kuomintang and the Future of the Chinese Republic, Allen & Unwin, London, 1928. In it is contained an excellent history of the party up to 1927, a chapter on its fundamental principles and organisation, and a study of its relations with the Communist party, with Soviet Russia, and with the labour and peasant movements. It is an interesting book that should certainly be read. Another noteworthy book of Chinese authorship is T'ang Leang-li: China in Revolt, Noel Douglas, London, 1927, which gives a forceful exposition and clear analysis of the movement. It is a useful piece of work by one sufficiently removed from the struggle to have the necessary perspective yet close enough to be authoritative. A shorter survey of the rise of the Kuomintang since 1911, published in *Information Service* for June 22, 1928, will also be found valuable for its concise presentation.

Pamphlets and articles on the Nationalist movement and on modern China are plentiful. The *China Weekly Review* devoted a special number (October 29, 1927) to this subject and to the Shanghai problems. It contains a number of significant articles by Chinese author-

ities, while an earlier number for October 13 has two notable articles, one "The Re-organisation of the Kuomintang" and the other "China in 1928—A Bird's Eye View," the latter being a reprint of an article in the *Round Table* (London) for September, 1928. Other articles of note in the *Round Table* will be found in the numbers for September of 1923 and 1925, for March and June of 1927 and for June, 1928. A collection of articles and notes on many phases of new China forms the major part of a special number of *Current History* (New York) for June, 1927. The first article on "The Progress of Events" by Quincy Wright and the second on "The Growth of Nationalism" by Yang Kuang-sheng are of most importance. The Kuomintang Students' League of New York has issued a pamphlet entitled PROGRAM FOR THE RECONSTRUCTION OF CHINA, International House, New York, 1925, while the Canton branch of the Nationalist party has brought out a useful collection of semi-official documents and speeches in a pamphlet NATIONALIST CHINA, Kuomintang Central Political Council, Canton, 1927. A short paper was prepared for the 1927 Conference of the Institute by M. J. Bau: CHINESE NATIONALISM. It is included as a chapter in his book, CHINA AND THE WORLD PEACE.

For an accurate and more connected history of China since 1919 than is given in the books already noted here, a convenient series of works are the five annual volumes of the SURVEY OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, Oxford University Press, London. These have been cited already in the previous bibliography. The first volume (1920-1923) contains a section on the status of China before and after the Washington Conference. Part III of the second volume for 1925 includes a brief history of China from 1920 to 1925, an account which is continued in greater elaboration in the volume for 1926. Though this survey deals primarily with the international aspects of Chinese affairs, it will be found that the sections on this recent history is a very clear presentation of a tangled series of events. This is specially true of the 1926 volume, where the course of the war is treated as centering round three "vortices" at Peking, at Canton and in the Yangtze valley. Similarly Hornbeck: CHINA TODAY—POLITICAL, World Peace Foundation, Vol. X, No. 5, 1927, though mainly devoted to the problems of international relations, gives a short graphic account of the revolution and the Nationalist movement. A book that is of greater value and range than its title would suggest is Chapman: THE CHINESE REVOLUTION, 1926-1927, Constable & Co., London, 1928. It is described as a record of the period under Communist control as seen from the Nationalist capital at Hankow, but in addition to giving the history of these two momentous years in the revolution it devotes special attention to elucidating the part played by the Communist factor in the movement, and analyses the "foreign factors" and "ultimate factors" underlying the events. It is generally sympathetic in tone.

PRESENT-DAY PROBLEMS

With the advent of a settled government in China many of the long-standing issues either have been settled or are in a fair way towards settlement. Some of the questions discussed here have therefore passed out of the field of "problems" and have become accepted facts. China now possesses tariff autonomy; some of the former concession areas have been restored to Chinese administration; and a

number of new treaties have been concluded on a basis of thorough equality. In consequence a great amount of literature on these formerly crucial topics has become almost obsolete.

The issue of extraterritorial rights in China still bulks large, however. Literature on the subject abounds and the following books are a very few selected from the large reading list prepared on the question by the Carnegie Endowment Library (Washington, February 11, 1927). A very necessary document is the official REPORT OF THE COMMISSION ON EXTRATERRITORIALITY, Government Printing Office, Washington, 1926, also printed as a British White Paper, Cmd 2774, 1926. It should be studied thoroughly, as future changes will possibly be influenced by some of its recommendations. The past eight numbers of the CHINA YEAR BOOK contain important articles on extraterritoriality along with valuable collections of public documents on new laws and new codes in the Chinese judicial administration. Out of the many books that discuss the subject it is best to begin with the new edition of Professor Willoughby's FOREIGN RIGHTS AND INTERESTS IN CHINA, 2 vols., Johns Hopkins Press, Baltimore, 1927. One need read only the first part of volume II. A more complete and up-to-date work devoted to the study of extraterritoriality in China and to the development of the Chinese judicial system is Keeton: THE DEVELOPMENT OF EXTRATERRITORIALITY IN CHINA, 2 vols, Longmans Green, London, 1928, a book which apparently succeeds in being both thorough and readable. A lengthy study from the French point of view is that made by a French consul in China, De Morant: EXTRATERRITORIALITÉ ET INTERÉTS ETRANGÈRS EN CHINE, Geuthner, Paris, 1925. Two books that deal in great detail and in rather unpalatable form with the history and application of extraterritorial privileges in other countries as well as in China, are Shih Shun Liu: EXTRATERRITORIALITY—ITS RISE AND DECLINE, Columbia University, Longmans Green, New York, 1925, and Hayking: L'EXTRATERRITORIALITÉ, Rousseau & Cie., Paris, 1926.

As representative of or in sympathy with the Chinese point of view one may suggest Bau's books, especially THE OPEN DOOR DOCTRINE IN RELATION TO CHINA, Macmillan, New York, 1923, and CHINA AND WORLD PEACE, Revell, New York, 1928, or the second section of Millard: CHINA—WHERE IT IS TODAY AND WHY, Harcourt Brace & Co., New York, 1928. The other side of the case is put forward in such books as Woodhead: THE TRUTH ABOUT THE CHINESE REPUBLIC, Hurst & Blackett, London, 1925, or in the lectures delivered to the Harris Foundation by the same author and printed in OCCIDENTAL INTERPRETATIONS OF THE FAR EASTERN PROBLEM, Chicago University Press, Chicago, 1926.

It is advisable to read a little of the immense quantity of periodical and pamphlet material on this topic. One of the Institute's early publications is an excellent study by Rich: EXTRATERRITORIALITY AND TARIFF AUTONOMY IN CHINA, Institute of Pacific Relations, Shanghai, 1925; and another useful account written about the same time is published in *Information Service*, No. 6, December 18, 1925, under the title "Extraterritoriality in China." The following are articles of considerable importance that ought not to be passed over. In the *American Journal of International Law* for January, 1922, is an article by Williams, "Protection of American Citizens in China," and for April, 1926, another by Bishop, "American Extraterritoriality Jurisdiction in

China." The British Year Book of International Law for 1926 has an article on the matter by Thornely, "Extraterritoriality" (page 121). Schurman, "Extraterritoriality and Its Gradual Relinquishment" is printed in the *China Law Review* of April, 1925, and Padoux, "Extraterritoriality and Tariff Autonomy" in the *Chinese Social and Political Science Review* for April, 1925. Articles that are mainly favourable to the Chinese point of view are:

Tyau: "Extraterritoriality in China and the Question of its Abolition," *British Year Book of International Law,* 1921, (page 133).

Quigley: "Extraterritoriality in China," *American Journal of International Law,* January, 1926.

N. Wing Mah: "Foreign Jurisdiction in China," *American Journal of International Law,* October, 1924.

Lo: "Extraterritoriality in China," *Chinese Social and Political Science Review,* April, 1925.

Tan, Wang and Huang: "Extraterritoriality in China," *Chinese Students' Monthly,* September, 1925.

Some of the articles that are unsympathetic in tone are:

Denby: "Extraterritoriality in China," *American Journal of International Law,* October, 1924.

Chirgwin: "Extraterritoriality in China," *Quarterly Review* (London), July, 1926.

Loring: "American Extraterritoriality in China," *Minnesota Law Review,* April, 1926.

Woodhead: "Extraterritoriality in China," *Central Asian Society Journal,* 13, pt. 1, 1926.

These references are far from covering the whole of the material available in periodicals, but they present some idea of the variety of opinions that are held on this critical issue. For further reading, the files of the periodicals already noted are the best sources.

The best treatment of the problems of the concession areas and settlements in China is contained in Chapter VII of Bau's book on China and World Peace, but Willoughby in Chapters XVII to XXI of his Foreign Rights and Interests in China gives a fuller description of the condition that obtained in each of the principal concession areas. Morse does likewise in Chapter VIII of his well-known Trade and Administration of China, Kelly & Welsh, Shanghai, 1921. The great importance of Shanghai in China's international relations as well as the unusual conditions attaching to the administration of its foreign settlements, make it necessary to pursue a somewhat more detailed study of this unique international centre. There are few modern books on China that do not make some pronouncement on the conditions under which the Shanghai settlements are governed. A good example of such popular statements is to be seen on page 242 of Millard's China—Where It Is Today and Why, in which the author under the heading "Citadels of Standpatism" gives a striking picture of the foreign settlements in Shanghai and also of the Peking Legation Quarter. A similar description is to be found in an article by Davis, "Shanghai—A City Ruled by Five Nations," in the August number of *Current History,* 1926. For the more serious study which this question warrants, it is better to read two larger works by Kotenev: Shanghai—Its Mixed Court and Council, and Shanghai—Its Municipality and the Chinese. Both books were published by the *North China*

Herald, Shanghai, in 1925 and 1927 respectively. A standard work to consult for the history of the development of the city is Lanning and Couling: THE HISTORY OF SHANGHAI, Kelly & Walsh, Shanghai, 1921. A second volume to this book written by Couling appeared in 1923. An older and well-known book is Jesus: HISTORIC SHANGHAI, Shanghai Mercury Press, 1909. For current opinion on the settlements in Shanghai it is worth while to consult the files of the *China Weekly Review.* The number for November 24, 1928, has a very good article by Tsen-kwan Shen, "Shanghai—Its Territorial and Constitutional Problems," which includes a critical discussion on some features of the city land tenure system. The already cited New China Edition of this journal contains a special article on "The Shanghai Provisional Court —Its Past, Present and Future" (page 162).

Undoubtedly one of the most interesting phases of the concession problem is the administration of the former concession areas now returned to Chinese control or to combined Chinese and foreign control. A convenient summary of this question together with lists of the concessions restored or still outstanding is made in Bau's paper "Concessions and Settlements and their Transference to Chinese Rule" which is included in PROBLEMS OF THE PACIFIC on page 257. The restoration in February, 1927, of the former British concessions at Kiukiang and Hankow to the Chinese provides a useful example for the study of this problem. A recently published pamphlet on this is Condliffe: THE NEW ORDER IN CHINA, Royal Institute of International Affairs, London, 1928. It relates the Chen-O'Malley agreement to a place in the development of the Nationalist movement, and gives consideration to both political and economic trends of the time. The official documents of the restoration agreement are printed in a British White Paper: CHINA, No. 3, 1927, Cmd 2869; while the CHINA YEAR BOOK, 1928, has part of the 17th chapter devoted to the negotiations and the subsequent developments. The administrative machinery which has been devised for the government of such former concessions as the German, Russian and British areas is described in special pamphlets on that subject issued by the Hankow municipal authorities. For a good expression of the foreign "die-hard" attitude on the questions of concessions and treaty revision, one should consult a special publication put out by the *North China Herald* in April, 1927, and entitled CHINA IN CHAOS.

With the promulgation of a long series of new treaties of amity and commerce between China and many of the Western and American nations, most of the literature on the once vexed question of treaty revision becomes practically irrelevant. The essential information now is simply the terms and significance of these treaties. For the complete list of agreements it will be necessary to consult the official despatches of the Kuo Min News Agency, but most of the leading Chinese and English newspapers published either summaries or the full texts of the treaties as they were concluded. The public documents supplement of the *Chinese Social and Political Science Review* is a valuable source for all important diplomatic documents such as these, and best of all is the pamphlet 1928 TREATIES just issued by the *Peking Leader* press in which the complete series of new treaties is brought together in convenient form. The outstanding thing about the new treaties was the fact that they were consummated on a perfectly "equal" basis, and

many of them included an agreement for the abolition of extraterritorial privileges. The best historical sketch of the problem of treaty revision, apart from such standard books as Willoughby's and Bau's, is to be found in *Information Service* for September 28, 1928, where the story is traced through up to the time the present Chinese Government was established.

Partly as the result of these new treaties and partly as the result of the recommendations of the unfinished Tariff Conference, China since February 1 of this year has possessed and exercised full tariff autonomy. The principal information to be studied is therefore not the old "problem" relating to the granting of autonomy but simply the terms and effects of the tariff schedule now being enforced. Here again the files of the newspapers are the best source. Such papers as the *North China Herald,* the *Japan Chronicle,* the *Trans-Pacific,* the *Manchester Guardian Weekly* all gave condensed reviews of the rates and scope of the new tariff at the time when it was first made public (about December 15, 1928).

International Relations

The distinction between internal and international politics has long been regarded as difficult and unsatisfactory when applied to China. Professor Toynbee points out in his Survey of International Affairs, 1925, that the internal condition of China has been in itself an international affair. The difficulty of making the distinction is evident in compiling this reading guide, and so far as it is made it is merely for the purpose of grouping similar books together. It will be seen that much of the material dealt with already is largely concerned with problems that are inherently international in nature. The references contained in this section differ only in that they treat the problems of China more frankly or more emphatically from the international standpoint.

Apart from such important works as the annual "Surveys" made for the Royal Institute of International Affairs, London, and Hornbeck's pamphlet, China Today, Political, both of which have been noted above, there are a few very notable expositions of China's international relations. Probably the best short historical view of them is Sir Frederick Whyte's able memorandum written for the last Conference of the Institute: China and Foreign Powers, Oxford University Press, London, 1927. It is an excellent study which now requires naturally to be supplemented by other reading to bring the story of events up to the present time. This is also true of Quigley's valuable article and syllabus that make up an International Conciliation pamphlet: Chinese Politics and Foreign Powers, No. 229, February, 1929. Despite this limitation, however, these two studies will repay careful reading. The classic work on the subject is Morse's monumental survey: The International Relations of the Chinese Empire, 3 vols., Longmans, London. The last volume published in 1918 completes the series, covering the whole period 1834-1911. A shorter and more generally suitable book for the needs of this article is Shuhsi Hsu: China and Her Political Entity, Oxford University Press, New York, 1926—a work that is good both for its section on ancient Chinese foreign relations and for its thorough and reliable portrayal of the modern period, particularly in regard to Manchurian affairs. Hsia: Studies in Chinese

DIPLOMATIC HISTORY, Commercial Press, Shanghai, 1925, is another book of importance though it deals mainly with special problems such as have already been reviewed in the foregoing part of this bibliography.

Two books of less value for their treatment of diplomatic history but significant for their dispassionate presentation of a fairly conservative British view, are Soothill's CHINA AND ENGLAND, Oxford University Press, New York, 1928, and the earlier CHINA AND THE WEST, Oxford University Press, London, 1925. The latter half of the first book veers over to a discussion of extraterritoriality and Dr. Sun's teachings, conducted often in rather critical spirit and missing much of the truth hidden beneath the economic fallacies of those teachings. Norton's CHINA AND THE POWERS, John Day, New York, 1927, includes a number of chapters on China's international relations, but its scope is greater than its title suggests, dealing as it does with foreign rights and privileges, the Chinese renaissance, the social structure and modern social problems of China. The tone is generally fair and dispassionate, and the book has the advantage of being written in a good, even vivid, style, which makes it fruitful and enjoyable reading. The lectures on the Far East printed for the Harris Foundation contain chapters that may profitably be read, namely Kuo's lectures on China in the second half of ORIENTAL INTERPRETATIONS OF THE FAR EASTERN PROBLEM, Chicago University Press, Chicago, 1925, and as a foil for it, Woodhead's lectures in OCCIDENTAL INTERPRETATIONS OF THE FAR EASTERN PROBLEM, Chicago, 1926.

In making a selection from the mass of literature available in the form of official documents and pamphlets one should not omit the British Parliamentary Papers in the "China" series, some of which have been quoted here. Then again there are problems relating to the settlement of such "incidents" as that at Nanking in 1927 and at Tsinan in 1928, where as yet the only easily available information is in the newspaper files. The story of the negotiations for the settlement of the Nanking affair by the United States is related in the *China Weekly Review* for April 11, 1928. The text of the British settlement is given in the *Peking Leader* and the *China Press* for August 14, 1928, and in Japanese and Western papers of that date or thereabouts, while the French agreement appears in the *Canton Gazette* for October 31, 1928. The Far Eastern papers for February 29 of this year and thereafter contained the report of the agreement reached over the Tsinan affair, though the findings of the Commission of Investigation are not yet available.

A good article on a phase of China's international relations that will likely be of greater moment in the future is Wang Tsao-shih's "China and the League of Nations," published in the *Chinese Social and Political Science Review* of October, 1928; and *Headway,* the organ of the British League of Nations Union, contains a statement on "The League in China" in the March issue of this year. "China at Geneva" is the subject of another article in the *China Weekly Review* for December 1, 1928. There is a pretty steady output of articles and editorials on the vexed question of Sino-Japanese relations, especially in the Chinese papers. Any of the leading Eastern journals will provide ample reading on this. To select particular examples is hardly profitable, but in Occidental papers one may mention an article by Millard, "China and Japan in 1928," which appeared in the *Nation* (New York) for

December 5, 1928, and an editorial in the *Bulletin of International News* (London) for December 22, on the subject of "Great Britain, Japan and China."

The best recent discussion of American relations with China is contained in Part II of the *Annals* of the American Academy of Political Science for July, 1928. It consists of three excellent articles by well-known American authorities, Hornbeck on "China and American Foreign Policy," Strawn on "American Policy in China" and Blakeslee on "Outstanding Facts in the Existing Situation in China."

Manchuria

The political and economic problems of China's three Eastern provinces are perhaps the best illustration one could have of the difficulty both of separating China's home affairs from international relations and of distinguishing between political and non-political issues. These issues and sources of conflict have been briefly and vividly described in an article which appeared in the March number of this journal. There the writer fittingly described the Manchurian situation as "a perfect illustration of the conflict that arises when economic development crosses political boundaries." Because of the intense and widespread concern that is manifested at the present time over the situation in question, the reading matter listed below has been made rather more comprehensive than the other sections of this bibliography and a number of references are admitted on subjects that do not appear mainly political in nature. It is of some interest to learn that a complete bibliography on this subject is at present being compiled by a group at the Nankai University in Tientsin, to be made available before the Kyoto Conference meets, and that a research group of students under Professor Hsu of Yenching University are preparing an important series of studies on the major problems of Manchuria.

A very convenient book to read for an introductory survey of the issues involved—a book which is none the less useful for the considerable criticism which it has encountered—is Clyde: International Rivalries in Manchuria, Ohio State University, Columbus, 1928 (2nd Ed.). For all its small bulk it gives a good history of Manchuria from as far back as 1689 down to the conclusion of the Washington Conference, has a section on geographical and economic conditions, a chapter on the railway problems and a chapter (which excited most of the hostile criticism) on the American open-door policy in Manchuria. It has the further advantage of possessing a full bibliography—probably the most serviceable one available on Manchuria—and of being well documented throughout. It is important to know something of the physical and economic factors that underlie many of the political conflicts over these provinces, and for this purpose one may consult a substantial book by Adachi: Manchuria—A Survey, McBride, New York, 1925, which will be found informative as well as interesting reading. A great part of it is descriptive of the economic development and potentialities of the country, but three of the earlier chapters treat of the political and historical factors. Its graphic, forceful style should be a recommendation to many readers. The author describes the country in his preface as "not a melting pot of races but a crucible of economic theories" and prophesies that the future captains of Japanese industry are coming out of Manchuria. It should be noted that the book is written by a Jap-

anese for an American public with the object of bringing Manchuria vividly before the eyes of American readers. Similar to it but addressing itself mainly to the conditions of North Manchuria is the large illustrated economic and commercial survey put out by the Chinese Eastern Railway and entitled NORTH MANCHURIA AND THE CHINESE EASTERN RAILWAY, C. E. R. Printing Office, Harbin, 1924. Most of this book is written by Russian economists working on data collected by the economic bureau of the Railway, and it provides a comprehensive survey of the economic life of this northern region, completely avoiding all political questions. Hoshino: ECONOMIC HISTORY OF MANCHURIA, Seoul, 1920, published for the Bank of Chosen, also covers the ground of these first two books in briefer compass.

The South Manchuria Railway Company has published an excellent little handbook that presents a useful amount of information (mainly descriptive and economic) in a small space: MANCHURIA—LAND OF OPPORTUNITIES, S. M. R. New York, 1924; and one of the publicity agents of the company, a well-known journalist, has written a short book, Kinney: MODERN MANCHURIA, S. M. R. Dairen, 1928, which gives a fair idea of the political factors along with a valuable first chapter on the outstanding events of 1927. Both of these books are attractively illustrated. Of the small handbooks published under the direction of the British Foreign Office, number 69 on MANCHURIA, H. M. Stationery Office, London, 1920, will be found useful for its summary of the pre-war history and politics and for its short economic review.

Reverting now to the books dealing more particularly with the diplomatic problems of Manchuria, one should note for a beginning Shuhsi Hsu: CHINA AND HER POLITICAL ENTITY, Oxford University Press, New York, 1926. The last three chapters are most relevant and treat the subject very thoroughly, bringing the story down to the year 1924. It is written frankly from the Chinese point of view though it does not suffer from that fact. "Manchuria," says the author, "has in the past repeatedly served as a base for hostile descents upon China, and also forms today the only outlet for the surplus of the Chinese millions of the North. If Korea is but a limb of the Chinese political entity, Manchuria is easily as vital as the throat. To compromise with Japan upon Manchuria would be equivalent to letting China remain in the death embrace of her neighbor." Books already cited such as Willoughby's and Bau's, and Hornbeck: CONTEMPORARY POLITICS IN THE FAR EAST, Appleton, New York, 1916, are also worth consulting for their references to Manchurian issues.

For an expression of the Japanese attitude to the situation, three of Kawakami's books, namely JAPAN IN WORLD POLITICS, New York, 1917, and JAPAN'S PACIFIC POLICY, New York, 1922, and the earlier volume on AMERICAN-JAPANESE RELATIONS, Revell, New York, 1912, will be found helpful. A recent book by Brown: JAPAN IN THE WORLD TODAY, Revell, New York, 1928, contains a certain amount of useful material notably in Chapter X on Manchuria. The influence of Russia in Chinese foreign relations especially in connection with these provinces is expounded in Weigh's RUSSO-CHINESE DIPLOMACY, Commercial Press, Shanghai, 1928. This study by a former member of the foreign affairs department of the Chinese Nationalist Government is specially valuable for its treatment of Russian relations from the beginning of the Soviet

regime, and of the negotiations concerning the Chinese Eastern Railway.

It is most desirable that a goodly number of recent articles and pamphlets should be read in order to obtain an adequate idea of the present problems and conditions of Manchuria. Many of these articles are more essential to the understanding of the present situation than the books on the question. In addition to the literature cited here, a wealth of references will be found in the bibliography to Clyde's book and in the last few numbers of *Pacific Affairs* under the heading "In the Magazines." Readers who can do so are advised to refer to both of these sources. A prominent writer who has contributed much to the modern literature on Manchuria is Mr. C. Walter Young, who wrote "Sino-Japanese Interests and Issues in Manchuria" printed in the December number of this journal. Two other striking articles from his pen are published in *Pan-Pacific Progress* for December, 1927, a special Manchuria number which should be read through for the sake of its other excellent articles on such subjects as railway developments, ports, trade and immigration. The *Chinese Economic Journal* for July, 1927, has a report made by Mr. Young for the Chinese Government on "Chinese Labor Migration to Manchuria" and the April number of that year includes his article on "The Economic Basis for New Railways in Manchuria." On the subject of that extraordinary influx of Chinese people into the eastern provinces, this writer has contributed two other articles, one to *Current History* for July, 1928, and another series on "Chinese Colonisation in Manchuria" to the *Far Eastern Review,* Shanghai, for June and July, 1928. Still other articles on this great migration are Mallory's "Northern Migration of the Chinese," in *Foreign Affairs* for October, 1928, and Gilbert's "The Great Manchuria Migration" in *Travel* for December, 1928. For most of the recent literature on the economic aspects of Manchurian affairs the *Chinese Economic Journal* is indispensable. The files of this for the last three years contain a wealth of authoritative articles.

For light on the more purely political phases of the situation, an article in the April number of *Foreign Affairs* for 1928 by Kawakami, "Manchuria, The Crux of Chino-Japanese Relations" will be found helpful for its statement of the Japanese view. This applies equally to a statement of the Japanese Premier on "Japanese Policy in Manchuria" printed in *Information Service,* Vol. 3, No. 16, 1927. An outstanding expression of the Japanese attitude by a great authority in Japan is an address given by Motosado Zumoto at the Seattle Institute of International Relations in July, 1928. It is available in pamphlet form as Japan in Manchuria, Herald of Asia Press, Tokyo, 1928. A companion article to it is Saito's address on "Japan's Manchurian Policy" delivered to the Williamstown Institute of Politics last year. As illustrative of the Chinese feeling on the question there are literally dozens of articles to be seen in a single paper such as the *China Weekly Review* for these last two years, and more recently in the *China Critic.*

Further notable articles by outside observers are: "Manchuria—A Drama in Railways and Politics," which is a first-class statement of the issues involved, in the *Round Table* for March, 1928; "Manchuria and Its Problems" in the *Living Age* for April 1, 1928; and Clyde (the author of the first book listed in this section), "Manchuria—No Man's Land of Asia" in the *Survey* for July 1, 1928.

Pacific Items

Troubles in China

As stated amongst the Pacific Items in the April issue of this journal, the long-heralded third National Congress of the Kuomintang took place during the last two weeks of March, under exceptional difficulties and amidst the smoke of open revolt. Chefoo, a Shantung port city on the Gulf of Chihli, had been taken by the bandit-general, Chang Tsung-chang, reappearing suddenly from his exile in Dairen. This necessitated Nationalist armies taking the field against the invaders and the re-subjection of the already war-torn province of Shantung to renewed military activities. Chang Tsung-chang during the succeeding month was prevented from making further progress in Shantung, and on April 23 was driven from the Province.

Early in March in another area a different type of revolt, more closely allied with the recent political developments within the National Government, made its appearance in the Wuhan area, up-river from Nanking. The threatening aspect of this disturbance had led many observers in China seriously to doubt the ability of the Kuomintang to convene its scheduled congress. Reports stated that there was widespread dissatisfaction over the method of selecting delegates who were to attend this party congress, and many predictions of complete rupture amongst National Government officials and army leaders were freely made. Of this period the *Peking Leader* said: "The wildest rumors are being sent out as news dispatches. One day, a usually reputable agency will have General Feng allied with General Chiang, the next day the opposite. Any combination, if unusual or threatening, is foundation for a dispatch, if somebody can be found to start the rumor. The 'news' dispatches invariably give no source for their scare stories." There was an equal number of "stories" and cable dispatches attributing the source of the difficulties to "red" or "communist" uprising.

In explanation of the Wuhan trouble, the Kuo Min News Agency through its daily dispatches has narrated the rebellious activities of a small group of reactionary military leaders. This group, often referred to as the "Kwangsi clique," none of whom had ever been more than nominally associated with the Nanking regime, were believed to have become disgruntled over the disbandment program of the National Government and its efforts at re-apportionment of military strength. The dismissal by the central political council at Nanking of three members of this "clique," namely, General Li Tsung-jen, chairman of the divisional political council at Hankow, General Pei Tsung-hsi, commander of the forces at Peking, and General Li Chi-sen, chairman of the divisional political council at Canton, in March, was the immediate occasion for the active revolt on the upper Yangtze. Defiance of this Government order at Hankow necessitated the adjournment of the National Congress at Nanking, in order that General Chiang Kai-sek might personally take the field against the "rebels." By April 6 news dispatches announced that the Government army was in complete control at Hankow.

Whether this is a minor disturbance over which the Nanking Government has permanently triumphed, as some observers are inclined to believe, or whether it is evidence of a more fundamental disunity and

the forerunner of more serious revolt, possibly to become complicated by dissatisfied peasant and labor movements, it is difficult at this juncture to foretell. In this latter connection it is significant to note that an Associated Press dispatch of April 12, from Canton, announced the wholesale execution by machine guns of over a thousand "radical agitators," including a number of students of the National Sun Yat-sen University. Whether the so-called "radicals" are being used as trouble makers by the revolting reactionary leaders, or whether the movement represents a spontaneous dissatisfaction, is an open question.

Whatever the answer to this question, it is an obvious fact that in so quickly suppressing this first major revolt against its control the National Government has achieved a notable victory and exhibited a strength and authority unique in fifteen years of revolution.

Sino-Japanese Relations

With the signing on March 28 of the settlement agreed to by Japan and China, relating to the Tsinan Incident of a year ago, it was hoped that Sino-Japanese relations would immediately assume a more hopeful tone. While, as indicated elsewhere in this issue of *Pacific Affairs,* the Japanese press was largely jubilant over the settling of the long-outstanding difficulty, public and governmental censure for Premier Tanaka over the details of settlement has been severe. The resulting reaction upon Japan's China policy cannot now be foreseen. There have been dispatches rumoring the imminent formal recognition of the Chinese National Government by Japan, dispatches announcing the immediate withdrawal of Japan's Shantung forces, others alleging that the Chinese "begged Japan not to quit Shantung" while revolt was still in progress in that province, rumors that Premier Tanaka was retiring, reports that his position was stronger than ever, etc. A Tokyo dispatch of April 2 announced the resumption of conversations between Foreign Minister C. T. Wang and K. Yoshizawa, Minister to China, relative, among other items, to China's abrogation of the old Sino-Japanese treaty of commerce and navigation over which Japan made such vigorous protest in July, 1928.

An April 16 Nippon Dempo radio from Tokyo reports the announcement by Minister Yoshizawa to his Foreign Office of provisional agreements regarding Japan's claims in the Nanking incident of two years ago and in the more recent Hankow difficulties. Negotiations are proceeding on the larger issue of treaty abrogation.

Sir Frederick Whyte's Appointment

The Kuo Min News Agency and other bureaus of information in China have confirmed the appointment of Sir Frederick Whyte as Advisor to the National Government of China, as noted in the last issue of *Pacific Affairs.* In his acceptance, which was published in the *North China Herald* of March 16, Sir Frederick made the stipulation that no salary should attach to his tenure of office as Senior Advisor. Sir Frederick announces his intention of remaining permanently in China for the duration of his service. He said: "To be Honorary Political Counsellor of the Government of the Republic of China is for me no empty title, and I accept the duties of the position as well as its honour."

Sino-American Nanking Settlement

On March 12 the Sino-American Joint Commission for adjudication of claims arising out of the Nanking Incident, held its final meeting, after which a signed and sealed report of the commission was submitted to the National Government of China and the American Government. This final decision on claims assessed closes the Nanking Incident so far as America and China are concerned. Official amounts in connection with this agreement have not been made public.

Sino-Australian Proposals

According to the Kuo Min News Agency for March 14, an interesting series of proposals was submitted to the Kuomintang National Congress by overseas delegates from Australia. Among these were: "(1) That a treaty of commerce be concluded with the Australian Government; (2) that negotiations be entered into with the Australian Government for the removal of discriminatory measures against Chinese nationals in Australia; (3) that additional Chinese Consulates be established in Australia."

Immigration Into Manchuria

A news dispatch from Harbin, appearing in the *North China Herald* for March 16, states that the Chinese Eastern Railway is making preparations to transport an unusually large influx of Chinese settlers into Manchuria this spring. Upwards of 800,000 immigrants are expected during 1929, officials of the Railway estimate. The renewed warfare in Shantung during March and April, instigated by the return of the ousted bandit-general Chang Tsung-chang, is estimated as a tremendous factor in stimulating immigration out of that troubled and already famine-stricken province. The Railway officials also anticipate they will be faced with the problem of transporting a considerable proportion of older Manchurian settlers back into their native districts as conditions in China proper become more settled.

The Chinese Newspaper Ban

In connection with the recent denial of the China mails to a Tientsin American-owned newspaper, which incident drew considerable international attention, the Publicity Department of the Central Government has made the following statement in justification of its action:

"Although China is now unified under one Government, rumours are constantly circulated by sinister interests to undermine the authority of the present regime. At the present time communist and reactionary elements are using every means to discredit the National Government by misleading the public into thinking that various generals are clashing with each other, that the present government is disintegrating, etc.

"We have every legal right to ban newspapers which circulate false rumours calculated to do injury to the National Government. In order to clarify the minds of those who believe that there is no provision for debarring newspapers from the mails, it must be pointed out that according to the Postal Guide as far back as 1926, in chapter VI, section 17, a sub-section (No. 5) states explicitly that 'it is forbidden to send by post any publication declared by the Government to be of a seditious nature.'"

The *North China Star,* which suffered temporary denial of the mails, claims that the decision was arbitrary, without warning, and without cause under the provocations cited above.

The McGill Chinese Library

The Chinese Research Library at McGill University, known as the Gest Library, has acquired a literary treasure from the Orient, a first edition of the oldest printed Chinese encyclopedia, a work of 5,000 volumes with 20 volumes of index. This work is estimated to contain three or four times as much as the eleventh edition of the Encyclopedia Britannica. It was obtained from a private collector in Peking. The only other copy of the original edition, outside of China, is in the possession of the British Museum. It is said that the compilation of the Encyclopedia began in 1686 and extended through forty years. There was a second edition in 1862. It was the first Chinese encyclopedia printed from movable copper type.

Orientals in Canada

The third National Congress of the Kuomintang, sitting in Nanking during the last two weeks of March, considered the question of "the amelioration of the position of Chinese residents in Canada." The matter was brought to the attention of the congress by the overseas delegates from Canada, who stressed what they considered the injustice of the present Canadian immigration law as it affects Chinese, and who urged that Dr. C. T. Wang, Minister of Foreign Affairs, take steps to conclude a treaty which would operate as does the "gentleman's agreement," now existing between Canada and Japan. At this juncture Dr. Wang made the announcement that the Consulate-General at Ottawa would shortly be elevated to the status of a Legation, and that it was his hope that the new Chinese Minister to Canada would be in a position to improve the status of overseas Chinese in that Dominion.

A recent news dispatch from Victoria, B. C., to the *Christian Science Monitor,* relates the various proposals being considered by a committee of the British Columbia legislature, which was investigating the question of Oriental "intrusion" into Canadian industries. Former Attorney-General Manson explained to the committee that the Province had previously attempted to drive Chinese and Japanese workers out of industry, only to find them settling on the land. Canadian farmers in turn have tried to prevent Orientals from securing land, without success. According to Canadian treaties with Japan, the legal prohibition of land-holding is impossible. It is interesting to note that one of the proposals made by Canadian workers is that of drawing Japanese workers into the Canadian labor unions, thus forcing the Japanese to compete on the Canadian wage standard. This is considered a practicable plan by which Anglo-Saxon workers in Canada can more successfully compete with Japanese labor and by which "the inroads of Oriental workers into Dominion industries may be halted."

Buddhist Contact Tour

An interesting plan for the establishment of a new modern culture by a "sympathetic fusion of the best elements in world religions" has been evolved out of the recent world tour of one of China's most

distinguished Buddhist monks, the Reverend Tai Hsü. Rev. Tai Hsü is just completing a journey through Europe and America, where he has studied world conditions and the effects of the great war and where he has, in all the larger centers of civilization, met with interested groups endeavoring to see the possibilities for bringing about a better mutual appreciation of Western and Eastern cultures, a harmony of which is essential, he believes, to any modern world movement. The monk has drawn plans for the establishment of an international Buddhist institute through which the true elements of Buddhism may be made known to interested students all over the world, in exchange for the principles of Christianity which have already been brought into the Eastern hemisphere. Buddhism, he says, has been a radiating center for the ancient arts and sciences of the Orient; it has been the molder of the Orient of today, and an understanding of the core of its teaching is essential to an understanding of the modern Orient with which the Western world is now finding it necessary to coöperate. It has been a part of the Eastern scholar's effort to introduce into the university curricula of the world more comprehensive courses in ancient civilizations and religions—which he considers will be the best introduction to a universal will to permanent peace. As an exponent of what he terms the "Buddhist renaissance" in China, he explains the essential difference between the old and new Buddihsm as a difference in emphasis. The new emphasis, he says, is upon personal contact as a basis for the relationship between self and society and a means to the service of others. The old emphasis, upon negation, upon contemplation and self culture, is, he believes, uncongenial to the true essence of Buddhism. The Rev. Tai Hsü spoke to a group in Honolulu, on April 12, through the interpretative offices of Professor Shao-chang Lee of the University of Hawaii.

Japanese-American Lumber Tariffs

On April 2 the Japanese Foreign Office issued a statement clearing the lumber tariff situation, on which American lumber men had complained to their State Department. The Japanese Foreign Office announced that "no tariff discrimination exists or is intended, and that American cedar will be admitted into Japan on the same basis as Manchurian cedar." The complaint had been that Manchurian cedar was being admitted free.

Proposed American Railway Loans to China

A New York dispatch, dated April 6, announces a proposed floating of loans up to $500,000,000 in the United States for financing railway construction in China. The backers for these loans and any further details concerning them were not mentioned in the news report. John Mantell, American railway official, goes to China to make a survey of the present rail systems at the request of the National Government, preliminary to the completion of the loans.

California Fishing Bill

A bill entitled "the Japanese Fishermen's Exclusion Law" was introduced into the last session of the California state legislature. Should

this bill become a law, Japanese fishermen plying their trade off the coast of California would be deprived of their livelihood. The bill would make it unlawful "for any person ineligible to citizenship in the state of California or in the United States of America, to catch, kill or gather fish or shellfish of any kind, nature or description whatsoever in the state of California."

President Hoover's Cabinet

The press of the Pacific has made many comments of late upon the fact that two important posts in President Hoover's Cabinet have been filled by men with wide experience in Pacific affairs, thus helping to insure an adequate comprehension of the Pacific area in connection with the formulation of American policy. These two men are Secretary of State Stimson, who left his post as Governor-General of the Philippines to enter President Hoover's Cabinet, and Secretary of the Interior Wilbur, who was President of Stanford University and Chairman of the Institute of Pacific Relations until his recent appointment.

The Monroe Doctrine Defined

The State Department at Washington has, according to recent news dispatches, prepared an exhaustive review and tentative definition of the Monroe Doctrine. The work has had the approval of Senator Borah of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and Frank B. Kellogg, former Secretary of State. It will be submitted to President Hoover as a possible basis for the issuance by him of clarifying statements concerning the doctrine's meaning and scope. There has been much confusion of late concerning a definition of this doctrine which would be applicable to current conditions.

The American Indian Bureau

Dispatches from Washington state that Dr. Ray Lyman Wilbur, new Secretary of the Interior, has set himself to the problem presented by the native Indian situation in America which has aroused such widespread criticism and agitation in America during recent years. The Department of Interior has supervision over the Bureau of Indian Affairs which administers all Indian matters, and it is Secretary Wilbur's task to work out a new program for Indian administration and to select a new commissioner for Indian Affairs. The senate Indian Affairs committee approved the choice of Charles Rhoades of Pennsylvania on April 18.

Pan-Pacific Surgical Conference

Announcement bulletins have been issued by the Pan-Pacific Union headquarters at Honolulu, giving details of management, scope and purpose, agenda and transportation for the Pan-Pacific Surgical Conference to be held in Honolulu, August 14-24, 1929. Nils P. Larsen, M.D., Director of the Queen's Hospital, Honolulu, is General Chairman of the Hawaii Conference Committee, and Dr. Iga Mori and Dr. T. P. Chow, both of Honolulu, are Corresponding Secretaries for Japan and China. The agenda for the conference includes among more technical subjects a section on Industrial Surgery, on Hospital Standardization,

and on the Specialized Surgery of the Eye and Ear. A distinguished list of delegates from Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Japan, China, the Philippines, Latin America, India and the Federated Malay States is announced.

China Engineering Meet

It is announced that arrangements have been completed for the "largest gathering of modern engineering experts in the history of China," to be held in Nanking, in May of this year. The meeting will be under the auspices of the Association of Chinese and American Engineers of Peking. It is for the purpose of considering ways and means of assisting the Nanking Government in the vast reconstruction projects which are necessary in China. Railway building, dredging and canal building, irrigation and flood control projects, are among the important questions to be considered.

Mexican Revolt

Revolutionary activities, which have been in progress in Mexico since the inauguration of the new president, are reported to be almost completely suppressed. Unconditional capitulation of the rebel generals is demanded by Federal Government leaders who have been pressing the punitive expeditions against the insurgents. April 15 reports from Mexico City state that the rebel generals are considering surrender.

Philippine Exclusion

By Daniel R. Williams

Since the publication of "The Philippine Problem" by Paul Scharrenberg in the February issue of Pacific Affairs *the allied questions of Philippine exclusion from the United States, advocated by the American Federation of Labor, and of tariff imposition upon Philippine importations, have been agitating the American and Philippine peoples. There has been considerable expressed opposition to both proposals, in the editorial columns of daily newspapers in the mainland United States and Hawaii (in which latter place the restriction of Filipino labor immigration would mean an important economic readjustment for the sugar and pineapple industries) and in the writings of Filipino leaders. Commenting on Mr. Scharrenberg's forceful article, Judge Daniel R. Williams sends us this statement of his own contrary views, which we are glad to publish as representative of opposition opinion. Judge Williams was a member of the Philippines Judiciary some years ago.*

Personally I think the passage of any such bill as that offered by Congressman Welch (Rep.) of California restricting the free entry of Filipinos to the United States would be unfortunate and inexcusable, as would also the enactment of legislation (now urged upon Congress) levying a duty upon various Philippine products entering the United States.

While the political status of the Philippines in their relation to the United States is still a matter of debate, due largely to their having been injected into partisan politics, the fact is, they *are* under American sovereignty, and, as such, entitled to equality of treatment with any other territory of the United States.

In the *Diamond Rings Case,* 183 U. S. 176, 179, the Supreme Court of the United States stated that by virtue of the Treaty of Paris—"They (the Philippines) came under the complete and absolute sovereignty and dominion of the United States, and so became territory of the United States over which civil government could be established."

The court further held in such case that by reason of this status of the Philippines—"The allegiance of the Filipinos became due to the United States, and they became entitled to its protection."

As I take it, this "protection by the United States," which the Court held is the right of the Filipinos, is not and cannot be limited simply to preserving them from foreign aggression, but that it applies equally to protection in their social, political, and material progress and well-being. Certainly a denial of their freedom of access to the United States, and a discrimination against their products in our markets, would be a violation of their right and our obligation.

President Coolidge, in a letter to Hon. Manuel Roxas, Speaker of the Philippine Legislature, dated February 21, 1924, stated, among other things:

> In accepting the obligations which came to them with the sovereignty of the Philippine Islands, the American people had only the wish to serve, advance, and improve the condition of the Filipino people. That thought has been uppermost in every American determination concerning the Islands. You may be sure that it will continue the dominating factor in the American consideration of the many problems which must inevitably grow out of such relationship as exists.

There is no question but that the above correctly describes what has thus far been the attitude of our Government toward the Filipinos, and that the President, in stating that it will continue to be the guiding policy of the United States in that regard, has back of him the overwhelming approval and support of the American people.

It is to be remembered that the Filipinos became subjects of the United States without their volition. By voluntary and deliberate action of the American people, taken through their constituted authorities, sovereignty was acquired over the Philippine Islands, and the Filipino people thereupon became members of our household and entitled to our protection. So long, therefore, as the Islands remain under the American flag we are obligated by our every tradition of justice, decency, and fair play, to accord the Filipinos the same rights, and treat them with the same impartiality, as we apply or extend to the inhabitants of any other territory of the United States.

It should require no argument to establish, for instance, that it would be grossly unjust and inequitable to freely export American products to the Philippines and at the same time levy a duty upon Philippine products entering the United States—although this very thing is now being urged upon the Ways and Means Committee of the House by alleged Americans. It would be equally un-American and unfair to hold the Philippines as a territory or possession of the United States, with perfect freedom for Americans of all classes to go to the Islands and do business there, and yet restrict or prohibit Filipinos from entering the United States.

As to whether the enactment of the Welch bill would improve the relationship between the United States and the Philippines or *vice versa,* I would say that, to my mind, the inevitable consequence of such action would be to largely destroy whatever of harmony and good will now exists between the two peoples. The Filipinos would resent any such treatment by the American people. They would contend, and rightly, that to hold and occupy the Islands for the benefit of the United States, and yet deprive the Filipinos of the advantages of that association,

would be exploitation pure and simple. In fact any such policy would be harking back to the days of Spanish domination of the Americas, and of pre-Revolutionary days in the American Colonies, when the inhabitants of such territories were treated simply as instruments to serve the needs and minister to the profits of the "Mother Country." The United States cannot countenance or give effect to such a policy as regards the Filipinos and still retain its prestige and self-respect.

As I see it, the only real solution of the difficulty, i.e., the possibility of Filipinos coming to the United States in excessive numbers, lies in encouraging and making possible, by appropriate legislation, an intensive development of the economic resources of the Philippines, with a consequent opportunity for the Filipino laboring class to find ample and lucrative employment at home.

Orientals, whether Chinese, Japanese, or Filipinos, do not ordinarily migrate abroad because they prefer to live in foreign countries or to cast their life with a stranger people. They migrate almost entirely for economic reasons; that is, because they can better themselves materially by so doing. Conditions being equal, and this applies particularly to Filipinos, they would much prefer to remain in their native country, where they would have about them their relatives, their friends, and the environment and interests to which they are accustomed.

Unfortunately, while the United States has stressed the social and political progress of the Filipinos, and has multiplied their needs and wants and raised their standards of living, the economic development of the Islands has been comparatively negligible and has not kept pace with the increasing demands of the people for those things which minister to their health, comfort and well-being: that is, the things which we have taught them by precept and example to be the right of all civilized peoples and essential to well-ordered modern existence. As an inevitable consequence of this situation, for which, as stated, American administration of the Islands is responsible, considerable numbers of Filipinos have migrated and are migrating (particularly from the more congested provinces) to Hawaii and the United States, where wages are higher and they can better meet, for themselves and their families, the new living conditions thrust upon them.

Make it possible for the Filipinos to secure the same wages and living conditions in the Philippines that they secure in the United States, or even approximately so, and their migration from the Islands would largely cease. To discriminate against their products entering our markets, however, as now proposed, and thus effectually block any worth-while economic development of the Islands, would force still further migrations and create a vicious circle alike disastrous to the Filipinos and subversive of every obligation and purpose of the American people on their behalf.

Reflections

Editorial Opinion on the Pacific

These reprints are chosen as reflecting diverse points of view in and around the Pacific upon problems uppermost in the news of the area. They are not selected, in any instance, as indicative of the editorial attitude of Pacific Affairs.

TARIFF CONTESTS

From the Manitoba *Free Press,* Winnipeg, Feb. 15, 1929

Marked interest is manifest in Canada over the reports from the United States with respect to proposals in that country to increase the tariff against foreign farm products. The blow is aimed mainly at Canadian farm products. . . .

Canada finds a market in the United States for a variety of agricultural products, and, with a higher tariff against them, it will be more difficult to get these products into the United States, and the profit on such sales as are made is likely to be smaller. While it is freely conceded that the United States has a right to make its own tariffs to suit itself, it is only natural that there should exist in Canada a feeling of irritation against the proposed course of that country. Canada is a good customer of the United States—the best customer the United States has; and Canadians would not be human if they did not regard with a certain amount of wonder the trend of tariff-making to the south of the boundary.

It is natural, too, that there should be a desire to hit back at the United States for its proposed course of action. The first club that comes to hand is the Canadian tariff. People say, that if the United States is to push up its tariff in a way that affects Canada, let Canada proceed to push up its tariff against the United States. The United States tariff makes it difficult for Americans to buy from Canada; let the Canadian tariff make it difficult for Canadians to buy from the United States. There are many persons in Canada who would like to see this happen: that section of the population that is at all times in favor of a higher tariff, for Canada sees in the thought a weapon that is everything to its liking. . . .

In the meantime, the problem should receive cool deliberation. To enter into a tariff war against the United States might be the worst possible course for Canada. . . . Our final situation might be much worse than if we followed some other course into which we were directed by common sense, rather than by heat and passion. It is certain that a higher tariff by the United States against Canada will lead Canada to look elsewhere for markets and for preferential trade arrangements. It will cause Canadians to avoid buying in the American market when it is possible to obtain goods at approximately the same price somewhere else. Such a course will be beneficial to Canada, extending, as it will, the scope of her world trade, and distributing her eggs over a greater number of baskets. In this way much may be accomplished without getting into a tariff battle that might bring us nothing but higher costs and restricted trade.

BRIDGING THE PACIFIC WITH SHIPS

From the *Christian Science Monitor,* Boston, Feb. 23, 1929

Not only in the transatlantic routes is there a competitive race for supremacy in progress, but in the transpacific field as well a growing rivalry may be seen with the four leading companies planning additions to their fleets.

The Dollar Line is contemplating the construction of three vessels, probably to be motor-driven, for use with the present "President" ships in its San Francisco-Orient business, while the Matson Line, another United States flag company, is about to call for bids for two vessels for the San Francisco-Australia run. The Canadian Pacific Steamship Lines are building a new vessel, the Empress of Japan, of 26,000 gross tons, which, when finished, will be the biggest and fastest commercial ship on the Pacific and will be capable of better than a nine-day crossing between Vancouver and Yokohama.

The Nippon Yusen Kaisha is building three vessels for the California-Oriental route, these being the motorships Asama Maru, Tatsuta Maru and Chichibu Maru, each of 16,500 gross tons. In all the new ships under construction, or contemplated, greater luxury and increased speed are essentials which the steamship

companies demand of the builders, although in the Pacific business it is not alone the passenger trade which the shipping companies are seeking, but the lucrative silk trade from the Orient. With heavy insurance charges, and with interest on the goods in transit mounting for every day that the goods are on the seas, speed is imperative, and the Canadian Pacific, with its twenty-two-knot "Empress" ship, is obviously planning to maintain its position as the short route from the Orient.

So valuable is this traffic that increasing secrecy is being observed concerning even the amount handled on a ship, but this is because of the hazards surrounding the transcontinental rail transportation of the silk rather than because of any desire of the transpacific lines to conceal the facts. So the competition in shipping in the Pacific is as keen, even if based in part on silk rather than on passenger handling, as in the Atlantic, and a fleet of new vessels will be in service within the next two years.

WHY EXCLUDE FILIPINOS?

From the *New York Times,* Jan. 26, 1929

The introduction of a bill to exclude from the United States all citizens of the Philippines who are ineligible to American citizenship raises a number of delicate and important questions. The purpose of Mr. Johnson is to meet the demand of his constituents on the Pacific Coast that Filipino laborers, who have been coming to the United States in increasing numbers, be placed in the same category as other Orientals. It is argued that the same reasons which were advanced against the Chinese and Japanese immigrants—that the conflict of standards of living and the differences of racial customs and traditions between the whites and the Orientals are incompatible—apply to the Filipinos. It is true that the Filipinos belong to the Malay race, whose traditions and customs were originally Asiatic, and whose standards of living differ greatly from those of the native Americans.

But there is another factor of utmost importance. The Filipinos, while not American citizens, live under the American flag. Their islands are an essential part of the outlying possessions of the United States. They have for years enjoyed free trade with the United States, and the right of free movement to Hawaii and to the American mainland. Even though the Philippines have never been formally declared to be territory of the United States in the same sense as are the Hawaiian islands and Alaska, yet they belong to the United States, which is responsible for their welfare and protection.

It would be otherwise, of course, if the Philippines were independent, or under alien domination. But to raise the issue of the exclusion of Filipinos under the present relationship between the United States and its insular possessions is to risk reopening the entire question of the exclusion of Orientals, and at the same time to rouse resentment in the Philippines. The Filipinos may well ask why the United States, which insists on treating them as wards, suddenly decides to deny them the right of free entry to the American mainland which as citizens of an American protectorate they have always enjoyed.

Whatever the action of Mr. Johnson's bill, the mere fact that it was introduced should serve as a warning to the Filipinos that they cannot expect to retain special privileges in the United States if they achieve independence. Already the friends of the Philippines are fighting to protect them from those who not only would exclude their citizens but also their products from this country. If such a fight is necessary while the American flag still flies in the islands, it is obvious that when that flag is withdrawn it will be impossible to win a special relationship for the Philippines.

LEARNING TO PLAY TOGETHER

From the *Week in China,* Peking, Feb. 16, 1929

It is significant that these recent years have seen a steady increase in the number and variety of athletic contests between Chinese and foreigners. This is decidedly a development in the right direction—for between the foreigners and Chinese as well as between the Chinese themselves, one of the best ways men can learn to work together is to begin by playing together.

JAPANESE EMIGRATION

From the *Transpacific*, Tokyo, March 21, 1929

The shadow of another immigration dispute seemed to fall across the Pacific two days ago but it was only a shadow. Mr. Ariyoshi, Japanese Ambassador of Brazil, recently advised caution in regard to the plans of the Overseas Emigration Institute (Kaigai Kogyo Kaisha) which had evidently been credited with the intention of dispatching 15,000 "funded" emigrants to Brazil during the current year. The Kaigai Kogyo Kaisha is a land settlement company which owns land in Brazil and sells it in suitable lots of about 75 acres to immigrants with capital. But the Brazilian Government wants laborers as well as settlers, and Mr. Ariyoshi's message was to the effect that so large an influx of settlers might give rise to anti-Japanese agitation.

But evidently, according to the information furnished to the *Advertiser* by the Social Bureau of the Home Office, which has charge of emigration, the Overseas Emigration Institute is aware of the Brazilian point of view and only proposed to send abroad 3,000 or 4,000 settlers (including their families) the balance of the 15,000 being free laborers with their families. This proportion is believed to be acceptable to Brazil and therefore the officials of the Social Bureau see no reason to change the program according to which about 15,000 souls, or roughly 3,000 to 4,000 families will leave Japan for Brazil during the current year. The laborers, like the settlers, expect to make Brazil their permanent home, and no doubt the majority of them look forward to owning land. Meantime they increase the available supply of free labor which Brazil, a rapidly developing country, needs.

Since the passage of the United States Immigration Law, Japanese immigration to Brazil has naturally expanded. In 40 years it has settled about 70,000 Japanese in the State of Sao Paulo. More than half of that number has entered since 1920 when the Brazilian census showed that 28,000 Japanese resided in the country. Up till now the average number of Japanese emigrants to Brazil (Sao Paulo) has been a thousand yearly.

While Brazil, as Professor Hori states in the Japan Year Book for 1928, is "at present the only foreign field of activity for Japanese emigrants" it is also true, to quote the same authority, that "Japan's position in the vast economic scheme of Brazil is still negligible." The Japanese colony of some 70,000 must be compared with a German colony estimated by the German Government to number about one million persons; with an Italian colony of 558,000; a Portuguese colony of 433,000; and a Spanish colony of 219,000. In what may be called colonization of capital, Great Britain is far ahead of all competitors, the British investment in Brazil being nearly £270 millions.

Merely to glance at these figures is to realize that the materials of another immigration question between Japan and Brazil do not exist. Brazil is destined to be one of the great expanding countries of the century, and the Argentina is in the same fortunate position. It has an area of 3,285,318 square miles as compared with the United States area of 2,973,776 square miles, and its population is 39,870,000 as compared with America's 118,628,000. A settlement of three times 15,000 Japanese a year can cause no question in Brazil. They will be welcomed, and they will contribute a valuable element to a population in which the predominant racial strains are entirely different from those found in the United States.

THE FISHERY TREATY AND THE SOVIET

From the Tokyo *Nichi Nichi*

Translated in the *Japan Times* of March 3, 1929

In the attitude of Soviet Russia regarding the fishery question, we have recently found various strange points. We are now led to doubt the sincerity of Russia concerning the Fishery Treaty. Disregarding the demand of our government and fishery men, Russia offered concessions to private Russian fishery men alone. Eleven Russians submitted tenders for 87 concessions, and the total amount offered reached nearly 1,000,000 roubles. Never before have private Russian fishery men submitted tenders for such extensive concessions, and the recent case looks very strange. But when we know the real circumstances, there is no room for surprise.

The financial strength of the eleven private Russian fishery men is well known to our fishery men, but behind them stand the Far Eastern, and the Far Eastern Agriculture Banks. In the names of these private Russian fishery men, these valuable concessions have been given, but we know that the Fishery Treaty has been violated. For not permitting the Russian National Fishery organizations to join in the auction of fishery concessions, preferential rights have been accorded them.

Now, by such a clever method, Soviet Russia has permitted their indirect participation in the sale. We have to doubt the reality of the Fishery Treaty signed between Japan and Russia last year.

On the other hand, for making Russia take such an attitude despite the Fishery Treaty, we believe our Foreign Office has some responsibility. Also, our fishery men are not able to act jointly and therefore they are always easily handled by the Russians. Unless our fishery men adopt a powerful united front, we fear there will be no hope for our country and fishery men to extend their activities to Russian waters. We may even be obliged to withdraw from those places.

MANCHURIA AND RICE

From the *China Critic* (Chinese), Shanghai, Feb. 21, 1929

The world hears only too frequently of Japan's clamour for her expansion in Manchuria as of "vital importance to Japan's national existence." She broadcasts the argument that Japan needs the food supplies in Manchuria for the maintenance of the growing number of her population inasmuch as the food product in her own country is insufficient to meet the ever-increasing demand. This argument naturally conveys the impression that unless Japan imports rice and its like products from that part of China a certain portion of the Japanese population would face immediate starvation, otherwise it would not create such a menacing situation as to threaten the "national existence of Japan."

While the world was inclined to believe the Japanese argument as a result of their extensive and well-designed propaganda, the Japanese Government, to the surprise of all, issued an order in August, last year, prohibiting the importation of rice from abroad and at the end of 1928 reaffirmed the order and extended the period of the embargo for another year. This betrays the fact that Japan's rice production is sufficient to meet the growing demand and that what Japan held as an excuse for the expansion of her economic interest in Manchuria is nothing but a pretext to encroach upon China's territory without incurring the interference of the Powers!

Strictly speaking, Manchuria is an integral part of China in which Japan has nothing to claim. The existence of Japan's interests in Manchuria is in no way different from that of other Powers' interests in other parts of this nation. Hence it is a direct challenge to China's sovereignty over Manchuria by regarding Manchuria as "vital to Japan's existence."

CHINA POLICY

From the *Japan Chronicle,* Kobe, Feb. 14, 1929

Baron Shidehara, judging by results, was a much better strategist than Baron Tanaka. He led the way in a wise policy in China and now has to stand by and see other nations follow his example and reap the benefits while the advantages which Japan might reasonably have expected have been thrown away. But perhaps a new and better start will be made by the successful conclusion of the Wang-Yoshizawa conversations.

THE WILL TO PEACE

From the *China Critic,* Shanghai, March 21, 1929

The successful inauguration of the Third National Congress of the Kuomintang on March 15 has dispelled all apprehension of military conflict between the National Government and the so-called Kwangsi Group virtually controlling Canton and Hankow. This Congress following so closely the recent National Troop Disbandment Conference which was attended by all the important military leaders bids well for the future of China as a united country. Universal indeed has been the cry for relief in this war-worn nation and genuine the will to peace.

It must be in deference to the popular wishes that the military leaders now no longer speak of war but talk in terms of peace. There was a time when everyone blessed with a handful of soldiers would style himself the saviour of the people and start a crusade against his opponents when differences of opinion should arise. Since the completion of the Northern Punitive Expedition a different spirit has prevailed. Every military leader has acquired, as it were, a new outlook on life. He prides himself not on his ability to prosecute a war but on his success in maintaining peace. It is this new spirit that has made possible the present Congress; it is this same new spirit that gives the nation fresh hope for the real unification of China.

The immediate cause that recently seemed to threaten to embroil the country in turmoil was the so-called Hunan incident. To the general public it was but the ejection by subordinates of the head of that province duly appointed by the Central Government, but to Nanking it became a challenge to its authority as the representative government of China. In terms of Party politics it appeared to be a show of strength between the Kwangsi faction of the Kuomintang and those in the Central Government. Had the leaders of the two groups not been dominated by the new spirit of conciliation and not assumed a rational attitude toward the incident and its underlying influences, ugly eventualities might have been witnessed ere this. Instead of a resort to arms, investigation of the incident was conducted by leaders of both sides and the result was most satisfactory. The ousted leader appointed by Nanking was reinstated, and the honor of the Central Government redeemed in the eyes of the entire country. The branch political council in Hankow was also abolished in accordance with the decision of the National Government, and authority centralised in Nanking. Thus was removed the greatest obstacle to the successful convocation of the Third National Congress. . . .

ONE VIEW OF NANKING

From the *North China News* (Br.), March 23, 1929

It is to be feared that General Chiang Kai-shek's address to the Third Party Congress will only convince those who need no convincing. It says nothing but what has been said many times before and, in spite of its great length, does not really get down to the root of things. That factional disputes and the lack of any but superficial unification help to hold up progress, is undeniable. But why there is this persistent failure throughout the country to accept unquestioned the dictation of Nanking, General Chiang's address ignores. It is open to his opponents to retort: "Nobody can claim a monopoly of political wisdom and you and your political associates have done nothing to prove that you are any exception to the rule. The revolution has raised you from obscurity to wealth and position, but that merely proves that you are personally adroit in your own interests, not necessarily that you know what is best for the country. What have you, in point of fact, done for the 'mitigation of the people's sufferings,' of which we hear so much but see so little practical thought?" To such a question Nanking has nothing to reply in deeds. On the contrary, many things have been done under its aegis which continue to excite the greatest indignation throughout the country. . . .

The real cause of the failure of progress in China is, not that she is only superficially united, but that she is ruled by selfish and incompetent men. The earnest few are swamped by the grasping many. Mr. Hu Han-ming is reported to have said at the opening of the Congress that "our chief enemy is Imperialism." Mr. Hu is far too clever a man not to know that that is perfectly untrue. China's worst enemy is her own ruling class. Revolution has taught them only that they are here today and gone tomorrow and that the art of government is to enrich yourself as quickly as possible. Nobody, outside the ranks of the Left wing that is, wants to see them dispossess the people actually in power. The records of the Left for general destructiveness are atrocious, and their appetite for spoliation has been sharpened by two years' wandering in the barren wilderness of opposition. Though devoid of achievement in everything but fine speeches, the present administration offers a shade more hope of eventually restoring some sort of order in government and finance, than any that appears likely to take its place. But if the present Congress is to do any good, it must recognize and keep clearly in view where the evil lies. Constitutional questions are of secondary

importance. To get a constitution or anything else working, the first step is regard for public duty, respect for law, and the eighth commandment. It should in fairness be added that what is true of Nanking is equally true of practically every administration in the country and worse in some.

CHINA'S NEW COUNSELLORS

From the *London Times*, Feb. 24, 1929

By J. O. P. Bland

The appointment of a number of eminent American specialists as advisers to various Ministries of the Nationalist Government at Nanking, combined with the offer extended to Sir Frederick Whyte to become Chief Adviser to that Government, must be regarded rather as a manifestation of China's traditional statecraft than as indicative of any immediate prospect of deliberately planned reforms in the country's methods of administration and finance. It must, therefore, not be taken too seriously. Like the latest version of the alleged Chinese National Anthem, of which the words and music have recently found their way into the Press of this country, via America, these appointments are in the nature of a gesture, intended, on the one hand, to create abroad the impression of progressive activities, and, on the other, to strengthen the position of the Nanking Executive Committee, thus reinforced; to encourage its supporters and give pause to its opponents.

In the gesture itself, however, there is nothing new or remarkable, except it be the imposing scale on which the engagement of American specialists has been planned, and the very considerable expenditure required to pay their salaries, estimated at some £80,000 a year. Ever since the Chinese first began to be seriously perturbed by the impact of the West, they have repeatedly resorted to this gesture, not always actuated by the same incentives, but always, as events proved, with the same mental reservations and always in the hope of thereby creating international rivalries and jealousies. . . .

In various emergencies and for various reasons, China has continually engaged the services of advisers of many nationalities. Some (like General Gordon, Admiral Lang, Professor Jenks) have done their best, and, knowing how little it was, have gone their ways. Others (like Sir Robert Hart, Sir Halliday Macartney, Sir J. McLeavy Brown, etc.) gave to China a lifetime of able and disinterested service. But all, sooner or later, came to realise that they were only buffers, not pillars, of the Chinese State, and that, no matter how long and faithful their services, the advice which they gave never had anything more than an academic value, and their most earnest representations never resulted in any genuinely determined effort to introduce radical improvements in the public service. The same remark applies with equal force to the influence of the large number of Chinese officials and professional men educated abroad during the last fifty years, a class which has greatly disturbed the political stability of the nation without adding anything to its administrative efficiency. When you come to think of it, the fact that, after half a century of western education, Young China under the Republic should need the advice of foreigners in such matters as public accounting and the framing of a budget constitutes in itself a significant admission either of unwillingness, or inability, to learn.

A JAPANESE VIEW

From the Peking *Leader*

Thanks to this unification (under the Nationalists) the Chinese may be said to have entered upon a new age, in which, relieved of the menaces of war and with security of life assured, they may successfully aspire for economic and cultural development. . . . Of course it would be hasty to prophesy that the present state of affairs will endure forever, or that the peace now restored is likely to be permanent. But as far as my observations go, the country does not appear to be going to relapse to the confusion and chaos from which it has emerged.—Kenkichi Yoshizawa, Japanese Minister to China.

Books of the Pacific

THE WASHINGTON CONFERENCE AND AFTER
By Yamato Ichihashi
Stanford University Press, 1928

This book of 400 pages presents in extremely readable form the story of the Washington Conference by an eye-witness.

Professor Ichihashi is professor of Japanese history and government at Stanford University. As secretary and interpreter to Baron Kato, Japan's senior delegate to the conference, he was afforded an unparalleled opportunity during those fateful weeks in Washington to watch the loosening of the deadlock on disarmament and the diplomatic sword play of the "Big Three," Balfour, Kato and Hughes, over the political impasse in the Far East.

Dr. Ichihashi's discussion, based on first-hand knowledge and sound scholarship, gives a balanced picture of the conference as a whole. The record is of peculiar significance because it is made by a Japanese scholar who adds to his national background an intimate knowledge of Western political, cultural and economic development.

The Washington Conference was in reality two separate conferences, the first on disarmament and the second dealing with the problems arising from the conflict of interests in the Pacific and especially its Far Eastern area. The book is correspondingly divided into two main sections.

The opening chapter depicts the various currents of international opinion on disarmament which preceded the official American communique that proposed the conference to the Powers. The active part which Great Britain took in this preliminary period, its effect in molding sentiment in both Japan and France, and the suspicion with which the proposal was first met by the Japanese public is described.

Of special interest to those dealing with international conferences is the chapter describing the machinery of the conference. The Committee of Senior Delegates constituted the chief directing body of the conference. This was aided and supplemented by numerous sub-committees of experts. Very early out of the Committee of Senior Delegates emerged the "Big Three," Balfour, Kato and Hughes, upon whom fell the burden of struggling with the major problem of the conference, viz., the comparative ratio of capital ships. The intimate picture given by Dr. Ichihashi of the efforts of these statesmen to arrive at a solution of this key question, on which the security of each nation as well as the safety of the world was felt to rest, is one of the most valuable parts of the book.

The task was complicated by the pressure of the public opinion of some of the countries involved, particularly Japan, which was loath to admit the necessity of any program which placed the nation in an inferior position or limited the possibility of developing a naval force capable of offense. The masterly proposal by Mr. Hughes to prohibit the increasing or strengthening of the fortifications of all the Powers in the Pacific excepting those on territorial shores, thus rendering unnecessary the building of large capital ships, together with the final agreement to substitute the "Setsu" for the new super-dreadnaught, "Mutsu," among the Japanese ships to be scrapped eventually secured the acceptance by Tokyo of the famous ratio of 5-5-3 for capital ships.

In the chapters dealing with the so-called "Decapitation of the French Navy," the submarine question and auxiliary limitation, Dr. Ichihashi shows how close France came to blocking the success of the conference by her reluctance at being relegated with Italy to a fourth or fifth position in relative naval strength. He further shows how France kept the door open to unlimited submarine and auxiliary construction as an offset to this restriction. Here the British contention that the submarine should be abolished because it is primarily an offensive weapon was contrasted to that of France which looked upon the submarine as a defensive weapon.

Chapter X on the Four Power Pacific Treaty and the Anglo-Japanese Alliance is of unique interest since it admits the reader to a frank and objective airing of the chief aspects of the new balance of power which arose in the Far East following the rapid rise of Japan and the commercial and territorial accessions of the West in the Pacific and upon the continent of Asia.

The deep pessimism regarding the results of the conference on the part of naval experts in each of the principal countries is contrasted with the optimism of a majority of public opinion throughout the world which believed the fixing of a ten-year naval holiday and the rendering less effective the modern navies as instruments of aggressive warfare to be long practical steps toward world peace.

The second part of the book deals with the work of the conference on the Pacific and Far Eastern questions. After an illuminating treatment of conference action on various aspects of China's relation to the other powers, viz., tariff autonomy, extraterritoriality and the open door policy, the author discusses with admirable clarity and candor the Shantung Settlement, the Twenty-one Demands and the Siberian Occupation, questions in which his own Government was most vitally concerned. These chapters are of particular value in view of the intimate relation of the "21 Demands" with the present outstanding issues between China and Japan that center in the Manchurian situation. It is refreshing to meet a Japanese statement and evaluation of these difficult situations which is on the one hand so fearless in criticism of the Government policy, and on the other is capable of analyzing the reasons for this policy and of interpreting it in the light of the whole trend of Chinese diplomacy and that of the Western Powers in the Far East.

In his summary of the net achievements of the Washington Conference, Dr. Ichihashi closes upon an optimistic note, that in spite of gloomy forebodings of the naval experts of the various signatory powers, the agreements of the conference have already contributed toward a betterment of the world. With regard to China he sees distinct progress in the change from the historic united-front approach to China of Western nations to the new technique of China's dealing with each nation separately. With neither optimism nor pessimism regarding the future of the new Nationalist Government, he says, "It is for China to prove her case." Dr. Ichihashi believes that the general international situation in the Pacific is much improved. The only sore spot still left unhealed in friendly relations between Japan and the United States is the discriminatory exclusion of Japanese from America, a question which he is convinced must be tackled sooner or later. He believes that the recent Pact of Paris will facilitate in maintaining of

general peace in the Pacific region. "The Washington Conference ushered in an era of peace; it is for the nations to continue it. The peoples of all the nations bordering the Pacific are anxious to maintain peace, as is clearly attested by their organized international efforts to learn to coöperate in solving their problems, the most conspicuous example being the Institute of Pacific Relations." A most valuable feature of the book is the appendix giving the full supporting documents, agreements and transactions of the conference—together with an excellent bibliography. —J. M. D.

STUDIES IN AUSTRALIAN AFFAIRS

Issued for the Institute of Pacific Relations
Edited by Persia Campbell, R. C. Mills, and G. V. Portus
Melbourne University Press, Melbourne
In association with Macmillan & Co., Ltd. 1928. 6s

This book is a compendium of information on Australia in twelve chapters written by as many authorities in various fields and published to "fulfil part of a continuing obligation to explore Australian tendencies affecting or likely to affect Pacific relations." "Studies in Australian Affairs" is Pacific Relations Series, No. 3. No. 1 was "The Peopling of Australia" and No. 2 "The Australian Mandate for New Guinea." (See "Pacific Affairs" Dec. 1928.)

The following is a list of titles of the chapters and their writers:

I. The Natural Resources of Australia. By Griffith Taylor, B.E., B.A., D.Sc., formerly Professor of Geography in the University of Sydney; Professor of Geography in the University of Chicago.

II. The Australian Standard of Living. By D. T. Sawkins, M.A., F.S.S., Bureau of Statistics, Sydney.

III. Development and Migration. By F. A. Bland, M.A., LL.B., Lecturer in Public Administration, University of Sydney.

IV. The Tariff Policy and Its Effect on Australian Development. By J. B. Brigden, M.A., Professor of Economics, University of Tasmania.

V. Australian Loan Policy. By R. C. Mills, LL.M., D.Sc. (Econ.), Professor of Economics, University of Sydney.

VI. Australian Banking Policy. By H. Teare, Director, The Alexander Hamilton Institute, Sydney.

VII. Australian Trade in the Pacific. By E. T. McPhee, Commonwealth Bureau of Census and Statistics.

VIII. Australian Treaty Rights and Obligations. By K. H. Bailey, M.A., B.C.L., Professor of Jurisprudence, University of Melbourne.

IX. Australian Defence Policy. By Brigadier-General R. Campbell, M.A.

X. A Labour View of Pacific Problems. By R. S. Ross, Australian Labour Party.

XI. The Australian Mandate in New Guinea. By the Rev. J. Burton, M.A., General Secretary, Methodist Missionary Society of Australasia.

XII. Australian Policy in Papua. By Sir J. H. P. Murray, K.C.M.G., Lieutenant-Governor of Papua.

The chapter on Natural Resources contains eight sketch maps which elucidate the text and also a table which summarizes "the economic

possibilities of the seven political divisions of the Commonwealth." A list of references is appended to this chapter and there are references at the bottoms of some pages in Chapters III, IV and V. The reader would also find similar references useful for the other chapters. There is an exhaustive index which includes topics discussed, names of places mentioned and authorities cited. On the map of "The Pacific" which precedes the preface, the name "Sandwich Islands" should be corrected to read "Hawaiian Islands."

In the first chapter Professor Taylor gives us a brief but comprehensive survey of the natural resources of Australia. The fact that Australia's natural resources are not commensurate with her area is due in most part to the semi-arid climate of much of her territory. The Commonwealth has, however, considerable mineral wealth. According to Professor Taylor half of the continent is of very little economic importance and "there is a great deal of misdirected zeal expended in boosting 'actual' empty lands." Many well-informed Australians believe, however, that Professor Taylor's outlook is pessimistic. Practical men of affairs who have visited some of the "barren" areas believe that they could be utilized to greater extent than he seems to indicate. However barren Australia may be and however unattractive the greater part of it, to white settlers, with Java, a nearby island of about 50,500 square miles, having a population of about 700 per square mile, and Japan, a group of islands some 2,500 miles north, having about 400 per square mile, one understands why Asia's teeming millions are interested in Australia, a country not far away, with a population of about 2 per square mile.

In Chapter IV, which is associated in point of view with Chapter I, Professor Brigden discusses very frankly the problem of selecting a tariff policy which will be most effective in developing the resources of the Commonwealth. He is "unable to come to any definite decision until further facts are available." The research necessary to discover the pertinent facts can best be done by an economic geographer in cooperation with a tariff specialist. Australia's position with regard to tariffs is somewhat analagous to that of the United States. In each country points of fundamental importance are: (1) How much protection should be afforded to secondary industries, and (2) To what degree should primary industries be allowed to shift for themselves.

Professor Brigden has a high regard for the work done by Professor Griffith Taylor, and it is conceivable that these two scholars working together could have accomplished much toward a solution of the problem.

The chapter on banking (VI by Teare) is a discussion of the relationship between the banking practice and policy of Australia and the growth of a "young community in a continent of vast area far removed from the world centers of financial and commercial activity." The writer states that "the financial system of Australia . . . is mainly a composite of a branch banking system, of large state banks, large private financial organizations, and of considerable government assistance derived from overseas loan operations." This discussion is closely linked to those on the tariff policy and the natural resources, the three forming a unit study in the economic geography of Australia. They

stand out above the others in relating various policies and prospects for the development of Australia to the natural environment of the Commonwealth. To these might be added Chapter IX (Campbell) which similarly relates Australia's defence policy to natural conditions and also the section of Chapter X (Ross) on "Population and Production."

The subject matter of most of the chapters in the book is unrelated. In chapter II (Sawkins) on the Australian standard of living, the writer holds that "there is great difficulty and considerable disagreement in choosing a predominant or central standard of living for the totality of Australian income earners in terms of their money income." There was an increase of six per cent in the "standard of comfort" between 1907 and 1927. International comparisons of standards of living are difficult to make and little faith can be placed in mechanical indexes.

Chapter III (Bland) is a survey of the activities undertaken by the Commonwealth to stimulate immigration. Australia's attitude is that of pursuing a selective policy with a marked preference for northern Europeans. Immigration machinery, however, has been costly to the Commonwealth and has not accomplished the desired results. Policies of systematic inquiry and wise development are essential to the successful absorption of immigrants. The content of this chapter is matter for reflection by those who urge emigration to the colonies as a part solution of Great Britain's unemployment problem. Professor Taylor writes (Chapter I): "Only as regards about one quarter of its area can Australia be described as at all a suitable region for close settlement for the overcrowded millions of the British Isles."

In Chapter III, the writer discusses the operations of the Imperial Economic Committee and the Empire Marketing Board. He states that "these operations are certainly of more importance ultimately than the more easy course of imposing tariffs to ensure preference to Dominion products, which may easily cloak inefficient methods of production and marketing." He goes on to state: "It is hoped that the investigations and surveys of the Development and Migration Commission, by indicating sound lines for future development, will permanently increase the absorptive capacity of this country."

A survey of Australian loan policy (Chapter V by Mills) appears to show that there has been general justification for the policy of borrowing, though more care could be exercised to promote economy and to prevent waste. Part of this chapter sounds like an echo from Washington, D. C. The "care" referred to is no less applicable to the prosperity and welfare of the United States than to Australia. Loan money in Australia has been expended on "the economic exploitation of undeveloped natural resources, including the provision of adequate communication." Such exploitation has been undertaken in Australia, more than in any other British Dominion, by public rather than by private borrowing."

The chapter on Australian trade in the Pacific (VII by McPhee) shows that the trade of the Commonwealth with Pacific countries has increased more rapidly than that with other countries. This is in line with the general trend of increase of intra-Pacific trade and is an indication of the future importance of the Pacific Basin in this respect.

As the natural resources of the newer countries of this area are developed and the older countries become more and more industrialized, there will most likely be a corresponding increase in inter-Pacific trade and commerce. As the population of Australia grows, the export trade of the United States to the Commonwealth, at least in the case of petroleum and of automobiles, will probably increase. The balance of trade is now decidedly in favor of the United States.

In Chapter VIII (Bailey), a survey of Australia's treaty rights and obligations, it is pointed out that Australia's own will and consent have played an increasingly large part in her international affairs, both within and without the British Commonwealth of Nations. Members of the British Commonwealth of Nations make "agreements" with each other which have the force of treaties. Otherwise international relations are negotiated through the Foreign Office in London. In the Pacific, Australia's international agreements so far have been largely confined to New Zealand and Canada with the latter of which she has negotiated certain tariff accords.

The fact that a "labour view" (Chapter X by Ross) comprises a chapter in the book is eloquent of a part which organized labour may play in the affairs of the Pacific—that is, if the national parties concerned adopted a common policy. However, it would be very difficult for the national units of a Pan-Pacific trade union to agree on a solution of several problems confronting Pacific peoples. For example, Asiatic Labour Unions could scarcely sympathize with the idea of a "White Australia." The writer of this chapter believes that Labour should become closely associated with the Institute of Pacific Relations.

The Labour Party in Australia is politically very important, and among other things has taken an active interest in defence policies of the Commonwealth. It was the first Labour government in power in Australia which inaugurated compulsory military training.

"The corner-stone of Australian defence policy is the unity of the British Empire" (Campbell in Chapter IX). In this chapter General Campbell brings forth an array of facts and considerations to show that "the primary requirement in Australian defence policy is naval power . . . not tied to the immediate coasts of Australia, but capable of helping the British Navy and other Empire naval forces in the protection of its shipping trade, and in other ways far away from its shores." Australia has recently acquired two new cruisers of 10,000 tons each, and two ocean-going submarines. The Commonwealth is insistent that the new naval base at Singapore be completed as quickly as possible.

General Campbell goes on to state that as regards the supply of arms, ammunition, and munitions generally, the policy of the Government is to make Australia as self-supporting in time of war as is practicable. He observes in conclusion that there is no room for the application of disarmament proposals in the case of the defence forces of Australia.

The last two chapters in the book deal with Australia's policy in developing Papua (XII by Murray) and the mandated territory of New Guinea and adjoining islands (XI by Burton). The importance and difficulty of the problem of governing subject peoples of a low degree of civilization are attested by the fact that this is the only

subject to a discussion of which two chapters of the book are devoted. The former, written by a missionary (Rev. J. Burton) draws considerably on a report by Colonel Ainsworth published in 1924. In this year Colonel Ainsworth was on special service in the Mandated Territory of New Guinea on behalf of the Government of the Commonwealth of Australia.

In the chapter on Papua the Lieut.-Governor points out that a policy of government for the natives of Papua selected and applied when the Australian administration of this territory began in 1906-7 received approval in general twelve years later when the policy of government by mandate was decided on.

In the mandated territory of New Guinea and adjoining islands Australia has the problem and responsibility of governing a native people in the tropics in the best interests of the wards and with credit and reasonable profit to the governing country. Since the Treaty of Versailles apportioned the "sacred trusts of civilization" among governing powers, the welfare of these trusts has been a matter of international interest and discussion. An accusation of exploitation would redound to the discredit of a trustee. Considering the difficulty of the task, Australia seems to have done fairly well. It is to her credit that she was among the first of the colonies and territories of the British Empire to make anthropology practicable to the problem of governing "uncivilized" races. Surely the New Zealand administration in Samoa could learn something from officials in New Guinea where "the tax collector has the happy experience of people rushing to meet him!"

Rev. J. Burton holds that "the medical work throughout the mandated territory is perhaps the finest accomplishment of the administration." This is a work in which all mandatory powers can ably serve in carrying out their trust.

It is significant that the United States has not yet recognized Australia's mandate in New Guinea. The tariff policy of Australia applies also to the mandated territory and certain tariffs affecting the mandate have an adverse effect on the possible development of the export trade of the United States with the islands involved.

"Studies in Australian Affairs" is a very serviceable publication in view of the coming meeting of The Institute of Pacific Relations in Japan. Its publication is in line with the general tendency for international affairs to be subject matter for discussion and conference by other than diplomats and their professional staffs. The book will be perused with interest not only by delegates to the conference but by busy men of the world who wish a trained, enlightened and unselfish leadership in the handling of problems of international relations.

—JOHN WESLEY COULTER.

A YEAR OF GOVERNMENT WORK (U. S. S. R.), 1925-26
Under Supervision of N. P. Gorbunoff, A. W. Stoklitzky and S. M. Bronsky, Publisher, 1927

This yearbook printed in Russian covers the international situation and foreign politics; organization activities and national policy; defence; economic organizations; finances; industry; farming; labor; education; health service, etc.

THE FOUNDATIONS OF MODERN CHINA
By T'ang Leang-li
Noel Douglas, London, 1928. 12s 6d

Here is a work which is at once scholarly and realistic. The implied antithesis is, one believes, justified. Especially with regard to books dealing with China. The scholars usually know the past but are befogged about the present. The realists—especially non-Chinese radicals—know the political present but often are weak on Chinese foundations. They therefore often make errors of judgment in assaying the strong and weak points in the new political motivation which is carving out a new Chinese nation.

T'ang Leang-li is a scholar. He is exhaustively grounded in the cultural fundamentals of Chinese life and thought. He sees clearly how they are becoming attenuated in some fields of the new development; sees also how their vestigial echoes will remain, must remain, a part of the new China. China, he properly says, will not be a copy of the West in its political, social and economic development. It will be a modification of the West. The modifying factors are China's cultural and intellectual past and their hang-overs in the thought of even the most Westernized of Chinese.

The work—the volume justifies such a serious term—is in three sections: the first deals with the philosophic and cultural bases of Chinese life and thought from even pre-Confucian days; the second and third with China today, especially its politics, and with the attitude of the West since there has been close contact between Occident and Orient.

With the first section the reviewer confesses lack of equipment to deal critically. Regarding the second and third, he sees again and again the justification for using the word, realistic. Not only does Mr. T'ang have his history right, but he also interprets with clarity the conflict of ideas implicit in the internal evolvement of Chinese political, social and economic thinking as that conflict has manifested itself in the history of the Kuomintang (Nationalist) Party during these hectic past five years. He sees clearly the implications of Kuomintang ideology and the points at which this ideology sets up conflict between the various class-sectors in the party. Here we have the basis for the widely-varied interpretations of Dr. Sun Yat-sen's San Min Chu-I—rich Shanghai merchants and bankers, and their spokesmen being quite as anxious to march under the banner as are the class-conscious workers of the All-China Federation of Labor. One group must be wrong, and Mr. T'ang leans clearly to a belief that the workers come closer to a real contact with Sun Yat-sen's intentions than do the bankers and landowners and rich merchants. The anxiety of these widely-separated groups to get under the blanket of The Founder's blessing is ample testimony, in passing, of the almost religious power of Sun Yat-senism in present-day Chinese politics.

Mr. T'ang sees that the great immediate enemy to real unification is the ambition of the sectional militarists. These have little political ideology but much personal greed and career-lust. That this sectional militarism, or tuchunism, stems directly from Yuan Shi-kai and his (partial) distribution of the infamous Re-Organization Loan of 1913 to sectional chiefs for the purpose of crushing the real revolutionists who got their inspiration from Sun Yat-sen and Canton, is an inter-

pretation never so clearly set forth before as by Mr. T'ang. Britain and France, which made that loan of 25 million pounds, still get interest on it out of portions of the Customs funds earmarked for that purpose under foreign compulsion. The disunity of China of which diplomats so frequently complain is shown to be at least a partial product of the very acts of those diplomatists, committed despite warnings from Canton in 1912 that such a loan, opposed even by the then-existing parliament, would never be recognized by a revolutionary government. Yuan Shi-kai died, but the tuchuns had tasted the financial fruits of military power, of army control. The baleful effects remain today, even in the councils of military men who bow three times before the picture of Sun Yat-sen and speak, utterly without understanding, of the San Min Chu-I.

How to control the militarists is the problem for any civilian Kuomintang government. The present one at Nanking believed, until this February, that it had solved the problem by making the militarists the government. The Left Kuomintang believes it can do so only through giving power to the masses. That theory had one test and proved itself. That was in March, 1927, when organized labor and its worker guards took Shanghai from Sun Chuan-fang before Nationalist forces were within fifty miles of the city's outskirts. This fact is approvingly, and correctly, cited by Mr. T'ang. He also goes back to the famed Kuomintang Manifesto of the First National Congress of 1924, proposing precisely such power-allocation to the masses. He quotes:

> . . . . The final victory of the National Revolution depends largely on the whole-hearted cooperation of the peasants and workers. The Kuomintang will do its best to assist the peasant and labour movements and will in every way promote their development in order to maximize the power of the national revolutionary movement. It invites the peasants and workers to join the party in order to enable it to present a united front against the militarists and imperialists, their most dangerous foes.

Up to a few years ago observers of the China scene used to believe "militarists" in Kuomintang statements was synonymous only for "northern warlords." This was not true. It meant, and means, the arbitrary rule of military chieftains. And that arbitrary rule is as manifest amongst the so-called Kuomintang generals as it was amongst the defeated "northern warlords."

The crisis in the Kuomintang which occurred in the spring of 1927 —the facts of which Mr. T'ang accurately sets forth—resulted in control by moderates and reactionaries. They continued to call themselves followers of Sun Yat-sen. They claimed continuity of mandate from previous congresses of the party and the declarations of the party's Central Executive Committee. But on the basic thesis of mass foundation for Kuomintang power they turned their backs; not only turned their backs but took positive action against it. Chiang Kai-shek in Shanghai and Nanking became a red-baiter and executed labor leaders and leftist intellectual leaders by the hundreds. Li Tsung-jen in Hankow did the same, was dubbed "communist hunter." Li Chai-sum in Canton engineered the bloody butchery of the week of December 12, 1927. Yen Hsi-shan interdicted labor unions in Peking. Peasant and labor unions everywhere were put under the ban, and were replaced by Fascist organizations improperly called trades-unions, or peasant unions.

How such a policy constitutes an attempt to set up a government in a vacuum, without any popular foundations whatsoever, is amply proven by Mr. T'ang in his final chapter. He cites some of the facts about the intense development of labor unionization in those areas of China where a true proletariat is growing up. He gives some extraordinarily arresting figures about the development of land disinheritance in a country which 19th-century writers used to characterize (with France, and as improperly) as "a land of small peasant proprietors."

There are in China, Mr. T'ang says, 336 million peasants living on the land, a total of 80 per cent of a population of 420,000,000. Thirteen per cent of this total rural population owns 81 per cent of the land. The other 87 per cent, therefore, owns only 19 per cent of the land. Which results in the startling fact that 55 per cent of China's peasants are landless. They either are tenants, paying in some cases as high as 65 per cent of their crops as rentals to local gentry-usurers or their agents, or they are unemployed vagabonds. To a large extent the armies comprise these landless, disinherited peasants. They follow the military life for rice. They fight, paradoxically, in order to eat. Or they become bandits, Red Spears, Green Spears, members of various bodies which are blindly fighting against everything wearing a uniform.

Before the bloody repressions by the present Nationalist Government began in April, 1927, there were, according to Mr. T'ang, 2,800,000 unionized workers affiliated with the All-China Federation of Labour. This represents more than a third of China's industrial workers, her proletariat. In Britain, fewer than 30 per cent of proletarians are organized in trades-unions.

It should be obvious that any government which not only fails to link itself with such a body of peasantry and labor, but actively opposes it in its efforts further to organize for better conditions, can never come within hailing distance of real stability. The most elementary political science should prove that.

Because the present government in China does take such a line of opposition, Mr. T'ang is led to conclude his book (written, it is to be understood, after the so-called unification of the summer of 1928) with the seemingly hopeless statement that:

> . . . at the time of writing, native militarism and foreign imperialism are still rampant in the Flowery Republic, preying on a distracted population.

He adds, however, with greater hopefulness, again returning to his major thesis about China's eventual development:

> But the pulse of life is unmistakably heard in 20th-century China, which is groping toward a new orientation of its national life—an orientation that will combine all that was best in traditional China with the finest political and mechanical experiment in the West.

The whole trend of this volume leads inevitably to the conclusion that this new orientation will be achieved only through the adherents of the Kuomintang Left, led by Mrs. Sun Yat-sen and her faithful nucleus of followers, who are not Communists but followers of the China revolutionary, Sun Yat-sen, who saw China's redemption in the redemption of her peasant and worker masses by means of a program grounded in Chinese realities and not in non-applicable Marxian theories.

—William Prohme.

HARVEY BAUM, A STUDY OF THE AGRICULTURAL REVOLUTION
By Edward S. Mead and Bernhard Ostrolenk
University of Pennsylvania Press, Oxford University Press, 1928. G$2.00

Harvey Baum's contribution to this little volume is to provide the title and a text. An inconspicuous and unsuccessful Pennsylvania farmer decided to try out some of the agricultural advice which is provided so freely to the American farmer,—at a cost of many millions of dollars per year to the tax payers. He made money forthwith. The inference is that almost any farmer can make a success by the application of scientific agriculture and business methods.

The authors quite clearly set forth the dilemma of American agriculture. The farmers as a whole are not prospering. They are receiving neither an adequate return on capital nor a living wage for their labor. Either they must receive higher prices for products or produce more. The two things are incompatible. If all farmers were to be as successful with their production as Harvey Baum with his potatoes a volume of products vastly too great to be consumed would result and prices would drop to unprecedented and unprofitable levels. We have too much agricultural land and too many farmers to allow for high yields and adequate returns.

So-called Farm Relief legislation is not the answer. The gastric capacity of the nation cannot be increased by Congress. America must become even more urban. There must be relatively fewer farmers, cultivating the better lands and producing enough to give good returns for capital invested and work done.

This all sounds reasonable, but it is not going to call out the brass bands in the rural districts. Neither will the proposed readjustments prove painless. Our authors pay scant heed to that fundamental craving in many men for the out-of-doors, the deep satisfaction in making things grow, and the almost passionate attachment to a seeming freedom. One can find many Japanese trying to farm small areas here in Hawaii who are living in far poorer houses, and, one suspects, with far smaller financial returns than the sugar plantations or domestic service affords. Why do they do it? One suspects that the unseen and dimly realized tyranny of economic laws are more happily borne than the domination of the individual boss.

Harvey Baum is worth reading if one is interested in food production and the things that science and machinery are doing to the farmer. I suspect that some of the other people around the Pacific might find food for thought in it. —Arthur L. Dean.

CONQUEST: AMERICA'S PAINLESS IMPERIALISM
By John Carter
Harcourt, Brace & Co., New York, 1928. G$2.50

The United States as an economic empire gradually but surely extending her economic control over the entire globe, is the picture painted by the author. America's imperialism is vastly more effective than Old World imperialism. Political empires are limited by political boundaries; economic empires know no frontier. By means of foreign loans and a favorable balance of trade, we are gaining control of the world's resources and industries. However, as long as our economic control is not endangered we are content to allow the nations of the world the

mirage of freedom—political rights. In many instances our conquest has been painless since we have exported our culture with our products. American jazz and movies have created a desire for things American. Nevertheless pains have not been entirely absent. The criticism of this country so prevalent in Europe and Latin America during the last few years indicated that we have not entirely deadened the nerves of some nations to our methods of conquest.

To keep unhampered the avenues of expansion is the duty of our state department and from Hay to Kellogg it has always been the most important problem of foreign policy. In attempting to make the world safe for our commerce and investments, our statesmen varied their policy according to time, place and circumstance. In China we stood for the Open Door; in Mexico we supported the presidential aspirant favorable to American oil interests; in Central America we sent marines to teach them American standards of honesty; our loans to the Entente Powers were endangered by a possible German victory and we went into the war at "the right time;" Russia desired an economic system at variance with our capitalistic system and Russia is not recognized by our state department; Germany's failure to pay reparations endangered our allies' debts to ourself and we gave the Dawes plan moral and financial support; Mexico again threatening our investments, they are brought to terms by the "Three Musketeers"—Morrow, Lindberg and Will Rogers.

The greatest dangers to America's economic empire are cancellation and war. These can only be avoided by wise statesmanship on the part of the United States and by coöperation with the League of Nations rather than membership in it.

This is a book well worth reading. The economic motivation of our foreign policy may perhaps be over-emphasized, but whether or not our state department consciously aided our economic conquest at all times, does not alter the fact that we have achieved the pre-eminent economic position in the world described by the author. The reviewer cannot agree with his conclusions, however, that the best methods of avoiding the misunderstandings and conflicts of interests which inevitably follow the economic leadership of the world is to stay out of the League and play a lone hand. —Paul Bachman.

THE ORIGIN, STRUCTURE & WORKING OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS
By C. Howard-Ellis
George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., Museum St., London, 1928

The author of this book is a journalist living in Geneva, who states in his introduction that it is a curious fact that there is as yet no big book about the League of Nations, and expresses the need of a study of the League, sufficiently wide in scope and thorough in detail, which can be used as a university text book. Regarding this book, he says:

"It purports to be a big book about the League, being a full account of its origin, structure, working and record, together with a careful examination of its position and possibilities in the world, the forces at work inside and outside the League today, and what may be achieved and ought to be attempted in future. . . . The present volume is planned as a first of a series of three, each volume of which will be an independent unit, but the three together will form a connected whole, describing the evolution from international anarchy to world polity."

The book, which represents a most thorough study of the League, describes the beginnings of international organization in the nineteenth century, the coming of the War, the Peace Conference, and the framing of the Covenant. There are chapters on the Council, Assembly, Secretariat, International Labor Organization, the Permanent Court, the changes in international law introduced by the League, the financing of the League, and its technique. The text of the Covenant, constitution of the International Organization and Statute of the Court are annexed.

—C. F. L.

PROBLEMS OF THE PACIFIC
Proceedings of the Second Conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations, Honolulu, July 15 to 29, 1927
Edited by J. B. Condliffe
The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1928. G$3.00

A year has passed since "Problems of the Pacific" made its appearance, and there have been many and favorable reviews of it. At this time, when a third conference is in the offing, bringing up the question of a new published record, it may be interesting to review something of the criticism of this first volume. Below are given excerpts from a few of the leading reviews of "Problems of the Pacific."

Japan Advertiser—"The Institute of Pacific Relations is one of the youngest and most useful of those voluntary parliaments, as we may call them, which public spirit is calling into existence, not to compete with the official legislatures but to focus and inform the public opinion without which modern governments are powerless. Governments can govern without principles (perhaps) but they cannot govern without information, and still less can peoples without information get the kind of government they need. . . . The book is not meant to be read at a gulp, nor can it be reviewed in short articles. It is a mine from which a sound public opinion can be dug. If the Institute goes on as this book shows it to have begun it will prove an invaluable factor in the direction of Pacific politics. The next session, to be held in Kyoto in the fall of 1929, promises to be even more interesting than the last."

The Nation, New York—"When Japanese and Koreans, Chinese and British, Yankees, Australians, Canadians, and New Zealanders talk over informally the problems that so often divide them, the world is moving. The Institute of Pacific Relations is more than an institution; it is a growing spirit. It seeks to substitute agreed facts for the patterns of automatic loyalty-responses. . . . The friendly discussions of course lose much in summary; but the contributed papers—particularly those on the population problem in the Far East—supply a mass of invaluable data."

Manchester Guardian—The reviewer says that "the conception of that ocean as the scene of peaceful coöperation rather than of bellicose antagonisms makes a welcome appearance. . . . Much of the discussion centred round China, and the debates and appendices contain a mine of information on that most complex of subjects. The varied nature of the contents precludes a detailed review, but the collection—statements, debates and documents—is the most valuable contribution to Pacific literature in recent years and deserves very careful study."

New York Times (Nicholas Roosevelt)—"If 'Problems of the Pacific' is too technical for the average reader, it is invaluable to students. It deals in an analytical manner with present conditions of all sorts in the Pacific region. Of particular interest and value are the 370 pages of 'documents' drawn up by experts concerning specific problems of the Pacific. Inasmuch as a notable absence of prejudice characterizes most of them, their value is considerably enhanced."

New York Commercial & Financial Chronicle—This review gives representative excerpts of national opinion. "Viewed from the midst of the noise of New York and the incessant challenge of events on all the shores of the Atlantic an island in the midst of the vast Pacific seems the abode of peace and a Conference of distant nations held there some months ago is far from forgotten, and its deliberations have lost none of their importance."

North China Herald—"Writing a review of this compendium of information with regard to the Pacific is not unakin to attempting a review of the Encyclopaedia Britannica, for Professor Condliffe has omitted nothing. In a word, the atmosphere at this conference, away from China, among well-informed men, was one of a greater truthfulness, a keener adherence to reality, than had apparently been possible in China, where national fervour was at blood-heat and where propaganda replaced wisdom." (George E. Sokolsky). The chief interest seemed to lie in sections pertaining to China—the Yui and Whyte addresses, China Missions, Hume paper.

An earlier review initialed "I. M." was directed chiefly against the data papers on China contributed by J. M. Bau; however the reviewer adds: "There are those who question the usefulness of such a Conference; but a perusal of this volume will make it clear that much can be accomplished by such informal gatherings in the way of promoting better mutual understanding," and "it is a good book of reference for students of problems connected with countries bordering the Pacific."

China Weekly Review—In a review initialed G. B. S.—presumably not the famous G. B. S. of Britain—this journal says: "Some one has said that the Institute of Pacific Relations was made up of persons without any power who met to discuss things over which they had no control and could use none were such desirable. It has been called futile by not a few. However, the fact remains that as a gesture of neighborliness it was unusual and full of promise for the future. Who should object if the 'common people' in the guise of thinkers, scientists and social workers, get together to talk and make friendships whose bonds might even hold more lastingly than the formal legalities of statesmen?" Attention is called to the persistence of interest shown in "chaotic China" and to notable changes in ideas regarding missions. "'The Problems of the Pacific' is an instructive volume. It opens our eyes to visions of future coöperation in place of competition; it proves that open discussion may find a place in the progress of the nations. It is not the 'last word' on the topics presented, but it touches questions needing long and deep study. The book should be in the library of every student of Pacific countries and relations."

Chinese Recorder—"Perhaps the chief difficulty with this volume of 630 pages is that few will have the time to read it through, but it is

full of significant facts and opinions." Of migrations the reviewer says: "Yet in discussing the right of man to migrate they centered attention on Australia and New Zealand and said little about the actual attempts of Japan to exploit Manchuria in this regard. One wistfully wishes, feeling the tenseness of this actual situation in the Far East, that they could have gotten down to brass tacks a little more daringly and further on Manchuria. Of course the tri-partite struggle in Manchuria was mentioned. But one wishes that in their unofficial capacity the delegates could have found some approach to the problem that political officialdom might have tried to put through. They did lay many cards on the table: but perhaps the Manchurian cards are too plainly marked to make it as easy in their case as in that of others." Closing, he adds: "We wish the next Institute (to be held in Japan!) might attempt to articulate its ideas to the extent of stating its main agreements or indicating two or three lines of approach to vital issues in addition to pushing forward research work. That means we should like to see this Institute become a little more realistically idealistic!"

Toronto Globe—"The publication of this volume is particularly timely in view of recent developments in the East, and for the same reason the general reader will probably find its chief interest centred in the papers by Oriental scholars, dealing with the questions with which China and Japan are wrestling. These are written, not in the manner of one nation setting forth the shortcomings of another, nor in that of one airing a grievance. They are plain, straightforward studies of the difficulties besetting the two nations, and of the problems to which they must find an answer in the near future. . . . After reading Ta Chen on 'The Labor Movement in China,' for instance, one feels a new sympathy for and understanding of those vast and largely inarticulate masses, who are struggling out of centuries-old darkness toward the light of a freedom they have never yet known."

Canadian Forum (V. W. Bladen)—"The second part of the book contains summaries of the proceedings of the round tables. Here the reader should follow the practice of the members of the Conference who only attended those round tables in which they were interested. To the reviewer those on China, and even more those on the Japanese problems, were of great interest. It is of course impossible to realize the life of these round tables, but the editor has assembled very cleverly much of the information which was elicited." He has praise for Dr. Buck's "Races of the Pacific" and the Maori incantations.

Journal of the Royal Institute of International Affairs, London (C. K. Webster)—"This volume, which contains the report of the second representative Conference, gives great hope that the public-spirited men who conceived the project have laid secure foundations on which to build. . . . Here we have them (the discussions) summarized and straightened out from the shorthand reports. They gain in clarity and precision but they lose the individuality and atmosphere that distinguished them in the charming grounds of Punahou. . . . Though one might criticise the emphasis laid on this point or that, the record gives a singularly able and impartial account of most of what was worth saying, and shows how the members of the various national groups tried to defend or at least explain the attitude of their countrymen." He characterizes the discussions of Cultural problems as "sum-

mary," and says of those on Mandates: "These are certainly not adequate to the subject but it may be hoped they will be developed in future conferences." Of the documentary section he says: "The total effect is impressive, and though no doubt some of the political appreciations are ephemeral, yet they give a vivid record of an international situation at a particular moment of time. Others of the papers are contributed by experts. It would be invidious to discriminate in a collection which brings into a comparatively small compass so various a mass of learning. It is all the more to be regretted, therefore, that the editors should have included amongst them a review of the Conference subsequently published in an American weekly by a journalist who was present. Where this is not incoherent it is often biassed, and it is difficult to imagine why it is included in the Conference Proceedings." In summing up he says: "On the whole, the publication should do much to stimulate the study of Pacific problems in those countries specially interested in them, while it provides the national units of the Institute of Pacific Relations with a comprehensive and informing survey of the manner in which the new organisation is facing its great task."

International Labour Review, Geneva—The reviewer is specially interested in sections on industrialization of the Orient, in which "the various points of view put forward are clearly indicated, and the editor of the volume has succeeded in giving a picture of the discussions which is both informative and decidedly interesting. . . . Taken as a whole, the volume represents a unique collection of material on international problems of great complexity and importance for the peace of the Pacific and the world at large."

Vox Studentium, Geneva—"To review the proceedings of a conference is almost impossible. There is no single argument to be studied, no definite conclusion with which to agree or disagree." May be used "as a textbook of information on practically every problem of the Pacific and especially of the present situation in China. On the latter there is most valuable material and detailed treatment of such vexed questions as Tariff Autonomy, Extraterritoriality, Concessions or Missions. No one who has been bewildered by the chaotic information and propaganda of the Press can do better than study the subjects in these pages. . . . In fact, it is a source book for students of any particular Pacific topic and admirably documented." Speaks of "The Management of Discussion" by Kilpatrick, as "a mine of common-sense and experience."

The Inquiry, New York (E. H. Hume)—"The book develops a strong human interest in its narrative of friendships between representatives of nine different peoples living around the Pacific, friendships which were frank and fearless but which will lead to a fuller understanding of the issues at stake in that significant area, and eventually to wise handling of these great issues." Points to "important contributions" of Nasu and Yamasaki, Mears and McKenzie, Bau, Kilpatrick and Croly.

Pacific Affairs, Honolulu (Harold S. Quigley)—"Obviously the condensation of round-table interchanges must take away something of the human quality that makes the round-table especially attractive as a method of discussion. But Dr. Condliffe has accomplished that

primary task of the editor—to give the reader as much of the original discussion and as little of the editor's interpretation of what was said as possible. Not every digest is so honestly done. Furthermore we are permitted to feel much of the clash of opinion through the device of expressing *national* points of view though individuals are not quoted. Clarity and the careful ordering of materials so as to present a well-knit resumé characterize all the summaries. . . . 'The Problems of the Pacific' is a well organized volume, suitable both for the library and as a textbook and providing for the latter purpose an excellent body of supplementary material. For the survey study of the field it covers there is no other work comparable with this one."

Among other reviews of "Problems of the Pacific" were those appearing in the *American Mercury,* the *International Review of Missions,* the *Foreign Policy Association Bulletin,* the *World's Work,* the *Review of Reviews,* the *Pacific* (San Francisco), the *American Economic Review,* and Book Pages of numerous important dailies.

—E. G.

BRIEFS

By E. G.

THE DRAFTING OF THE COVENANT, 2 vols.
By David Hunter Miller
G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York and London, 1928. G$15.00

An attempt to assemble in one collection all the official documents connected with the preparing of the text of the Covenant of the League of Nations as adopted by the Peace Conference and incorporated in the Treaty of Versailles; together with the comments of the author, who was President Wilson's legal advisor and his intimate associate during the Paris Conference. The two volumes constitute a careful account of the proposals leading up to the framing of the Covenant, the collaboration that went into that framing, and the ingredients out of which the final instrument emerged. The work suffers the inescapable drawback that, as the author says, the history of the Covenant's origin is known only in part to any one. It has the further fault of being written from but one vantage point of knowledge—the American, a fault which the author likewise acknowledges. Nicholas Murray Butler writes an introductory appreciation.

THE IMMEDIATE ORIGINS OF THE WAR
By Pierre Renouvin
Translated by Theodore Carswell Hume
Yale University Press, New Haven, 1928. G$4.00

This is the translation of a heavy piece of work by the Professor of the History of the Great War at the University of Paris, Pierre Renouvin, who is also Director of the French War Library and Museum. The Yale University Press publishes it out of the Calvin Chapin Memorial Fund, as a valuable volume looking toward historical clarification, and with a preface by Charles Seymour, Sterling Professor of History at Yale and Curator of the Edward M. House Collection of war documents. The translation was made, through the special permission of the French Society of War History, by Theodore Carswell Hume, a pupil of M. Renouvin and under the author's supervision.

The history here presented may be classed as belonging to the efforts of those serious and objective historians who, since the war, have been solicitous that "the war-time verdict of the Entente peoples" should be re-evaluated in the light of all existing and lately available documents and facts. The original work in question has met with the respect of scholars and critics in all quarters of Europe. Its translation is useful for scholars in the English-speaking world.

THE DECLINE OF THE WEST
By Oswald Spengler
Volume I. Form and Actuality
Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1929. G$7.50

An authorized translation of the first volume of Spengler's "Untergang des Abendlandes," which appeared toward the end of the World War, in 1918. It is interesting that the author's conception of his work is not the result of an examination of the western world as the World War left it, but the result of a much deeper insight and more far-reaching observation of the trends which had led up to the war itself. This translation is a new and revised edition published in the United States, in October, 1928, and reprinted in February, 1929. Thoroughly philosophic in character, with little of the political involved, the work should yet be of great significance to students of the East and West. The second volume is on Perspectives of World History (Welthistorische Perspektiven) and was published in Germany in 1922. Knopf has just brought out the translation.

SOVIET RUSSIA IN THE SECOND DECADE
Edited by Stuart Chase, Robert Dunn and Rexford G. Tugwell
John Day Company, New York, 1928. G$4.00

This 364-page volume is a joint survey by the Technical Staff of the First American Trade Union Delegation to Soviet Russia in the summer of 1927. The contents comprise sixteen contributions on industry, agriculture, politics, finance, unionism, labor conditions, education, foreign concessions, etc., by Stuart Chase, Jerome Davis, R. G. Tugwell, Paul H. Douglas and others. The book is not so much a group report as a collection of personal reactions and opinions.

THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION
By James Mavor
George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., London, 1928. 21s

A 445-page volume, replete with interest and well worth reading, by a late emeritus professor of the University of Toronto. For the better part of his life Professor Mavor had known Russia intimately, through travel, personal friendships and deep study. This volume, which is a sequel to "An Economic History of Russia" issued in 1914 and revised in 1925, is more than a history of the Russian Revolution, as it attempts also to be an expert analysis of the Soviet regime of today, with its possibilities for success and failure. For this reason the book gains much of its interest from reflecting the critical, academic evaluation of one thinker. This same quality places the book in the field of possible controversy and removes it somewhat from the category

of dispassionate history, although all necessary historic elements are there. As the author states in his introduction, "The revolutionary movements of 1905-1907 formed the first stage of the Russian Revolution, and were followed by a period of seven years of political reaction and economic prosperity, during which the prestige of the Tsar Nicholas II steadily declined." It is with these events that the book opens.

WHITHER MANKIND?
A Panorama of Modern Civilization
Edited by Charles A. Beard
Longmans, Green and Company, New York, 1928. G$3.00

What are science and machines going to make of the civilization which man has laboriously built up through the centuries and delivered over to the keeping of these two tremendous forces? This is the fundamental query responsible for the symposium of essays which make up the 408 pages of this volume. The result forms a comprehensive effort to evaluate the future of mankind in terms of the elements now most dominant in our civilization. Dr. Hu Shih, the distinguished Chinese modern philosopher, contributes a basic study on the civilizations of the East and West. The historian, Hendrik van Loon, adds a survey of ancient and medieval civilizations for purposes of comparison. Such well-known names as Bertrand Russell, Sidney and Beatrice Webb, Emil Ludwig, Havelock Ellis, John Dewey, etc., are attached to the essays on Science, Labor, War and Peace, the Family, Philosophy, etc., etc. Antagonistic opinions and incompatible attitudes make the book all the more representative and provocative.

WOMEN OF THE PACIFIC
Proceedings of the First Pan-Pacific Women's Conference
Held in Honolulu, August 9-19, 1928
Auspices of the Pan-Pacific Union

A 280-page paper-bound volume giving the resolutions and recommendations of the conference; papers by various members, round table discussions of the Education, Industry, Health, Government, and Social Service Sections. There was some specially significant material brought out by the Japanese members from labor, social service and educational circles, and likewise by members from New Zealand relative to social legislation in that forward-looking Dominion.

THE CHINA VENTURE
By Dorothy Graham
Frederick A. Stokes, New York, 1929. G$2.50

It is not too often that western fiction laid in China is at the same time competent artistically, atmospherically and historically. This book is an exception. It is the story of a New England trader's fascinated love for China, which outlasted three generations. It is three stories, to be exact, for the settings and incidents, all of them historic and accurate, are each a generation apart. It is not a book to be read in a hurry; it is for leisured hours when one may savour fully the memories evoked or the imaginings wakened by the "echoes of peach-wood gongs," "the wind in swaying bamboos," or the sun on "the lilting curve of a roof tiled in turquoise."

The reader with any knowledge of life in China easily recognizes the reality of many of the characters. More than this, the book gives, with the unique sense of reality that good fiction can impart, a comprehension of some of the forces that have for three or four generations been determining the conflicting welter of today in China.

BLACK AMERICA
By Scott Nearing
Vanguard Press, New York, 1929. G$3.00

This is a terrible book. It is as stark and relentless as the fate which has made life what it is for the vast majority of Black America. It is encyclopedic, as Scott Nearing's works largely are; a gripping narrative packed with facts from every department of the life of American Negroes. The only relieving facet of light upon the depressing and often gruesome volume is the chapter on the "Struggle for Freedom," which deals with Negro educational institutions and social organizations and Negro successes in arts, professions and business. This publication is scientific, vital and important as a source book for any one interested in race relations in the United States. At the end there are eight pages of tabulated statistics and a biblography. Of the 262 pages 73 are given over to an amazing array of photographs ranged two to a page, and giving a most astonishing variety of support to the terse and plain-spoken text.

FRIENDLY SIAM
By Ebbe Kornerup
Translated from the Danish by M. Guiterman
G. P. Putnam's Sons, Ltd., London. 10s 6d

This is a human sort of record of a free and intensely savored journey through the cities and forests and along the rivers of Siam. Siam, as the world knows it, but "Tai" to its people. Tai, which means "free"—that land where at once, says the author, "you can tell that you are traveling among a free people." The original text of the work in Danish has been charmingly rendered into English, with what was obviously the intimate and pleasing quality of its narrative successfully retained. It is as much an introduction to people as to places; you know the author's friends well when you have finished, and he made many friends. There are delightful personal photographs, more frequently of people than of places. An illuminating and pleasing book.

THE REVIEWERS

Dr. John Wesley Coulter *(Australian Affairs)* is lecturer in Economic Geography at the University of Hawaii. William Prohme *(Foundations of Modern China)* was co-editor of the People's Tribune and manager of the Nationalist News Service under Kuomintang supervision during the 1926-1927 Hankow regime. Dr. Arthur L. Dean *(Harvey Baum)*, former president of the University of Hawaii, is chairman of the Hawaii Council of the Institute of Pacific Relations. Paul Bachman *(Conquest)* is instructor in the Political Science Department, University of Hawaii.

Pamphlets

By B. M.

MIGRATION PROBLEMS AND THE HAVANA CONFERENCE OF 1928
By Louis Varlez
International Labour Office, Geneva, 1929. 6d

In this pamphlet Professor Varlez of the University of Ghent, and former Chief of the Migration Service of the International Labour Office, gives his personal opinions concerning migration problems discussed at the Second International Conference on Emigration and Immigration, held at Havana from March 31st to April 17th, 1928. His opinion, accepted by most of the delegates, the foreword states, was "that the best method of solving such a complex problem is to entrust its solution to the existing international instiutions."

LEAGUE OF NATIONS NON-PARTISAN ASSOCIATION, Inc.
6 East 39th Street, New York City

The following educational publications have been received from the Non-Partisan Association of the League of Nations: (1) Suggested Outline for Teaching the World Court, published April, 1926; (2) Essential Facts in Regard to the League of Nations, the World Court and the International Labor Organization, published March, 1928 (5c); (3) Training in Summer Camps for World Co-operation, published May, 1927 (5c); (4) International Guide to Material Descriptive of Many Lands and Peoples, published February, 1928 (10c); (5) A Study Course on the League of Nations, the World Court and the International Labor Organization, published October, 1927 (10c); and (6) Outline for Model Assemblies, published October, 1928 (10c). In addition we have received, The United States and the League, No. 2, International Finance and Commerce, by Herbert Feis, published September, 1928; Seven Years with the League of Nations, by Sir Herbert Brown Ames, published October, 1928 (25c); and A Short History of the League of Nations (15c); official textbook for the third national competitive examination on the League of Nations for high school students and the first national competitive examination for normal school students. This "Short History" was prepared by the Educational Department of the League of Nations Association and published January, 1928.

THE ROYAL COLONIAL INSTITUTE AT AMSTERDAM
By C. J. Hasselman (second revised edition)
The Colonial Institute, Amsterdam, Holland, 1926

This 104-page booklet gives the origin, scope and future of the Royal Colonial Institute. "One of the motives which led to the foundation of the Colonial Institute was the conviction that the general public in the Netherlands, owing to insufficient interest and deficient information, do not realize what paramount interests, both material and spiritual, are attached to the possession of our Colonies." The illustrations well exemplify the beauty of the building and exhibits.

REPORT OF THE SEVENTH ANNUAL CONFERENCE OF THE FRIENDS OF THE MEXICANS
Held at Pomona College, Claremont, California, 1927

"Friends of the Mexicans" organized seven years ago under the auspices of Pomona College and the Department of Elementary Education, State Board of Public Instruction of California. Their purpose is to study problems connected with the welfare of Mexicans in the United States in order to bring better understanding and a closer relationship between the peoples of the United States and Mexico. The

pamphlet consists of a report of the conference, its recommendations, an address of welcome by Sr. Joel Quinones, Vice-Consul from Mexico, and "Mexico and the United States: Retrospect and Prospect," by Professor Malbone W. Graham, Jr.

EIGHTEENTH ANNUAL REPORT OF THE NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE
By Eugene Kinckle Jones, Executive Secretary
National Urban League, New York City, 1929

The National Urban League, with headquarters at 17 Madison Avenue, is an organization for social service among Negroes. Its work includes "improving race relations, raising the standards of living and working among Negroes in our large industrial centers, and in providing training opportunities for Negro social workers." The annual report shows wide and worthwhile activities of the league.

A NEW JOURNALISM IN A NEW FAR EAST
By Walter Williams
University of Missouri Bulletin, Vol. 29, No. 45
University of Missouri, Columbia, Missouri

This 20-page pamphlet is by Dean Williams of the School of Journalism of the University of Missouri, from whence comes a steady stream of young journalists into the Pacific area. Under the heading "A Journalism in Transition," Dean Williams states: "The tendency of the new journalism in the new Far East, despite notable and conspicuous examples to the contrary, is toward a better press, more independent, more accurate, more honest, more sympathetic, better informed, more responsible, with higher standards more courageously maintained."

REPORT ON THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE TERRITORY OF NEW GUINEA
To the Council of the League of Nations
By Governor-General Stonehave, Commonwealth of Australia
Government Printer, Canberra, Australia

REPORT ON THE ADMINISTRATION OF NAURU
To the Council of the League of Nations
By W. A. Newman, Administrator
Government Printer, Canberra, Australia

The report on New Guinea, which is administered under a mandate by the Commonwealth of Australia, covers the period, July 1, 1926, to June 30, 1927. That of Nauru covers the year 1927. Both of these reports show that Australia is making a sincere endeavor to promote the welfare of the peoples of New Guinea and Nauru.

THE NEW MALTHUSIANISM IN THE LIGHT OF ACTUAL WORLD PROBLEMS OF POPULATION
By G. H. Knibbs
"Scientia," Bureaux de la Revue, Milan, Italy

In this ten-page paper, the outlook of Neo-Malthusianism is summed up in the following, "the breeding and training of the future human race is seen to be a service of supreme value. The destiny of peoples lies in the hands of those who give birth to, and guide and educate their children. The time has arrived when defectives and degenerates should not be permitted to reproduce their kind, and when the ideal of humanity should inspire and lead to better possibilities for the world's future race."

THE LAURA SPELMAN ROCKEFELLER MEMORIAL
Report for 1927 and 1928
Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial Foundation, New York, 1929

The Memorial Foundation report for 1927 and 1928 is out, giving an interesting survey of the appropriations made for scientific and social work to scientific and international organizations.

In the Magazines

Note: All the following references to magazines published in the Orient are for English language publications. National ownership of such publications is indicated.

AGRICULTURE

FARM RELIEF; Volume CXLII, No. 231, *The Annals* of the American Academy of Political and Social Science; Clyde L. King, editor; Philadelphia, March, 1929.

FOOD SUPPLY AND AGRICULTURE; by O. E. Baker; the *Mid-Pacific Magazine,* Honolulu, April, 1929.

"The food supply of the American people seems assured. . . . If the present trend in agricultural production and population in Europe continues, that continent, it would seem, need not be anxious, provided commerce is carried on with the rest of the world. . . . The prospect in the Orient is less promising, but the possibilities of increase in agricultural production are still great, notably in China. In Japan, the only Oriental country for which such information is available, the standard of living has risen greatly during the past fifty years, and it is to be hoped that the rest of the world will by tariff policies help rather than hinder Japan in its development of manufacturing through which alone, apparently, it can continue to raise the standard of living of its people."

FOREIGN POLICY FOR THE AMERICAN FARMER, A; by John G. Hervey; the *Annals* of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Philadelphia, March, 1929.

"Shall the American farmer abandon all efforts to hold or extend his foreign markets and concentrate upon his domestic market? Shall he support a 'stay at home' policy, both in trade and political affairs? Shall he seek an intensive cultivation of foreign sales and accept the political consequences of such a policy?"

HOW SOVIET RUSSIA IS SOLVING HER AGRARIAN PROBLEM; by Vera A. Micheles; *Current History,* New York, March, 1929.

INDUSTRIALIZATION OF AGRICULTURE, THE; by Frank App; the *Annals* of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Philadelphia, March, 1929.

"Agriculture is emerging from a so-called 'way of living' to a commercialized, specialized, industrialized industry. . . ."

OPERATION OF THE AUSTRALIAN DAIRY PRODUCE EXPORT BOARD; by J. Russell King; the *Annals* of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Philadelphia, March, 1929.

RECENT TRENDS IN EXPORT TRADE IN AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS; by E. G. Montgomery; the *Annals* of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Philadelphia, March, 1929.

ROYAL COMMISSION ON AGRICULTURE IN INDIA AND THE INDIAN FORESTS, THE; by E. P. Stebbing; the *Nineteenth Century and After,* London, March, 1929.

BRITISH DOMINIONS

AUSTRALIA; anonymous; the *Round Table,* London, December, 1928.

A review of Commonwealth financial arrangements since the inter-state agreement of 1927, and the coal-industry crisis.

AUSTRALIA: The Federal Chronicle; anonymous; the *Round Table,* London, March, 1929.

BRITISH MISSION TO AUSTRALIA; editorial; the *Times Weekly Edition,* London, February 28, 1929.

The British Economic Mission which recently visited Australia at the request of the Commonwealth government state "that they are led to believe that an important element is the undertaking of schemes, such as railway schemes, under the pressure of sectional interests, without due regard to their financial and economic justification; that is to say, without regard to the interests of the community as a whole. Other schemes, they consider, have been undertaken without adequate preliminary investigation and without sufficient use and coordination of expert scientific and technical knowledge."

CANADA; anonymous; the *Round Table*, London, December, 1928.

An excellent survey of Dominion affairs for the past quarter, including the Federal and Provincial political situation, the immigration of British unemployed miners as harvest hands, etc.

CANADA: The West—Relations with the United States; anonymous; the *Round Table*, London, March, 1929.

IMPERIAL COMMUNICATIONS; anonymous; the *Round Table*, London, December, 1928.

A survey of the status of communications between various parts of the British Commonwealth of Nations, as it exists and as it is hoped to modify it by the proposed "Conference Scheme."

NEW ZEALAND; anonymous; the *Round Table*, London, December, 1928.

I. A summary of the Dominion's 1928 Parliament; II, an account of the new political party, outgrowth of the Nationalist and termed the "United" party; III, an analysis of the League's attitude in the Samoa situation.

NEW ZEALAND: The General Election; anonymous; the *Round Table*, London, March, 1929.

CHINA—GENERAL

BUILDING UP CHINA'S NATIONAL DEFENCE; by Frederick Hung; the *China Critic* (Chinese), Shanghai, March 7, 1929.

CHINA AND THE LEAGUE; by G. C.; the *Week in China* (American), Peking, March 2, 1929.

IMPROVED COMMUNICATIONS FOR NATIONALIST CHINA; by David Tung-foo Hsu; the *China Critic* (Chinese), Shanghai, March 14, 1929.

IS IT TO BE WAR OR PEACE ON THE YANGTSZE?—by J. B. Powell; the *China Weekly Review* (American), Shanghai, March 23, 1929.

MUKDEN MUST REMAIN A UNIT; editorial; the *Week in China* (American), Peking, March 2, 1929.

A statement of the Mukden government's official position in regard to the separate entity that is Manchuria.

NATIONAL RECONSTRUCTION BASED ON SAN-MIN-CHU-I; by Sun Fo; the *China Critic* (Chinese), Shanghai, March 21, 1929.

"This article was written in commemoration of the fourth anniversary of the death of the Founder of the Kuomintang; and published as a special translation."

PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF MONGOLIA, THE; by Serge M. Wolfe; the *Contemporary Review*, London, March, 1929.

". . . . One important factor, however, must be taken into consideration, and that is the strong determination of Mongolia to be independent. It is very possible that the China of the future, as well as other Powers, will prefer to have in Mongolia a friend instead of a conquered foe, and that they will recognize the political and moral right of Mongolia to remain independent and to continue her constructive and educational work."

RECENT GEOLOGIC EXPLORATIONS IN CENTRAL ASIA; by Charles Peter Berkey; *Scientific Monthly*, Garrison, New York, March, 1929.

SHANTUNG CASE AND THE GENERAL POLITICAL SITUATION, THE; by J. B. Powell; the *China Weekly Review* (American), Shanghai, March 16, 1929.

An exposition of the March difficulties in Hankow, and the fundamentals back of them.

SOME FACTS REGARDING MANCHURIA; by E. C. Ning; the *China Critic* (Chinese), Shanghai, March 21, 1929.

Characterizing writers on Manchuria the author says: "Secondly, there is the idler who is often out of employment for one reason or another. When he has nothing to do or does not know what to do, he writes on China. . . . His noble work, we are not surprised to find, contains in part legends, imaginary events, public-house gossip, and misinformed statement, and the rest of it, nonsense."

STRANGE CUSTOMS IN CHINA AND EGYPT; by George Cecil; *Catholic World*, New York, March, 1929.

THREE PRINCIPLES OF THE PEOPLE, THE: the Philosophical Foundation of Sun Yat-sen-ism; from the work of Tai Chi-tao, translated into German by H. C. Tsiang; *Sinica*, Frankfort, March, 1929.

CULTURES

AMERICA AND CULTURE; by Booth Tarkington; the *Saturday Evening Post,* Philadelphia, March 2, 1929.

AMERICANIZATION IN SAMOA; by Margaret Mead; *American Mercury,* New York, March, 1929.

CHINESE RENAISSANCE, THE; by Arthur de C. Sowerby; the *China Journal* (British), Shanghai, March, 1929.

CRISIS IN CHINESE CULTURE, THE; by Richard Wilhelm; *Sinica,* Frankfort, December, 1928.

Address and discussion before the China Institute, Frankfort, conducted by the well-known sinologue.

JAPAN, WHAT IT WAS AND IS TO US; by Fr. M. Trautz, in the section on "Culture, Art and Knowledge;" *Ostasiatische Rundschau,* Hamburg, March, 1929.

"NO" OR MASK PLAY OF JAPAN, THE; by Yone Noguchi; the *China Journal* (British), Shanghai, March, 1929.

RECURRING REBELLION IN MEXICO, THE; by Ernest Gruening; the *New Republic,* New York, March 27, 1929.

DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS

ANGLO-AMERICAN RELATIONS AND SEA POWER; by John W. Davis; *Foreign Affairs,* New York, April, 1929.

The American Ambassador to the Court of St. James during 1918-21 discusses a moot question frankly and helpfully, although he says: "The question 'Are you or are you not my friend?' is always a stupid one, for it demands an analysis of the unanalysible. To the imaginary interlocutor who asked, 'Is it still the same between us?' Stevenson replied, 'Why, how can it be? It is eternally different; and yet you are still the friend of my heart.' And to the further question, 'Do you understand me?'—'God knows; I should think it highly improbable.'"

Later he states his belief that "In the world of yesterday, the dominant thought was national security against all comers. If the Covenant of the League, the Locarno Treaties, the Four Power Pacific Treaty, and the Kellogg-Briand Pact are anything more than idle words, the controlling idea today is world-wide peace against all disturbers."

BRITISH COMMONWEALTH, THE—FREEDOM AND THE SEAS; anonymous; the *Round Table,* London, March, 1929.

After describing the nature of the system linking the British Commonwealth of Nations, this group article takes up in detail the three principal problems facing the next Imperial Conference—the international problem, the problem of internal organization and the economic problem. The first is stated thus: "How, in cooperation with other civilised nations, to end a system under which every State relies primarily upon armaments for its security—a system of international anarchy which always has ended and always must end in war—and to substitute for it a constitutional method whereby all international problems can be settled by an appeal to reason and justice, and not by an appeal to force."

CONDUCT OF BRITISH EMPIRE FOREIGN RELATIONS SINCE THE PEACE SETTLEMENT; by Arnold J. Toynbee; a favorable review in *Europäische Gespräche,* Hamburg, February, 1929.

DEVELOPMENT OF AMERICAN POLICY, THE; by General Tasker H. Bliss; *Foreign Affairs,* New York, April, 1929.

A review of the Council of Foreign Relations' new volume, "Survey of American Foreign Relations," written by the former Chief of Staff of the United States army and member of both the Supreme War Council and the American Commission to Negotiate Peace. The article is not only a review, but a further outgrowth of the book. He makes suggestions for the recasting of national policy.

FOREIGN POLICY: TOWARDS THE NEW ORIENTATION; by Truvor (pseudonym); the *Fortnightly Review,* New York, February, 1929.

GENEVA LOOKS AT THE KELLOGG PACT; editorial; *Review of Reviews,* New York, March, 1929.

Liberalism in Japan; by John Stewart Burgess; the *China Weekly Review* (American), Shanghai, March 16, 1929.

". . . 'General public opinion,' we are informed from several directions, is against the Tanaka regime and for a more liberal China policy. One must not expect opinion to be registered in the foreign policy of the government—not until much pressure is brought and not necessarily then."

Monroe Doctrine and Latin America, The; by Leonard W. Matters, Editor of the Review; the *Review* of South and Central America, London, March, 1929.

"A lecture before the Foreign and Colonial Affairs Committee of the National Liberal Club, London, on 'The Monroe Doctrine from the Latin American Point of View.'"

Pact of Paris, The: A Gesture or a Pledge?—by George W. Wickersham; *Foreign Affairs,* New York, April, 1929.

The author was formerly Attorney-General of the United States; he is a member of the Commission on the Progressive Codification of International Law. He gives an account of the diplomatic correspondence leading up to the pact and of the United States ratification. His analysis of the terms of acceptance in Great Britain and the United States leads him to believe that Foreign Office officials and Senators regarded it as a gesture, and that this "accentuates the importance of strengthening and improving the existing machinery for preventing international misunderstanding and for the peaceful determination of international controversies. The two most effective agencies for that purpose are the League of Nations and the Permanent Court of International Justice." He adds that "If the American people realize the full scope of the covenant that has been entered into in their name, they will visit with political infamy those who would deride their faith and violate their honor by making a mockery of its real import."

Senator Borah and the Freedom of the Seas; anonymous; the *Round Table,* London, March, 1929.

"To challenge Senator Borah's logic when he discussed the Anglo-American naval controversy . . . to doubt the success of his proposed conference on the codification of maritime law, is to ignore the fact that he has seen fit to announce a position on the subject. Senator Borah has established a reputation for sensing what the public is thinking. . . .

"He should therefore be considered, not as an instrument of precision, but rather as a slightly distorted mirror, reflecting that imprecise something which we call Public Opinion. . . . What he has to say on Anglo-American relations is probably what an effective majority of his countrymen are thinking, or soon will think."

What is the Monroe Doctrine?—by Carrie Chapman Catt; *Woman's Journal,* New York, March, 1929.

ECONOMICS IN PACIFIC—GENERAL

American Economic Policy in China; by "Asiaticus," Berlin; *Ostasiatische Rundschau,* Hamburg, March, 1929.

Can Japan Develop Industrially?—by John E. Orchard; the *Geographical Review,* New York, April 1929.

An extensive review presented as part 3 of a study of the development of Japan's manufactures, being carried on under the Council for Research in the Social Sciences at Columbia University, where the author is assistant professor of economic geography. The article is based on an examination of Japanese records and on an investigation carried on by the author and Dorothy J. Orchard in Japan.

The first section of the study was published in the *Geographical Review* for July, 1928—"The Pressure of Population in Japan." The second section, "Agrarian Problems of Modern Japan," by Dorothy J. Orchard is to be a forthcoming publication of the *Review.*

Central Planning and Coordination of Production in Soviet Russia; by Raymond T. Bye; the *American Economic Review,* Cambridge, Massachusetts, December, 1928.

Constitution and Diplomacy, The; editorial; the *New Republic,* New York, March 27, 1929.

Cycles of Unemployment in Canada; by G. E. Jackson; *University of Toronto Studies,* Toronto, 1928.

Development of Wage Fixation in Australia; by G. V. Portus; the *American Economic Review,* Cambridge, Massachusetts, March, 1929.

Displacement of Railroad Labor; by Ethelbert Stewart, U. S. Commissioner of Labor Statistics; the *Monthly Labor Review,* Washington, March, 1929.

Dollar Abroad, The; by Max Winkler; *Information Service,* New York, March, 1929.

A Survey of American Foreign Investments, studied as they affect international Peace. Details of investments in Europe and elsewhere, including (of special interest) Canada, South America, and Australasia.

Gold in the Far East; by Boris P. Torgasheff; the *China Weekly Review* (American), Shanghai, March 9, 1929.

Gold Mining Prospects in Manchuria; by Boris P. Torgasheff; *Chinese Economic Journal* (Chinese), Shanghai, February, 1929.

Industrial Misgivings; anonymous; the *Round Table,* London, December, 1928.

A review of "seven lean years" in British industry, with a critical analysis of "the central problem."

Industrialization of China and Its Psychological Consequences, The; by Richard Wilhelm; *Sinica,* Frankfort, March, 1929.

Japanese Boycott Statistics; editorial; Commercial Supplement of the *Japan Weekly Chronicle* (British), Kobe, March 21, 1929.

Men and Machines; by Stuart Chase; the *New Republic,* New York, March 6, 1929, and following issues.

A series of five articles excerpted from his forthcoming book.

New International Socialism, The; editorial; the *Nation,* New York, April 10, 1929.

Of the American oil producers' determination to curtail production for 1929 this article says: "And why? Simply because prices were falling! . . . Two decades ago all the high priests of business were lauding competition and denouncing the dead hand of socialistic monopoly; today, dreading competition, they lay the basis of international socialism. And no one bursts into the Homeric laughter which the occasion merits."

New Study of British Foreign Investments, A; by Sir Robert Kindersley; *Economic Journal,* the quarterly journal of The Royal Economic Society, London, March, 1929.

"I set out a year ago to make good what seemed to me a bad gap in our national statistics," says the author, who is closely associated with the National Savings Movement and desired information in the field of savings invested abroad.

"The inquiry undertaken covered the receipts in England from the operation of sinking funds and maturity payments of foreign Government, State and Municipal loans, and the capital arrangements of British companies operating abroad and at home for specified years, but did not include certain 'private' receipts, *inter alia* those from private English companies operating abroad and from private or individual investments by inhabitants of the British Isles in foreign stocks and bonds."

Organisation of State Industry in Soviet Russia, The; by N. S. Timacheff, formerly Professor of Law in the University of Petrograd, Professor in the Berlin Scientific Institute and the Russian University at Prague; *International Labour Review,* Geneva, March, 1929.

Review of the Bullion, Exchange and Financial Markets, Shanghai, 1928; by E. Kann; *Chinese Economic Journal* (Chinese), Shanghai, February, 1929.

Silver fluctuations, production, minting and consumption; banknotes and banking; government finance and financial reform; 18 pages of statistical tables.

Size of the Establishment in Canadian and American Industry, The; by V. W. Bladen; *University of Toronto Studies,* Toronto, 1928.

Tariff-Making in the United States; report of round table conference; the *American Economic Review,* Cambridge, Massachusetts, December, 1928.

World's Problem of Petroleum; by Judson Churchill Welliver; *Review of Reviews,* New York, March, 1929.

EDUCATION

EDUCATION IN CHINA; by Sir Verney Lovett; the *Quarterly Review,* London, January, 1929.

ILLITERACY IN JAPAN; editorial; the *Japan Weekly Chronicle* (British), Kobe, March 14, 1929.

STATISTICS OF EDUCATION OF THE NEGRO RACE, 1925-1926; by David T. Blose; U. S. Bureau of Education *Bulletin,* 1928, Washington, D. C.

LABOR IN THE PACIFIC

CALIFORNIA—MEXICAN LABOR IN THE IMPERIAL VALLEY; anonymous; the *Monthly Labor Review,* Washington, March, 1929.

EMPLOYMENT OF WOMEN IN JAPANESE INDUSTRY, THE; by Iwao F. Ayusawa; *International Labour Review,* Geneva, March, 1929.

The first part of this article, in the February issue, contained a statistical survey of the position of women in Japanese industry (including mining). Conditions of employment (hours of work, overtime, night work, rest periods and holidays, wages) and the relevant legislation are described here.

INTERNATIONAL DIFFERENCES IN THE LABOR MOVEMENT; report of round table conference; the *American Economic Review,* Cambridge, Massachusetts, December, 1928.

MALAYA

GOVERNOR STIMSON IN THE PHILIPPINES; by Maximo M. Kalaw; *Foreign Affairs,* New York, April, 1929.

Maximo M. Kalaw is Dean and Professor of Political Science, University of the Philippines; author of several books on Philippine government, and a Filipino. In discussing the widely differing administrations of Governors Harrison, Wood and Stimson, he admits the errors of the first democratic regime, but believes that the "evils of democracy" would have been self-corrected. . . . "The process might be a longer one, but the results would be more lasting." He admits the "degree of efficiency" effected under Wood, but deplores most of his practices and the resulting strained relations. The article is mainly devoted to the story of Governor Stimson's administration, the restoration of Party Government, his economic program, relations with the legislature, etc. The writer has praise for the spirit of his conduct of affairs and of the resultant measure of cooperation achieved.

POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC CHANGES IN THE NETHERLANDS INDIES IN THE YEAR 1928; from the Annual Report of the Hamburg-Bremen East Asiatic Union, 1928; *Ostasiatische Rundschau,* Hamburg, March, 1929.

SINGAPORE, KEY TO THE PACIFIC—and other notes; by Roger Lévy; *L'Europe Nouvelle,* Paris, March 2, 1929.

Editorial items in the section on "Affaires du Pacifique," together with documents, among them the report of the Hon. W. G. A. Ormsby-Gore, under-Secretary of State for the Colonies (London) on Malaya. There is an interesting section on Chinese immigration into the Malay States.

POPULATION AND MIGRATION

MOVEMENTS TO AND FROM FARMS (In the United States); by Charles L. Stewart; the *Annals* of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Philadelphia, March, 1929.

POPULATION AND FOOD SUPPLY; by Professor John W. Gilmore; the *Mid-Pacific Magazine,* Honolulu, April, 1929.

POPULATION PROBLEM SINCE THE WORLD WAR; by Albert Benedict Wolfe; *Journal of Political Economy,* Chicago, October, 1928,-February, 1929.

POPULATION TRENDS; by John M. McKee; the *Annals* of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Philadelphia, March, 1929.

A survey of the growth and composition of population in the United States, augmented by immigration, which has bearing on the supply and demand of farm products.

PUBLIC LANDS AND IMMIGRATION, THE; by Donald Young; the *Annals* of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Philadelphia, March, 1929.

WESTERN CULTURE AND POPULATION INCREASE IN CHINA; by J. B. Griffing, formerly of the University of Nanking; the *Mid-Pacific Magazine,* Honolulu, April, 1929.

RELIGIONS IN THE PACIFIC

BUDDHISM IN HISTORY AND FUTURE; by Rev. Tai Hsŭ of Nanking; *Sinica,* Frankfort, December, 1928.

Report of an address delivered at a meeting on Buddhist Studies held for the visiting monk at the China Institute, Frankfort, December, 1928. Gives sketch of development in India and in China, states the three central points of emphasis in modern Buddhism, and its relation to various aspects of modern life.

CHRISTIANITY IN CHINA CHANGING; editorial; the *Chinese Recorder* (American), Shanghai, March, 1929.

". . . . Christianity has won to equality with China's other religious systems. Christianity suffers from the same limitations as they do and has the same opportunity, though at the moment iconoclasm disturbs Christianity less than the other religions. This leads up to the second change, that in the relation of Christianity to China's indigenous religions. It has sluffed off its extreme iconoclastic attitude. As a result of missionary studies and reawakened Chinese Christian memories there is a growing appreciation of the values in these other faiths. . . ."

SHORT REVIEW OF BUDDHISTIC PSYCHOLOGY; by Liang Chi-chao, translated into German by Richard Wilhelm; *Sinica,* Frankfort, March, 1929.

TARIFF

CHINA'S NEW TARIFF AUTONOMY; by Walter H. Mallory; *Foreign Affairs,* New York, April, 1929.

A brief report on the situation by the Executive Director of the Council on Foreign Relations.

PHILIPPINES AND THE TARIFF, THE; by Randall Gould; the *Nation,* New York, March 20, 1929.

TARIFF AS A CAUSE OF PORTO RICAN POVERTY; by Harold S. Sloan; *Current History,* New York, March, 1929.

TARIFF HANDICAPS (relating to farm produce in the United States); by J. E. Boyle; the *Annals* of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Philadelphia, March, 1929.

MISCELLANEOUS

ACROSS THE COLOR LINE; by M. S. Lea; the *American Mercury,* New York, March, 1929.

AMERICAN SUPERVISION OF THE NICARAGUAN ELECTION; by H. W. Dodds; *Foreign Affairs,* New York, April, 1929.

H. W. Dodds is Professor of Politics at Princeton University. He was Technical Adviser to the United States Electoral Mission in Nicaragua, 1928. This article is intended to show the value of the supervision and to "demonstrate the shallowness of the charge that the United States, during the years in which the Conservatives were in power, had deliberately supported a small minority party because it alone was friendly to us." A good exposition of this point of view.

RUSSIA IN CENTRAL ASIA; by Georg Cleinow; *Europäische Gespräche,* Hamburg, February, 1929.

RUSSIAN PEASANT SPHINX, THE; by William Henry Chamberlin; *Foreign Affairs,* New York, April, 1929.

A resumé of peasant conditions and Communist relations thereto. The author was for seven years correspondent for the Christian Science Monitor in Russia. "Whatever the issue, the effort to extend socialism from industry to agriculture, to end the chronic dualism of the collectivist city and the individualist countryside, is the most absorbing and most important episode of the Russian revolutionary drama."

UNITED STATES TRADE WITH LATIN AMERICA IN 1928; by Matilda Phillips; *Bulletin* of the Pan-American Union, Washington, D. C., March, 1929.

A brief statistical summary giving comparisons over several years.

WAR AND PEACE; by Bradley Allen Fiske; the *Forum,* New York, March, 1929.

WAR AS AN INSTRUMENT OF NATIONAL POLICY AND ITS RENUNCIATION IN THE PACT OF PARIS; by James T. Shotwell; a favorable review, announcing a translation in German; *Europäische Gespräche,* Hamburg, February, 1929.

Institute Notes

The information published in this department is issued officially by the International Secretariat of the Institute of Pacific Relations at Honolulu.

The Kyoto Conference

October 28, 1929, has been set as the opening date for the third biennial conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations at Kyoto, Japan.

The Pacific Council, International Research Committee and Program Committee will hold a series of preliminary meetings at Nara, from October 23 to 27.

The sessions at Kyoto are scheduled to continue for twelve days, coming to a close on November 9.

Dr. Hawkling Yen

Dr. Hawking Yen, recently appointed Associate General Secretary of the Institute, arrived in Honolulu on April 20 to take up his duties at Central Headquarters. Dr. Yen has been conferring with Institute groups in various parts of China and Japan during February and March.

Dr. Condliffe's Tour

A letter of March 21 from Wellington tells of an interesting group meeting held with Dr. J. B. Condliffe in Dunedin, Sir James Allen, New Zealand's member of the Pacific Council, presiding. Dr. Scholefield, New Zealand Secretary, and Dr. Benson, Research Secretary, were both present. At Christchurch Dr. Condliffe lectured daily at the college during his stay and addressed several public meetings. At Wellington, in addition to several public meetings, he addressed the Rotary organization, a Labor group, and attended the Dominion meeting of the Institute of Pacific Relations. Dr. Condliffe has been in Australia during April and is expected to return to Honolulu on May 17.

Dr. Yui's Japan Visit

Dr. David Z. T. Yui, Chairman of the China Council of the Institute of Pacific Relations, who has returned to China from an extended visit to America, met with the Japanese Council of the Institute at Tokyo on March 18, en route to Shanghai. Chairman Inouye presided at this meeting of thirty members. There were addresses by Inazo Nitobé and Dr. Yui. Many problems in connection with the coming conference at Kyoto were discussed.

Dr. Herman Liu

Dr. Herman C. E. Liu, member of the China Council of the Institute and President of Shanghai College, met with the staff at Central Headquarters on April 11, on his way to the United States. In the course of the day Dr. Liu spoke to a luncheon meeting of the Chinese University Club of Hawaii and later at a public meeting under the auspices of the Hawaii Council of the Institute.

Dr. Liu spoke of the new educational movements in China as the most fundamental and most significant signs of reconstruction, stating that these movements are not merely in the coast cities but extend to

the interior and frontiers, enlisting the devoted services of many hundreds of graduated students. "Saving China," he said, "does not mean just Nanking or Shanghai." His own university at Shanghai is endeavoring to carry out courses of international studies and is planning next year for a miniature institute of Pacific relations to be drawn out of the cosmopolitan elements resident in Shanghai. He characterized the efforts of his college as being "to relate studies to the life of the people." In referring to international relations, Dr. Liu mentioned a significant fact which has come under his observation, namely, one relating to Japan. In previous times, he said, anti-Japanese movements, economic boycotts, violent demonstrations, etc., have been the complete expression of China's indignation and animosity toward Japan. Chinese participants in these movements were not interested to know anything about Japan further than the bald facts which had occasioned the animosity. Today, however, Dr. Liu says there is being manifested a growing desire to know more about Japan and more about the obscure forces which have been making for trouble between the two.

Concerning China's political situation, Dr. Liu was abundantly confident. He said, "it requires time and real artists' work to create anything. You cannot build up a country on a lottery ticket. Some enthusiastic patriots may have thought that they could buy a share in the new government with a lottery ticket and then sit back and win national strength and prosperity overnight. This attitude is responsible for whatever dissatisfaction can be found amongst various groups in China today—groups that were too impatient and are disappointed in their hope for miracles." Far from being pessimistic or impatient himself, Dr. Liu says that reconstruction is the dominant note in China today, and that not only has the growing unity of the nation been demonstrated by these last two months of anxiety and their triumphant outcome but that progress in the many major fields of China's educational and economic life is steadily going forward.

American Officers

The American Council on April 26 announced the selection of Jerome D. Greene, New York, as national chairman to succeed Dr. Wilbur, and of Mr. Wallace Alexander, San Francisco, as vice-chairman.

Professor E. G. Mears

Professor Eliot G. Mears of Stanford University, a member of the 1927 Conference of the Institute, whose contribution to that conference ("Resident Orientals on the American Pacific Coast") has since been published by the Chicago University Press, goes to Geneva in June of this year, beginning his sabbatical leave. He will attend several international conferences in Europe, among them the International Chamber of Commerce at Amsterdam, and in September begin a tour of the Orient via Moscow, studying economic conditions as he goes. Starting with January, 1930, Professor Mears will begin his series of lectures as visiting professor for the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, in European universities. His general subject will be "Economic Problems of the Pacific Basin."

The Institute of Pacific Relations

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ELIZABETH GREEN
Editor

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PACIFIC AFFAIRS

No. 6 JUNE 1929

Inter-Racial Study in Asia

THE PROGRESS OF ORIENTOLOGY IN THE USSR

By N. I. Borozdin

The all-sided and profound study of the Orient is one of the most vital and basic problems of Russian scholarship. Not only the close proximity of the countries of the East calls for this, but the fact that within the Soviet Union there are a large number of Oriental peoples. This presents to our orientologists scientific, theoretical, and many practical problems. Particularly in recent years this interest in the study of the Orient was greatly revived.

The Russian Academy of Sciences has devoted many of its works to problems of orientology. Many of its special academic and scholarly publications relate to the Orient, among them a whole series on Buddhism which has gained popularity and renown.

Of first class scholarly significance is the Asiatic Museum of the Academy of Science with its rich collection of manuscripts and a wonderfully selected library. If we begin to enumerate the works of individual members of the Academy of more recent years one must mention the Sinological works of Vassiliev, the researches of the Arabist Rozen, the Turkological studies of Radlov, the Buddhist studies of Tzherbatsky, the Semitological works of Kokovzev, the investigation of Central Asia by Bartold, the Egyptological works of Turaev and the Yafetic researches of Marr.

Besides the Academy of Science there were before the revolution a few scientific societies and organisations of orientology. True enough they were compelled to limit their research work to Russian territory and their results were not significant. But it should not be forgotten that there is a conglomeration of various cultures found within the limits of the former Russian Empire. "Our fatherland," wrote the academician, I. Turaev, in 1915, "is from the archeological point of view a unique state. It embraces parts of ancient oriental states, of Great Greece on the Northern shores of the Black Sea, the limit of the Roman Empire, the territory of two Hellenic monarchies, of two Eastern Christian states, the limit of the Bysantian World, a number of territories of the Western Christian culture, large territories of the Islam and Buddhism and all this in an unbroken chain of Sythian, Gothic, Slav and Russian antiquity."

A great rôle in the study of the Orient was in older days played by the Moscow Archeological Society, which developed an intensive research of antiquity and periodically convened all-Russia archeological conferences with a broad scientific program. This Society began a scientific study of the cultures of the many tribes of the Caucasus, and

Professor Borozdin is director of the Association for Oriental Studies in Moscow, and has played an important role in the fascinating drama of Russia's Oriental expeditions and discoveries.—Ed.

twelve enormous folios were published on "Materials on the Archeology of the Caucasus," summarising the results of special scientific expeditions.

Besides the Archeological Society of Moscow the Russian Archeological Society at Petersburg was very active. Its work in orientology was carried on by the Oriental section of the Society, which united all Petersburg orientologists. The work of the Oriental section passed far the limits of pure archeology. All problems in the study of culture of the East, such as history, literature, ethnology, linguistics, were discussed and published in the Journal of the Society. The State Archeological Commission, also located in Petersburg, turned its attention to oriental antiquities within the limits of Russia. A number of well known excavations were carried through under the direction of the Commission (the excavations of I. Zabelin, N. Veselovsky, B. Formakovsky, N. Marr and many others). There were also several provincial scientific organisations, few in number but productive in quality, at work under the old regime.

So far we have spoken chiefly of the study of the past cultures of the Orient, of the work of the historians, linguists, ethnologists and archeologists. The contemporary Orient was little studied. The economics and politics of the Near and Far East were at times mentioned in the pages of state official publications, but they were rarely seen by the wider circle of the reading public. The problems of the Orient in our foreign policy, for example the Near East and Pacific problems, were treated by our historians, internationalists and publicists, but even here the literature was not voluminous in comparison with the importance of the problems.

The revolution of 1917 which at the very basis changed the Oriental policy of Russia, presented a new problem to the Russian orientologists. Now it became particularly necessary to study in detail the countries and the peoples of the East in all their peculiarities. The practical study of the present conditions of the various countries of the Near and Far East must be carried on in close contact with the theoretical study of the roots of their culture antecedent to the present. Our orientologists, receiving a fresh impulse, quickly and energetically commenced to solve these problems and during a short period have already accomplished much.

The new times and new demands of life not only revived the activities of the old Orientalist institutions, but called into existence new organisations. If formerly the chief orientalist center was Petersburg (the present Leningrad), today Moscow, the capital of the Soviet Union, has new authoritative and active orientological organisations. In 1921 in Moscow the All-Russian Scientific Association of Orientology was organized by the People's Commissariat of Nationalities and in 1924 it was reorganized into the All-Union Scientific Association of Orientology by the Central Executive Committee of the USSR. The new scientific organisation had for its purpose an all-sided and profound study of the Orient. It attracted into its ranks a number of scientific specialists and political and practical workers for the East. The first Chairman of the Association of Orientology was a well-known scholar of the contemporary East and specialist in international politics, M. Pavlovitch, who remained in that post till his death in 1927.

To solve its problems the Association of Orientology divided its work into two chief sections, the political-economic and the historical-ethnological, and upon these it concentrated all its scientific activities. From the very outset the new organisation sought to carry on its work on an All-Union scale. For the greater productivity and vitality of its work, contact was established with scientific societies and institutions of Central Asia, the Caucasus, the Crimea, Tataria and the Far East. With these purposes in view the Association organized its branches and also established contacts with corresponding local organisations, relating to them their scientific research enterprises. During these seven years the Scientific Association of Orientology has given wide expansion to its research activities.

The political-economic section worked upon the chief problem of politics, economics and statistics of the national emancipation movements in the countries of the Near, Central and Far East. This Department has one cabinet in economic subjects and one in the history of the popular and revolutionary movements in the countries of the Orient. To study the Soviet Orient, expeditions were organized to learn of the present conditions in the Eastern Republics and territories (Dagestan, Kasakstan, Georgia, Armenia, Abhasia, Uzbekistan, Kalmykia, etc.)

The historical-ethnological department developed on a large scale its research work within the fields of history, archeology, ethnography and the arts of both the Soviet and foreign Orient. All the scientific work is carried on within the Department itself and in five permanent commissions. Among the large enterprises of the Department should be noted the organisation of a number of scientific expeditions into the districts of the Soviet Orient. Of these expeditions the one for the study of the monuments of the Heraclian peninsula under the direction of Prof. I. Borozdin is of considerable interest. An ethno-linguistic expedition to Dagestan was led by Prof. Yakovlev. These were two exceptionally successful expeditions, as far as one may judge from the results of the archeological study of the first capital of the Crimean Tatars, Solhata (old Crimea), and were organized jointly with the Government of the Crimean Republic under the general direction of Prof. Borozdin. Then there were carried through a complex ethno-archeo-economic expedition to Ingushetia (Northern Caucasus), and an archeological expedition to the Tatar Republic (the excavations of the Kremlin of Kazan and others). Besides, individual members of the department undertook scientific travels for research work in Azerbaidjan, Georgia, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, the Crimean Republic, Northern Ossetia, the Chuvash Republic and elsewhere.

The Publication Department of the Association has great significance, having published already a number of works on orientology. First of all should be noted the Journal of the Association of Orientology, "The New East," devoted to an all-sided study of the life of the East. In the twenty-two issues of the magazine is found an enormous amount of material relating to the contemporary East, received directly from its primary sources. Besides articles of political and ethnological character there is an historic-ethnological section, a department on the Soviet Orient, materials and correspondence and detailed bibliographies and scientific news.

Scientific research work on the Orient is carried on also by the Institute of the Peoples of the USSR East and the Museum of Oriental

Culture in Moscow, recently founded. The Institute of the Peoples of the East conducts its work chiefly along the line of linguistics. But there are also sections in history and material culture. It studies the language material of the Oriental people of the Soviet Union and prepares scholars from the ranks of these nationalities. The Museum of Oriental Culture collects in its halls the monuments of material culture of the foreign and the Soviet Orient and successfully develops expedition activities. The scientific workers of the museum, directed by Prof. Denike, studied the remarkable ruins of Termesa in Central Asia.

The Academy of Science of the USSR continues its oriental studies and is expanding and increasing its program. We note particularly the foundation of a special Yafetic Institute, conducted by the Academician Marr and having for its problem the study of the origin of language and culture; also that of a Buddhological Institute under the direction of the Academician F. Tsherbatsky and that of a College of Orientologists under the direction of the Academician Bartold. These new academic institutes have their valuable publications. The Academy of Science pays special attention to research in our Eastern Republics and territories. Various academic expeditions are under way to Yakutia, Kasakstan, Turkmenistan, Bashkiria and others. The works of these expeditions are already partly published. Serious attention is given also to the composition of dictionaries. The Yakut dictionary of Nikolsky has been completed. The first volume of the Ossetin dictionary by Miller has also appeared.

The State Academy of History in Material Culture, which developed from the former archeological Commission, has considerably expanded its program and added ethnology and the history of art to archeology. It also pays special attention to studies in orientology, and has accomplished a number of expeditions and published results in the "News" and the "Report" as well as in special publications. The work of the late secretary of this Academy, the well-known archeologist, B. Formakovsky, deserves special mention for his brilliant excavations of Olvia, a powerful Greek colony in the South of Russia in which are found distinct Oriental influences. The work of Alexiev on the archeology of China should also be noted.

With the revival of scientific research organisations in Moscow and Leningrad began also the desire for a direct study of oriental disciplines. In both capitals the number of higher schools of orientology increased. In Moscow from the former Lazarev Institute of Oriental Languages there developed a special program with the practical tendency and introduction on a large scale of social economic discipline particularly necessary for the present works in the countries of the East. At the Military Academy there is a special Oriental Department preparing corresponding specialists. In order to attract the wider circles of toilers from Oriental countries the Stalin Communist University for the Toilers of the East and the Sun Yat-sen University for the Toilers of China, having their own scientific research institutes for the study of economics and politics of contemporary China, were founded. In Leningrad besides the University there exists the Enukidze Institute of living oriental languages with a special seminary of a higher type.

The revival of orientological work was not limited to the capitals. In the provinces there is considerable development of scientific organisations and societies studying the Orient. It should be noted that this

revival of orientology in the provinces is closely related to the national self-determination resulting from the revolution. At present we observe a strong desire on the part of separate nationalities to learn their present and their past.

In the Ukraine after the pattern of the All-Union Scientific Association of Orientology exists the Ukrainian Scientific Association of Orientology with the departments in Kharkov, Kiev and Odessa. The Ukrainian Association developed its activities on a large scale, in scientific, as well as in practical works. It publishes a magazine "The Oriental Work" in the Ukrainian language. In 1927 it called a conference of Ukrainian orientologists and in 1928 sent a scientific delegation to Turkey. The Ukrainian Academy of Science is also devoting attention to the study of the Orient. Its Archeological Committee carried on a number of interesting excavations, particularly in the study of the Tripolitan culture, and published a special monograph. Excavations in Khenan relating its culture to that of the Orient were in harmony with the new discoveries in China and in Mekhondjo, Daro and Kharape, Northern India.

Of significant interest are the excavations of the Odessa Historical Archeological Museum, in Ussatovo near Odessa, where cultures of the close of the Tripolia were discovered, related somehow to the culture of the Aegean world. These excavations were conducted by N. Boltenko.

In summarizing the study of the oriental peoples within the USSR, first place in achievement must be given to the study of the Turc peoples. Much is also done regarding Tatar culture. The latest excavations along the Volga, locating the capitals of the Golden Orda in the Old and the New Sarai and in the Crimea in Solhat, have revealed anew the earlier stages of the Tatar culture and have exploded the traditional idea of the savagery and the barbarism of the Tatars of the Golden Orda period. On the contrary very brilliant culture was discovered, related to the culture of the Seldjuks, of Egypt, the epoch of the Mamlyouks, of Central Asia and even China. The survey of the Kazan Kremlin was commenced this year. Together with the past, the present of the Tatar people is being studied by ethnographers and economists.

In the Tatar Republic in the Crimea all this work is carried on by local organisation together with the scientific organisations and the specialists from the centre. Particularly should be noted the activities of the Kazan Scientific Circles. Here are founded the societies for the study of Tataria, which is publishing its own organ, the "House of Tatar Culture," uniting Tatar scientific and literary organisations and the society for the study of Tatarstan with a more practical learning. Work of a wide scope, particularly in the line of expeditions, is carried on by the Central Museum which collected material on the ethnography of the Tatars, in the Tatar language.

Much has been accomplished in Azerbaidjan in a short time, Baku has become a large center of new Turc culture. Here the Turc alphabet on the Latin basis first found its application. Here was called the First Turcological Congress which has become an epoch in the study of Turc cultures. Parallel with the study of the present is carried on the study of past cultures. This is pursued by the society for research study in Azerbaidjan, which during three or four years has published many works. There is also an Oriental faculty at the University, a State Museum and an Archeological Commission.

The very rich cultures of Central Asia where the Turc people played such an important part were also recently studied. Here should be noted the activity of the Central Asiatic Committee, relating to museums and the protection of monuments of art. This committee organized a number of scientific expeditions and scientific journeys with the purpose of locating and protecting monuments of the many cultures which had passed over Turkestan. Great reconstructive work was carried on in Samarkand and Bukhara, which possess first-class monuments of art. Some excavations were made in the famous Afrassiap settlement (researches of V. Vitatkin). Let us note a number of ethnographic surveys, particularly in the musical achievements of the Turcmen—namely those of Viatkin, Umnikov, Masson, Zassypkin and others.

Less developed is the problem of the Buriat Mongol and the Kalmyk cultures, but even here should be noted some publications by Prof. B. Petri and M. Bogdanov on the history of the Buriat Mongol people. Prof. Palmov has written a valuable work in the history of the Kalmyks, on Amur-Sonan on the contemporary Kalmykia, etc. In Siberia and the Far East, work was carried on in Irkutsk, Habarovsk and Vladivostok.

Research work was carried on in recent years on a large scale in the Caucasus in the Republic of Transcaucasia, Georgia and Armenia and in the Republics and territories of the Northern Caucasus where much has been done in the study of the history, the ethnography and the language of these peoples. In Dagestan, Ingushetia and Northern Ossetia were organised scientific research institutes which send out systematic expeditions and publish their works. In Rostov on the Don there is besides an Institute of Local Geography, an Association of scientific research institutes, and a society for ethnography and archeology.

We have noted here the activities of scientific institutions and societies and their publications. But also in the general press of the USSR the Orient receives its due attention. Annually books, brochures and articles are appearing on questions of oriental research.

Orientology in the USSR is on the right way. It is energetically moving ahead.

Economic Factors in the Pacific Area

A Review Bibliography*

By W. L. Holland

The object of this article is to give some indication of fairly recent literature on the economic developments and problems of the countries fringing the Pacific Ocean. It is not a complete list, and for a variety of reasons attention has been concentrated on the economic affairs of the Far East. A few books are listed at the beginning of the article as being valuable for the theoretical and international background they present rather than for their relevance to the conditions of any one country. The five areas, China, Japan, North America, Australasia and Malaysia are then considered in turn in reference to the following general headings: (1) Natural resources and population; (2) Economic development and possibilities; (3) Investments and capital movements; (4) Trade and communications. These divisions are very general and necessarily are not rigidly observed in the discussion of the material.

International and General

Three reports of conferences and lectures are worthy of note for their sections on the Pacific area. The latest is the proceedings of the Seattle session of the Institute of International Relations (University of Washington, entitled The Pacific Area, University of Washington Press, Seattle, 1929. Book VI on international commerce and finance contains papers on American trade developments in the Orient, on raw materials in international commerce, and on the foreign trade and shipping of the United States. Proceedings of the Institute of International Relations, University of Southern California, Los Angeles, 1928, is the record of the previous conference of 1927 and has a fair amount of relevant material. Problems of International Understanding, University of Washington Book Store, Seattle, 1928, is a series of lectures on international relations containing useful sections for the purposes of this study. Two volumes of the Annals of the American Academy of Political Science will be found helpful, the number for March, 1924, on raw materials and food stuffs, and that for November, 1925, on the Far East.

On the general question of population and world food resources there are several recent books of note. The Proceedings of the World Population Conference, 1927, Arnold, London, 1927, and Kuczynski: The Balance of Births and Deaths, Macmillan, New York, 1928, give important facts that should be at the command of readers who are to attend the Kyoto conference, while Gregory: Human Migration and the Future, Lippincott, Philadelphia, 1927, devotes space to the problem of immigration into the United States, Canada and Australasia though mainly with reference to the countries of Western Europe. A book which deals exclusively with the Pacific area and almost wholly with the South Sea islands is Roberts: Population Problems of the Pacific, Routledge, London, 1927. A second volume of Kuczynski's book to deal with the population increase of Southern Europe, Africa and Asia, is expected to be published shortly

* This is the third of a series of review bibiliographies designed to facilitate preliminary study on Kyoto agenda topics.—Ed.

and will undoubtedly throw valuable light on the problems to be discussed at the Kyoto round tables on food and population. His recent article on "The World's Population" in the January number of *Foreign Affairs* for this year is also of considerable note. For those who care to study population questions in greater detail it is worth noting that the Chicago University *Journal of Political Economy* from October, 1928, to February, 1929, contained an excellent series of "surveys of literature and research" on post-war population trends and developments. The February number includes a review of literature concerning Pacific countries. Recognised standard works on this subject are Carr-Saunders: THE POPULATION PROBLEM, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1922; Reuter: POPULATION PROBLEMS, Lippincott, Philadelphia, 1923, or Wright's more elementary study, POPULATION, Cambridge University Press, London, 1923. To these may be added Knibbs' article on "The New Malthusianism," in *Scientia* (Milan) for December, 1926, and Bowley's ESTIMATES OF THE WORKING POPULATION OF CERTAIN COUNTRIES IN 1931 AND 1941, prepared for the International Economic Conference and published by the League of Nations, Geneva, 1926.

Of the voluminous recent literature on migration, the best and most convenient sources are those official reports and studies published by the International Labour Office. It is impossible to cite all of these here, but special note should be made of the three volumes of MIGRATION LAWS AND TREATIES, International Labour Office, Geneva, 1928. The two volumes which have already appeared are headed "Emigration Laws and Regulations" and "Immigration Laws and Regulations" respectively. The third volume is to deal with international treaties and conventions. These are of great value not only for the mass of accurate information they contain, but for the excellent interpretative comment given at the beginning of each section. For all recent happenings in migration problems the best source is the statistical section of the *International Labour Review* (Geneva) which since December, 1928, includes the material formerly published in the *Monthly Record of Migration*. The files of this latter journal, however, will need to be consulted for a great deal of important material relating to population movements during 1928. These figures are continued again for this year in the February, 1929, number, which gives some interesting statistics of Chinese and Indian migration. "Migration Problems and the Havana Conference" is the title of an article in the January number of the *Review* expounding some of the modern tendencies that are becoming manifest in the control and regulation of migration. This same matter is dealt with at greater length by the Director of the International Labour Office in his chapter in the PROCEEDINGS OF THE WORLD POPULATION CONFERENCE. Most of the very recent periodical literature on migration and population is listed and commented on in the magazine section of *Pacific Affairs* for the past five or six months, and readers will do well to consult these convenient reference lists at all times. There are two significant products of the last conference of this Institute which will need to be read for they deal with a problem which is both national and international in its effects. The books are Mears: RESIDENT ORIENTALS ON THE PACIFIC COAST, Chicago University Press, 1928, and McKenzie: ORIENTAL EXCLUSION, Chicago University Press, 1928.

In connection with the international aspects of food supply and natural resources an essential book to consult is the INTERNATIONAL YEAR BOOK OF AGRICULTURAL STATISTICS published by the International Institute of Agriculture at Rome. Being strictly a source book of statistics it must be supplemented by other literature such as that suggested below. The political and social complications that arise out of international competition for foodstuffs and raw materials are dealt with in such well-known books as Moon: IMPERIALISM AND WORLD POLITICS, Macmillan, New York, 1926; Culbertson: INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC POLICIES, Appleton, New York, 1925, or the more recently published work by Donaldson: INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC RELATIONS, Longmans, New York, 1928. The new edition of Lord Olivier's WHITE CAPITAL AND COLOURED LABOUR, Hogarth Press, London, 1929, should be found profitable reading for though it deals entirely with African problems, yet the experience of that continent is not without value for the countries of the Pacific. A periodical that provides a good deal of information from time to time on trade and investments in the Pacific countries is *Pan-Pacific Progress* (Los Angeles). The November number for 1928 contains the report of an address delivered to the Pacific Foreign Trade Council on "Trade Potentialities in the Pacific Area."

Two notable papers prepared for the International Economic Conference of 1926 are "Agricultural Problems in Their International Aspect" and "Population and Natural Resources." Both are published by the League of Nations Office, Geneva. A publication which discusses the progress of agricultural research in three Pacific countries is the REPORT OF THE IMPERIAL AGRICULTURAL RESEARCH CONFERENCE, 1927, H. M. Stationery Office, London, 1928.

CHINA

There are a few outstanding books on the subject of China's economic life. The indispensable CHINA YEAR BOOK not only for the current year, but also for as many of the past years as possible, ought to be consulted for special articles as well as for statistical material. Arnold's CHINA—A COMMERCIAL AND INDUSTRIAL HANDBOOK, U. S. Department of Commerce, Washington, 1926, is a mine of reliable and well-presented information, while Nelson: CHANGING FACTORS IN THE ECONOMIC LIFE OF CHINA is another smaller but valuable work published by the Department of Commerce in 1925. Arnold's more recent book entitled SOME BIGGER ISSUES IN CHINA'S PROBLEMS, Commercial Press, Shanghai, ought also to be consulted. The British Department of Overseas Trade also publishes an annual REPORT ON THE COMMERCIAL, INDUSTRIAL AND ECONOMIC SITUATION IN CHINA, H. M. Stationery Office, London. A useful compilation of material from various sources intended specially for the student of economics in China is Remer: READINGS IN ECONOMICS FOR CHINA, Commercial Press, Shanghai, 1926. The most important periodicals to read are the *Chinese Economic Journal,* the *China Weekly Review* and the *International Labour Review.*

The bare facts of China's population and resources so far as they are known can be obtained most conveniently from the YEAR BOOK or from Arnold's HANDBOOK, but for a proper appreciation of the problem it is essential to read more widely than this. The *China Economic*

Journal (Shanghai) for January, 1927, contains a useful article by Chen Heng on "Changes in the Growth of China's Population in the Last 182 Years;" and Dittmer's "Density of Population and Standards of Living in North China" is printed in the PROCEEDINGS of the American Sociological Society, Vol. XIX, p. 196, 1925. The most recent estimate of China's population is that made by Wilcox for the year 1910, a figure which is vastly lower than the commonly quoted 400 millions. This estimate is published in the *Journal of the American Statistical Association* for March, 1928, the population being reckoned at 295 millions.

A graphic presentation of the relation between population and food supply together with a study of possible measures for the relief of the famine disasters that constantly seem to recur in China is given in Mallory's attractive book CHINA—LAND OF FAMINE, American Geographical Society, New York, 1926. An interesting opinion on the much debated question regarding the existence of over-population in China is to be found in the *China Weekly Review* (Shanghai) for February 18, 1928. This is the report of a lecture delivered in Boston by Mr. Stanley Hornbeck who considered that China could support a much larger population. Two important studies of smaller areas in China are Malone and Tayler: THE STUDY OF CHINESE RURAL ECONOMY, which appeared in the *China Social and Political Science Review* (Peking) from October, 1923, to April, 1924, and are obtainable in one volume as a publication of the China Famine Relief Commission, Series B, No. 10, Peking, 1924. Some valuable investigation into the problem of Chinese agriculture and rural conditions has been conducted by the Agricultural College of the University of Nanking. Two such studies as Swen: STUDY OF TYPES OF FARMING IN WEIHSIEN COUNTY printed in the *Chinese Economic Journal* for August, 1928, or obtainable separately from the Agricultural College, and Buck: AN ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL SURVEY OF 150 FARMS (Yenshan County) published in one of the College bulletins, provide excellent examples of the detailed quantitative investigation being done by this institution. A more general and descriptive account of agriculture in the Far East from the pen of a trained observer is the last edition of King: FARMERS OF FORTY CENTURIES, Harcourt Brace, New York, 1926.

Information on the migration of Chinese people from northern China into the Three Eastern Provinces is to be found in the literature cited in a previous bibliography. But besides this movement there have been others taking place within China and a considerable drift from the southern parts into Indo-China and Malaysia. An account of one phase of the problems arising out of this migration is found in the Hong Kong University *Journal of Law and Commerce* for November, 1928, under the title "Some Social, Political and Economic Problems in British Malaya." The author, W. J. Hinton, will probably furnish new information on this southern migration in a paper being prepared for the coming conference. MacNair's THE CHINESE ABROAD, Commercial Press, Shanghai, 1926, or his series of articles in the *China Social and Political Science Review* during 1923 and 1924 on the relations of China to her nationals abroad are valuable on account of their comprehensive nature. Of more value, however, from the point of view of the economist is a study by a Chinese authority on labour

problems, Ta Chen whose CHINESE MIGRATIONS WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO LABOR CONDITIONS is published by the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics in Bulletin 340, July, 1923.

The technical and scientific literature on the mineral wealth of China is extensive, but for the needs of the non-expert reader the best book is Bain: ORES AND INDUSTRY IN THE FAR EAST. This survey undertaken by the American Council on Foreign Relations (New York) makes interesting reading. and has the further advantage of covering the whole field of the Far East, with, however, the important exception of India. The introductory and the two concluding chapters specially warrant careful study. This book along with the article by Leith on "Mineral Resources of the Far East" in *Foreign Affairs* for April, 1926, should serve as a corrective to several over-optimistic estimates that have been made of the mineral wealth of the Orient. A larger work written more for the needs of the mining engineer is Collins: MINERAL ENTERPRISE IN CHINA, Tientsin Press, Tientsin, 1922, while Wong: MINERAL WEALTH OF CHINA, Commercial Press, Shanghai, 1927, covers much the same ground in very brief compass. The importance of certain geographical (as apart from geological) conditions is brought out in a useful little book by Smith: A GEOGRAPHICAL STUDY OF COAL AND IRON IN CHINA, Hodder & Stoughton, London, 1926. A Russian author who has contributed a good deal of material on this subject is Torgasheff whose book on the mineral wealth of the East will be translated in summarised form and made available at Kyoto. His articles should be consulted in the following numbers of the *Chinese Economic Journal*: December, 1928, for a study of mineral fertilisers in China; February, 1929, for one on gold-mining prospects in Manchuria; May, 1928, for one on the coal reserves of North Manchuria; and January, 1929, for one on the mineral wealth of North and South Manchuria. The *China Weekly Review* has also printed a number of his writings, a recent one being on zinc in the Far East in the number for February 9 of this year. Karamisheff: MONGOLIA AND WESTERN CHINA, Librairie Francaise, Tientsin, 1925, is another work of Russian authorship which attempts a survey of the resources and economic possibilities of a region of China as yet little developed. For other material on the economic resources of Manchuria it will be sufficient to refer to the books already listed in the Manchuria section of the bibliography printed in last month's issue of *Pacific Affairs*. The books mentioned there, particularly that by Adachi and the large survey published by the Chinese Eastern Railway deal quite exhaustively with this question.

The future economic development and in particular the industrial development of China is necessarily a major interest of the present Chinese government and indeed of the rest of the industrial world, but so far the amount of literature on the matter is quite small. A study of this problem as it affects the whole of the Far East is that made by Condliffe on the industrial revolution in the Far East which appeared in article form in two numbers of the *Economic Record*, Melbourne University Press, for November, 1926, and May, 1927. The substance of his address on industrial development in the Far East, delivered before the Chinese Social and Political Science Association last year is printed in the *China Social and Political Science Review* for July, 1928. In addition to this the reports printed in PROB-

LEMS OF THE PACIFIC of the round tables on industrialisation together with the papers by Hinton on "The Orient and European Industries" (page 365) and Lieu on "China's Industrial Development" (page 392) should be read. They may be profitably supplemented by Lieu's collection of articles printed in book form as CHINA'S INDUSTRY AND FINANCE, Government Bureau of Economic Information, Peking, 1927. Vinacke's PROBLEMS OF INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT IN CHINA, Princeton University, 1925, will be found helpful not so much for its analysis of the existing industrial state of China as for its exposition of the difficulties that beset the path to further industrial expansion. It considers such limiting factors as financial policies, currency, business organisation and communications. After reading this statement of the problems and obstacles which, incidentally, are also considered in Dr. Sun Yat-sen's third "principle" of his SAN MIN CHU I, it is instructive to observe the policy of the present Chinese government with regard to these main hindrances to economic progress. For this purpose the special number of the *China Weekly Review* for October 10, 1928, is worth consulting for its statements of policy from the various ministers of the government on such questions as new China's industrial programme and international financing schemes, as well as for its short sketches of contemporary industrial progress. It is from the files of such journals as this that most of the modern literature on Chinese industrial development must be gleaned. *Economic Geography* (Clark University) for January of this year has an article by James, "Industrial China," and the *China Critic* (Shanghai) for November 15, 1928, one on "Developments in New Kwangsi." Some idea of the stage of development reached in the cotton industry may be gained from articles on "Chinese Cotton Mills in Shanghai" in the *Chinese Economic Journal* for November, 1928, and again on "Recent Developments in the Cotton Mill Industry in Shanghai" printed in the *China Weekly Review* for February 9, 1929. A valuable little pamphlet on this is STATISTICAL INFORMATION CONCERNING COTTON SPINNING IN CHINA published by the Cotton Yarn Association of Manchester in 1928.

The successful development of any industrial economy is largely dependent on the corresponding growth of a satisfactory financial and monetary organisation, and in China this is a vital requirement. Lee's CURRENCY, BANKING AND FINANCE IN CHINA, United States Department of Commerce, Washington, 1926, is the most serviceable book to read for an introduction to the monetary and banking conditions of China. An investigation made at an earlier date and of less value now is Li: CENTRAL AND LOCAL FINANCE IN CHINA, Columbia University Press, New York, 1922. The outstanding work on Chinese money is Kann: THE CURRENCIES OF CHINA, Kelly and Walsh, Shanghai, 1926 —a most comprehensive work that gives all the information one could desire. The matter of foreign capital and foreign control in Chinese industry has already been considered in the second of these bibliographies on "Political China," but in addition to such works as Willoughby's FOREIGN RIGHTS AND INTERESTS IN CHINA readers might consult Overlach's older book, FOREIGN FINANCIAL CONTROL IN CHINA as well as MacMurray's article on "Problems of Foreign Capital in China" in the April issue of *Foreign Affairs* (New York) for 1925.

Besides reading these it is well to watch current periodicals for contemporary developments in this field, because financial reform is one of the major tasks engaging the Chinese government. "Financial Reform in China" is the subject of an article in the *China Social and Political Science Review* for October, 1928. The *China Critic* for November 29, 1928, gives Lieu's article on "The Central Bank," and both the *China Weekly Review* for February 23 and the *China Critic* for February 21 of this year devote articles to the Kemmerer Commission on currency and financial reorganisation in China. It does not appear, however, that the recommendations of this Commission will be made available to the public for some considerable time yet.

Whether China will pass through all the same stages of industrial development entailing the same radical reactions on the social and cultural framework of the nation as has been the case in the West, is still a moot point, but it is essential to realise that many of these reactions are already making themselves evident, and to know something of them. Many books previously listed in these articles have sections on working and living conditions in the industrial areas of China, but one must add to the list a few notable works such as Baker: EXPLAINING CHINA, Philpot, London, 1927, and Gamble: PEKING—A SOCIAL SURVEY, Doran, New York, 1921, both of which give accounts of some of the by-products of industrial life. Then it is advisable to read Anderson: HUMANITY AND LABOUR IN CHINA, S.C.M., London, 1928, which is based on the investigations made by the Shanghai Child Labour Commission. The recommendations of this commission are printed in the *International Labour Review* (Geneva) for May, 1925. Ta Chen, an eminent authority on the labour problems of the Orient, is the writer of a valuable series of studies printed in the following numbers of the *Monthly Labor Review* (Washington) of the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics: December, 1920; August and December, 1921; and November, 1924. His article on "The Labor Movement in China" appearing in revised form on page 409 of PROBLEMS OF THE PACIFIC was originally published in the *International Labour Review* for March, 1927, and his review of the report made by the Child Labour Commission is to be seen in the same journal for December, 1924.

Women's employment in industry forms one of the main labour problems of the East. WOMEN IN INDUSTRY IN THE ORIENT, a source book published by the Women's Press, New York, in 1926, contains a somewhat jumbled collection of good material mostly excerpts from reports and articles, covering a wider field than its title suggests and including a study of Indian conditions. Certain areas of India provide a startling example of some of the effects of industrial development in the midst of an Oriental system of domestic industry and agricultural economy. For that reason books such as Burnett-Hurst: LABOUR AND HOUSING IN BOMBAY, King, London, 1925, or Das: FACTORY LABOUR IN INDIA, Gruyter, Berlin, 1923, or again Broughton: LABOUR IN INDIAN INDUSTRIES, Oxford University Press, London, 1924, are of considerable value in helping towards an appreciation of the forces at work in China even though they are not generally descriptive of Chinese conditions. An illuminating study of two large Chinese-owned industrial enterprises which are conducted under comparatively advanced methods and appear fairly free from the stain of bad labour conditions, is available in Sung-ho Lin: FACTORY WORKERS IN TANGKU, China

Foundation Social Research Department, Peiping, 1928. It is a companion volume to Tao's valuable monograph on LIVELIHOOD IN PEKING published in the same series. Tayler: FARM AND FACTORY IN CHINA, is a short attractive book that should not be overlooked.

Institutions of considerable significance in the labour problems and labour organisation of China are the various guilds. They have played a large part, for example, in facilitating the migration of many millions of Chinese people to Manchuria. An excellent sociological investigation which should be read with Morse's older book on THE GUILDS OF CHINA, Longmans Green, London, 1909, has been written recently by Burgess: THE GUILDS OF PEKING, Columbia University Press, New York, 1928. It includes a good bibliography on contemporary industrial problems in China.

The following are some important studies available in the files of the *International Labour Review* (Geneva) on various phases of Chinese industry and labour: Kuo: "Labor Conditions and Labor Regulations in China" (December, 1924) and "Labor Conditions in China" (November, 1925); Henry: "Some Aspects of the Labor Movement in China" (January, 1927); Tayler and Zung: "Labor and Industry in China" (July, 1923). The *Monthly Labor Review* (Washington) for November, 1927, contains Tso's article on "The Unionization of Labor in China," while "Labor Unions in Canton" is the title of an article by Lockwood in the *Chinese Recorder* (Shanghai) for July, 1927. Some idea of the more radical tendencies in the Chinese labour movement can be gleaned from the first part of an entertaining but one-sided and unscientific book recently written by Strong: CHINA'S MILLIONS, Coward-McCann, New York, 1928. Tyau: CHINA AWAKENED, Macmillan, New York, 1922, and Monroe: CHINA—A NATION IN EVOLUTION, Macmillan, New York, 1928, are two attractive and instructive books not hitherto cited in these articles, but useful for sections on China's industrial transformation.

JAPAN

The problems of population and supply of natural resources are of the greatest concern for Japan. Unlike China where much significant factual material cannot yet be accurately ascertained, Japan's position can be pretty clearly expressed in terms of statistics, yet despite this knowledge the opinion of Japanese leaders on the interpretation of these facts is by no means unanimous. For the figures relating to Japanese population and resources it is best to refer to the JAPAN YEAR BOOK, and the 1928 issue in particular should be consulted for a supplementary section on food supply. After this the best approach to the question is through a reading of the relevant parts of PROBLEMS OF THE PACIFIC, namely Nasu: "The Problem of Population and Food Supply in Japan" (page 339); Yamasaki: "Note on the Geographical Distribution of Population" (page 361); and the report of the round table discussion on page 117.

Some of the best available writings on the Japanese population question are to be found in the files of leading Western periodicals. The *Geographic Review* (New York) for July, 1928, printed an unusually good study of "The Pressure of Population in Japan." A perusal of these 25 pages, well illustrated with diagrams and photographs, ought

to provide a clear and accurate understanding of the problem. The much discussed policy of rapid industrialisation as a means of relief from Japan's population pressure is considered by the same writer in the April number of this magazine for 1929. A companion study to these is by Dorothy Orchard on "Agrarian Problems of Modern Japan," part of which has appeared in the *Journal of Political Economy* (Chicago) for April, 1929, and will be concluded in the June issue of that magazine. Taken together, for they were prepared in collaboration, these three articles form probably the most serviceable study of Japanese population. They are, however, by no means the only studies at hand, for the same subject of industrialisation is discussed in the *International Labour Review* (Geneva) for October, 1927, in Ayusawa's article on "The Population Problem and Industrialisation in Japan." *Economica* (London) for June, 1926, contains an analysis of the problem by Allen, "The Population Problem in Japan," which takes the optimistic view that Japan in view of her position with regard to the potential resources and markets of the Pacific may be able to laugh at the Malthusian spectre, though she can do this only by industrialisation and at the expense of many unique cultural qualities of her civilisation. Allen is the author of MODERN JAPAN AND ITS PROBLEMS, Dutton, New York, 1927, which gives in three or four of its chapters on trade, banking and industry an excellent picture of the economic framework of present-day Japan. A newer book by Brown: JAPAN IN THE WORLD TODAY, Revell, New York, 1928, contains sections of interest on the economic problem, but that is not its main subject and generally it is of less value than Allen's work. Other articles on the matter are by Buchanan, "Rural Economy in Japan" in the *Quarterly Journal of Economics* (Harvard University) for August, 1923; Nakamura, "The Livelihood of Agricultural Labourers in Japan," in the *Journal of Political Economy* (Chicago) for 1921 (page 767); and Sato, "The Rice Industry of Japan," in the *Economic Journal* (London) for December, 1918. The *Trans-Pacific* (Tokyo) for July 30, August 6 and August 13, 1927, contains an interesting study on "The Food Problem of Japan," which discusses both the supply and the nutritive value of Japan's food. The author, E. C. Grey, also contributes a similar article on "Has Japan Enough to Eat" to the magazine *Asia* for April, 1928. A statistical enquiry made by an economist who arrives at the conclusion that Japan's resources are increasing at a greater rate than her people is printed in the *Trans-Pacific* for July 7, 1928, under the heading "Japan is not Over-populated." It also can be seen in the *Japan Advertiser* (Tokyo) for June 29 and the *Peking Leader* for July 12. As illustrative of a somewhat conservative Japanese opinion one may suggest two articles by Professor Yamamoto in the *Economic Review* of the Kyoto University, "The Question of Population in Japan" (July, 1927), and "The Principles of Emigration Policy" (December, 1927). The December number for 1926 of this journal contains Professor Kawada's "Agricultural Problems and Their Solution in Japan," and indeed the whole series of this periodical (begun only in 1926) should be consulted if possible, for it contains useful studies on many phases of Japan's economic life.

Probably the most interesting book to study in addition to Allen's on the subject of Japan's industrial development is Harada: LABOR

Conditions in Japan, Columbia University Press, New York, 1928. The title of the book gives no adequate idea of the scope of its contents for it includes chapters on industrial development and resources, food and population problems, as well as an investigation of the labour problem and of standards of living. It also has a useful bibliography of recent periodical literature both Japanese and Western. Another Columbia publication on Japan is Takizawa: The Penetration of Money Economy in Japan, New York, 1927, a study in economic history up to the time of the fall of the Shogunate and thus not of direct interest for the present day. But it is interesting and worth attention for its portrayal of certain social and economic forces in Japan. A recognised work that requires no further comment, but requires to be read, is Uyehara: The Industry and Trade of Japan, King, London, 1927. Ogata: The Cooperative Movement in Japan, King, London, 1923, is a good study of one notable product of Japanese industrialism. For the story of the most recent developments in Japanese industry and commerce it is a good plan to read through the various articles that make up the Annual Review, 1928-1929, published by the *Japan Advertiser* (Tokyo). This annual presents a pretty complete survey of Japanese economic activities in the form of short articles, many of them written by economists and industrial and financial leaders. It is well fortified with statistical tables and graphs.

On Japanese labour and living conditions there is a fair amount of material in English and a larger amount in Japanese. Besides Harada's book there are two earlier works, Morimoto: The Standard of Living in Japan, Johns Hopkins Press, Baltimore, 1918, and Katayama: The Labor Movement in Japan, Kerr & Co., Chicago, 1918. Then the *International Labour Review* (Geneva) is an important source for reference. The number for February, 1922, has Kawakami's "Labor Conditions in Japanese Coal Mines" and the May number for 1923 his "Conditions of Labor in the Japanese Spinning Industry."

Two notable studies by a Japanese member of the International Labour Secretariat are Ayusawa: Industrial Conditions and Labor Legislation in Japan, International Labour Office, Geneva, 1926, and his article on "Japan and the International Labour Organisation," League of Nations Union, London, 1926. For nearly all present-day movements and legislation in Japanese labour, the files of the *International Labour Review* (Geneva) or the *Monthly Labor Review* (Washington) will be found adequate. The November number for 1926 of this latter publication contains a study of "Labor Conditions Among the Textile Workers of India, China and Japan;" that for November, 1925, has an article by Ta Chen on "Labor Conditions in Japan"; and for October, 1925, one by Yoshisaka on "Labor Recruiting in Japan and Its Control." The evolution of Japan's labour movement under the spur of industrialisation and the post-war depression is well traced out in Tsurumi's addresses to the Williamstown Institute of Politics on the subject of "The Origin and Growth of the Labor Movement in Japan," which is printed on page 91 of The Re-awakening of the Orient, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1925. The most up-to-date information on Japanese labour problems and standards is that contained in the report made by the Director of the International Labour Office on his recent visit to the Far East. This report is now available and is an invaluable document.

Material on the business and financial conditions of Japan is easily available, most of it in the form of official and statistical reports. Typical of these is the concise REPORT ON ECONOMIC CONDITIONS IN JAPAN, published annually for the British Department of Overseas Trade by H. M. Stationery Office, London. Within the space of its 100 pages it manages to compress a terse yet comprehensive resume of Japan's economic life. Similar to it though not so full is the Japan section in the COMMERCE YEAR BOOK, Vol. II, United States Department of Commerce, Washington, 1928, or the separate trade information bulletins issued by that Department on specific phases of Japanese trade. Examples of these are No. 573 on RAW MATERIALS ENTERING INTO THE JAPANESE IRON AND STEEL INDUSTRY; No. 505 on ELECTRIC DEVELOPMENT IN JAPAN; and No. 384 on TRENDS IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF JAPANESE TRADE. Another short economic and business review is published as Bulletin 14 (April 30, 1928), of the Institute of International Finance, New York, and is entitled CREDIT POSITION OF JAPAN. It should be useful for its condensed statistics and comment on Japanese external trade, public debt and overseas borrowings. The standard official Japanese source is the large FINANCIAL AND ECONOMIC ANNUAL OF JAPAN issued by the Japanese Department of Finance at the Government Printing Office, Tokyo, and giving a great volume of information chiefly statistics. The ANNUAL REPORT published by the Bank of Japan at Tokyo, 1928, is a useful source of a similar nature.

A more academic enquiry of some interest is Furuya: JAPAN'S FOREIGN EXCHANGE AND HER BALANCE OF INTERNATIONAL PAYMENTS, Columbia University Press, New York, 1928—a recent attempt to formulate a theory of exchange that would harmonise better with Japanese conditions than the commonly accepted theory of exchange. The introductory chapter is noteworthy for its description and history of Japanese financial machinery. A supplementary shorter study is an article by Allen, "Recent Currency and Exchange Policy in Japan" in the March issue of the *Economic Journal* (London) for 1925. Two books on Japan not previously discussed here but containing chapters on economic questions are NATIONS OF TODAY: JAPAN, Houghton Mifflin, New York, 1928, primarily a political history edited by Buchan, and the older book by Dautremer: THE JAPANESE EMPIRE AND ITS ECONOMIC CONDITIONS, Fisher Unwin, London, 1915. To these may be added Hoshino: ECONOMIC HISTORY OF CHOSEN, Bank of Chosen, Seoul, 1920, and the small descriptive book PROGRESSIVE FORMOSA put out by the government of that island in 1926.

NORTH AMERICA

The half dozen books mentioned below are not written as investigations of specific economic phenomena of the United States or Canada, but they nearly all consider the relationship of American economic activities to the rest of the world and to other non-economic phases of America's own civilisation. Some of them are of non-American authorship, many of them take a frankly critical point of view, and all of them will be found attractive reading. The second volume on "The Industrial Era" of Beard's THE RISE OF AMERICAN CIVILISATION, Macmillan, New York, 1928, is an admirable historical survey of the evolution of American industry. It is wide but not vague in its range, brings the

story of events down to 1927, and has the further attraction of considerable literary merit. Mazur: American Prosperity—Its Causes and Consequences, Viking Press, New York, 1928, is a somewhat enthusiastic statement, by an American banker, of the purely "business" rather than "economic" factors that have contributed to the present material prosperity of the United States. Such chapter headings as "The Evolution of the Consumer," "The Puzzle of American Prosperity," "The Age of Merchandising," "The Battle for Consumers' Loyalty," give some idea of its treatment. The present-day developments of America's immigration problems and policies are well traced out in an ably written book by Panunzio: Immigration Cross Roads, Macmillan, New York, 1927. Peel: The Economic Impact of America, Macmillan, London, 1928, is a book by an English politician who makes a study of the effects on European nations of the great productive and economic power that America has come to command. There are three books of appreciation or criticism of American industrial life that are noteworthy. Siegfried's America Comes of Age, Harcourt Brace, New York, 1927, is now well known, but it may usefully be read as a companion to a smaller book by an Australian journalist, Adam: An Australian Looks at America, Allen & Unwin, London, 1928, which is a decidedly stimulating though not profound comparison of labour and industry in America with the conditions of Australia. An idea of the contents can be gained from the review of the book in the March number of *Pacific Affairs*. A short German appreciation by the editor of the *Frankfurter Zeitung* is Feiler's America Seen Through German Eyes, New Republic, New York, 1928.

Some of the most helpful literature on the economic life of the United States comes from the Government departments of Commerce, Agriculture, and Labor, whose periodical publications will be frequently cited here. The Commerce Year Book, Vol. I, and the Year Book of Agriculture are two invaluable works of reference. The former is a compendium of all phases of America's economic order, ranging over such topics as production, prices, trade, agricultural production, fuel and power, construction, manufactures, finance and communications. Likewise the files of the Bulletin of the Bureau of Labor Statistics or the *Monthly Labor Review* will provide one with information on all new trends in the conditions of labour and employment not only in the United States but in foreign countries.

Dublin: Population Problems in the United States and Canada, Houghton Mifflin, New York, 1926, is about the best book for the general reader on this topic in that it considers the American population problems in all their bearings upon migration, agriculture and natural resources and conditions of employment, and is withal not too large or technical. It is described as an outgrowth of papers presented to the 1924 annual meeting of the American Statistical Association. An estimate of the population changes in the United States during the period 1925 to 1975 is made in the *American Journal of Sociology* for September, 1928, the figure for 1975 being put at about 175 millions. A short note on population trends in relation to agriculture and on the distribution between farm, village and urban populations appears on page 44 of the last number of the *Annals* (March, 1929). Baker's article on "Population, Food Supply and American Agriculture"

is printed in the July number of the *Geographical Review* for 1928 and considers some of the world problems of population and food supply as well as the development of American food production. It contains illuminating graphs on the various changes occurring in American agriculture. The same author has contributed a valuable article to *Economic Geography* for January, 1929, on the subject of "Agricultural Regions of North America." It is the seventh of a series of articles on the same topic which have appeared in this journal since October, 1926, successive sections being published in the numbers for July and October of 1927, and again during 1928. These are all well illustrated with photographs and charts and should provide one of the best short surveys of the agricultural resources of the country. On the whole question of America's natural resources the journal *Economic Geography* will be found most helpful.

To realise how much the problems facing the agricultural producer of America differ from the problems of the Far East, it is sufficient to read the *Annals* for January, 1925, which is entirely devoted to the investigation of "The Agricultural Situation in the United States." In the foreword it is pointed out that the United States is changing from a nation with a great surplus in food products to a nation with a deficit in food production. To bring this enquiry up to date one should read the latest number of the same journal for March, 1929—a large volume of 470 pages containing a good collection of expert opinion on the problem of Farm Relief. It provides an excellent study guide to the present problems of American agriculture. A shorter and vivid picture of the situation of the American agriculturalist combined with an examination of the application of scientific methods to farming is given in a book by Mead and Ostrolenk: Harvey Baum—A Study of the Agricultural Revolution, University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia. It states the essential paradox of scientific agriculture thus: "If American farmers were generally to adopt the proven methods of scientific agriculture, the farming industry would quickly and in the grand manner go into bankruptcy." There are two sections of the 1923 Year Book of Agriculture published also as separate pamphlets by the Department and of decided interest. They are No. 895 and No. 896 on Our Forage Resources and The Utilisation of Our Lands for Crops, Pastures and Forests.

The facts of Canada's population and resources are most accessible in the Canada Year Book, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Ottawa, or in the Handbook of Canada, University of Toronto, 1924, published for the British Association for the Advancement of Science. More suitable for the requirements of this article is the briefer survey by Rew: Economic Resources of Canada, H. M. Stationery Office, London, 1925. These are books for the most part useful in giving facts and figures. For the study of the trends and problems hidden in those facts, readers should refer to a back number of the *Annals* on "Social and Economic Conditions in the Dominion of Canada" (May, 1923) for a first-rate collection of articles on such topics as population, resources and development, transportation, trade and finance. For the guidance of those who desire to read further on the problems of Canada, it may be mentioned that an admirable select bibliography on industrial and social conditions in Canada is included in this publication. A more recent guide to new books and studies of Canadian economic questions

is to be seen in the bibliographical material forming part of the periodical CONTRIBUTIONS TO CANADIAN ECONOMICS, VOL. I, 1928, published by the Librarian of the University of Toronto. Besides these bibliographies it contains four useful articles. Two official periodicals on Canadian food and natural resources are the *Agricultural Gazette* of the Agricultural Department and *Natural Resources,* a monthly publication of the Department of the Interior.

To make a selection of the literature on the industrial development of North America and particularly of the United States seems at once a hopeless and a superfluous task. The United States has come to stand in the eyes of the world as symbolic of an industrial and even machine civilisation. Whether that estimate is true or not it is impossible to doubt the immense part of American civilisation which is concerned with or derived from, her industrial development. The flood of books and periodicals on the innumerable branches of the industrial structure is in itself ample evidence of this. The few books mentioned here are therefore included only because they illustrate certain well recognised principles and policies of American industry or to supplement the criticism given in the books listed at the head of this section.

A brief outline of the policies that have come to be summed up in the word "rationalisation" appears in Houston: MEMORANDUM ON RATIONALISATION IN THE UNITED STATES, League of Nations (Economic and Financial Section), Geneva, 1927—a paper submitted to the preparatory committee of the International Economic Conference. For a fuller account of one important part of this movement it is best to read the publications of the Department of Commerce on simplified practice and elimination of waste. Of these an excellent statement is an extract (printed separately) from the 14th annual report of the Secretary of Commerce, at that time, Mr. Hoover. It is entitled PROGRESS IN THE ELIMINATION OF WASTE. A good comprehensive statement of the movement towards standardised production in much of American industry is contained in the *Annals* for May, 1928, a number which is wholly devoted to the subject "Standards in Industry." A broader study of the industrial mechanism of America is the British report of the delegation appointed to study INDUSTRIAL CONDITIONS IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AND CANADA, Cmd 2833, H. M. Stationery Office, London, 1927. This 100 page report gives a good review under the broad headings of industrial conditions, industrial relations, conditions of wage earners and other miscellaneous topics, and is well supported with 50 pages of documents and statistics. For the general reader unable to give time to a closer study, this report is admirably suited. An excellent article on "American Industry and Its Significance" which discusses the growth of American industry and analyses some of the underlying causes, at the same time making some comparison with conditions in Great Britain, is published in the *Round Table* (London) for March, 1927. It may be read in conjunction with a somewhat similar article of American authorship appearing in the *Economic Journal* (London) for June, 1928, namely Sloan's "Business Prospects in the United States." The latest issue of this same journal for March, 1929, has a study on "Output per head in the United States and the United Kingdom."

The close inter-relations of American foreign trade and investments, tariff policies and international accounts will be clearly realised

if one reads through a recent number of the *Annals* on "Tariff Problems of the United States" (January, 1929). Of its six main divisions, three are on agriculture and the tariff, foreign investments and the tariff, and international complications of the tariff, respectively. The last article is a useful one on "The Future Tariff Policy of the United States."

Australia and New Zealand

Such literature as is given here on Australia and New Zealand is far from comprehensive and is confined mainly to a few standard works along with some of the notable writing of recent date. For a fair idea of Australian economic affairs, especially in so far as they bear on the problems of the Pacific, one need hardly do more than study thoroughly the two small books issued last year by the two branches of this Institute in Australia. The first one produced by the Victoria branch is entitled The Peopling of Australia, Macmillan, Melbourne, 1928, and is a collection of articles from Australian authorities on the various phases of the population problem. This problem is considered in its relation to immigration, to industry and urbanisation, to climatic factors and settlement, and to racial composition and geographic distribution. The book is not designed to present any special thesis or to advocate any policy, and indeed it contains a good deal of conflicting opinion. It does, however, give a good series of differing approaches on to the population experiment of Australia. A summary of its contents is given in the review on page 27 of *Pacific Affairs* for December, 1928. The other book, Studies in Australian Affairs, Macmillan, Melbourne, 1928, is a product of the New South Wales branch. It is largely though not wholly devoted to economic problems, for the first seven chapters treat in turn of natural resources, standard of living, development and migration, tariff policy, loan and banking policies, and Australian trade in the Pacific. It thus gives a pretty comprehensive picture of Australia's economic life although the question of industrial development is not considered in any detail. The last (May) number of *Pacific Affairs* contains a lengthy review on page 292 of the book, giving the gist of each chapter and making some appraisal of the conclusions drawn in them.

An official report which formulates a number of recommendations on Australian economic policies and thus to some extent supplements the unofficial and academic study made in the two books just mentioned is the Report of the British Economic Mission, Commonwealth Parliamentary Paper, No. 6 F 16, 1929. The task of this delegation was to study problems relating to the promotion of trade and commerce between Great Britain and Australia and to the increase of settlement in Australia. In addition to the recommendations made, the report includes some useful memoranda on finance, immigration, industrial research, tariffs, arbitration, taxation, transport, pastoral industries, and marketing. It is only a short document of some 40 pages but is of distinct interest. An older but serviceable symposium of Australian affairs somewhat similar in construction to Studies in Australian Affairs is Australia—Economic and Political Studies, (Atkinson, Editor) Macmillan, Melbourne, 1920. Some of the chapters deal with political or social matters, but there are others on the labour movement, the physiographic control of settlement, the White Australia policy, and the private wealth of Australia.

Material on the natural resources and population of Australia other than that given in the books discussed above, is available in a number of articles. A geographer who has contributed a considerable amount to the literature of Australian natural wealth and physical conditions of settlement and land utilisation, is Griffith Taylor whose article on "Australia as a Field of Settlement" appeared in *Foreign Affairs* (New York) for July, 1927. An earlier one on "Frontiers of Settlement in Australia" is printed in the *American Geographical Review* for January, 1926. His book ENVIRONMENT AND RACE, Oxford University Press, London, 1927, may profitably be consulted since Part III on "The White Race in the Australian Environment" contains five chapters of significance on population, settlement, and future development in Australia. A useful study of "The Settlement of Northern Australia" by G. L. Wood occurs in an early number of *The Economic Record* (Melbourne) for May, 1926. This writer contributed another article on "The Immigration Problem in Australia" to the November issue of that journal for 1926. One aspect of Australia's immigration policy is dealt with in an article of Australian authorship in the *Round Table* for March, 1921, on the subject of "White Australia." This is the policy discussed in a similar article in the October, 1925, number of *Foreign Affairs*. Chidell: AUSTRALIA—WHITE OR YELLOW, Heinemann, London, 1926, is devoted to an examination of the White Australia policy and to a plea for increased emigration from the United Kingdom to Australia.

Three official publications are readily available on the broad economic questions of Australia. The first is of course the invaluable COMMONWEALTH YEAR BOOK, Bureau of Census and Statistics, Melbourne. The others are two publications of the United States Department of Commerce, namely Ferrin: AUSTRALIA—COMMERCIAL AND INDUSTRIAL HANDBOOK, Government Printing Office, Washington, 1922, and the short trade bulletin (No. 390) by Chapman: AUSTRALIA—A SURVEY OF ITS RESOURCES AND FOREIGN TRADE, Department of Commerce, Washington, 1926. A large and interesting body of information is brought together in Dalton: REPORT ON THE ECONOMIC AND COMMERCIAL SITUATION OF AUSTRALIA, H. M. Stationery Office, London. This 100 page annual report from the British Department of Overseas Trade is one of the most interesting and convenient books for consultation. For purely factual material the books listed in this paragraph are quite adequate.

An economic analysis and interpretation of these facts is to be seen in the work of an Australian economist, Benham: THE PROSPERITY OF AUSTRALIA, King, London, 1928. The book is valuable not only for its calculations and estimates of national assets and incomes and measurement of prosperity but also for its four chapters on determinants of prosperity, protection, wage-regulation, and conclusions and suggestions. It is not all easy reading but it warrants careful consideration. The book is reviewed at some length in *Pacific Affairs* for May, 1928, on page 38. A recognised work on the wealth and income of Australia is Sutcliffe: THE NATIONAL DIVIDEND, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, 1927. Two notable periodicals that should be consulted on Australian economic affairs are the *Round Table* for all current developments of any note, and the *Economic Record* for

more expert and academic description and analysis of economic problems. Both of these journals deal also with the affairs of New Zealand. A new Australian journal which has lately produced its first number and will likely be of some importance is the *Australian Quarterly,* New Century Press, Sydney. Described as a quarterly review of Australian politics, it also contains in this first issue two articles on the arbitration system and on "A Treasurer's Problems" which are of direct economic interest.

The literature on New Zealand such as required for this bibliography is not extensive. The NEW ZEALAND OFFICIAL YEAR BOOK, Census and Statistics Office, Wellington, is the most necessary book for reference. NEW ZEALAND—ITS RESOURCES AND FOREIGN TRADE is the title of a trade bulletin (No. 443) issued in 1926 by the United States Department of Commerce. It deals in very brief space with the principal economic trends and issues of the country. Reeves: THE LONG WHITE CLOUD, Allen & Unwin, London, 1924, is a classic work which is primarily historical but of decided value for its discussion of many characteristics of New Zealand's economic structure. This applies also to his other work STATE EXPERIMENTS IN AUSTRALIA AND NEW ZEALAND, Allen & Unwin, London, reprinted 1923. A more recent treatment of the question of government control of labour activities is to be seen in an article by Condliffe: "Experiments in State Control in New Zealand" published in the *International Labour Review* for March, 1924. This journal also contains Findlay's "Industrial Peace in New Zealand" in the number for October, 1921, and three articles by Sells on "The Development of State Wage Regulation in New Zealand and Australia" in the numbers for October, November and December of 1924. An idea of the close inter-dependence of the monetary and banking organisation of Australasia with that of the United Kingdom can be gained from a reading of an article in the *Economic Journal* (London) for December, 1924. A useful account of the present condition of New Zealand industry, and of the opinions held in the country on the efficacy of the Court of Arbitration is to be found in the PROCEEDINGS OF THE NATIONAL INDUSTRIAL CONFERENCE, Government Printer, Wellington, 1928, which was held last year. The papers presented by the economists to the conference are included in the volume and are of value. *Pacific Affairs* for March of this year includes an article by Scholefield on "Japan and New Zealand" which discusses the recent trade agreement concluded between the two countries.

MALAYSIA

A number of references to Malaya and Indo-China are to be found in some of the books previously listed in this article. Thus Bain's book on ores in the Far East has sections on the mineral wealth of Malaysia and some of the literature listed under Chinese migration has to do with the same area. The additional literature given here consists mostly of official reports and handbooks. There are other books on Malaysia but few of them are of importance for the economic information they provide. On Malaya proper there is a small handbook, MALAYAN TRADE ANNUAL, Low, Marston & Co., London, 1928, which gives the essential facts and figures of the trade and development of the area. Swettenham: BRITISH MALAYA, Lane, London, 1920, is an older book

more concerned with the political and social problems but it has some references to the economic life of Malaya and to the part the Chinese have taken in its development. An article which elaborates this last fact is to be seen in the *Living Age* for April 15, 1928, under the title of "Wide Open Singapore."

Information on the vast colonial empire of Holland is available in several official handbooks in English. A greater part of the literature is, however, printed in the Dutch language. A companion handbook to the one noted above on Malaya is Coote: COMMERCIAL HANDBOOK OF THE NETHERLAND EAST INDIES, Low, Marston & Co., London, 1928. A larger and more serviceable volume is the HANDBOOK OF THE NETHERLAND EAST INDIES issued by the United States Department of Commerce in 1923. This includes a survey of the resources and development of both the Dutch possessions and of British Malaya. It is probably the most useful single book to consult on the whole of Malaysia. For those who cannot procure it, however, one may suggest a corresponding British official survey which is similar in scope though not so full, Bluett: REPORT ON THE ECONOMIC SITUATION OF THE NETHERLAND EAST INDIES, H. M. Stationery Office, London, 1927. It is one of the several publications of the Department of Overseas Trade already mentioned here. The series of handbooks issued by the British Foreign Office in 1920 include a number on the separate territories of the Dutch East Indies, on Java, Sumatra, Celebes and Borneo, as well as on Indo-China and Siam. These consider political and strategic factors primarily but devote some space to questions of economic interest.

For the Philippines it is advisable to read some of the annual reports of certain government departments in the islands, notably the departments of agriculture and forestry and the department of labour. These are published by the Government Printing Bureau at Manila and contain valuable material discussing more than the mere activities of the departments. A popular illustrated hand book is the COMMERCIAL HANDBOOK OF THE PHILIPPINES, Bureau of Printing, Manila, 1924. A trade information bulletin (No. 410) issued by the United States Department of Commerce deals with the RESOURCES AND TRADE OF THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS. The principal unofficial work that treats specifically of the economic problems of the islands is Miller: ECONOMIC CONDITIONS IN THE PHILIPPINES, Ginn & Co., New York, 1920. This is a fairly full study and its chief disadvantage now is that it was written nearly ten years ago. Two more recent and more substantial works which unfortunately devote only a small space to the discussion of economic questions are Roosevelt: THE PHILIPPINES—A TREASURE AND A PROBLEM, Sears, New York, 1926, and Williams: THE UNITED STATES AND THE PHILIPPINES, Doubleday Page & Co., New York, 1924. But better than either of these and indeed probably the outstanding work on the Philippines in all aspects of their development economic and otherwise is the new book by Forbes: THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS, Houghton Mifflin, New York, 1928. It consists of two large volumes and is well documented and illustrated, and it comes from the pen of an undoubted authority on the subject. A good review of the book is to be seen in the *New York Times Book Review* for February 17, 1929, under the heading "Our Stewardship in the Philippines."

Consular Jurisdiction

Its Place in the Present Clamor for the Abolition of Treaties

By Kwan Hai-tung in the *L'impartial*

Translated by the China Council of the Institute of Pacific Relations

Since Dr. Sun Yat-sen, late president of Kuomintang, specifically instructed us to abolish the unequal treaties, the whole nation has been most sincere in following his instructions. The recovery of the concessions in Hankow and Kiukiang in 1926, the conversion of the Mixed Court in the International Settlement in Shanghai to a provisional court under China's judicial system in 1927, and the recent revision of treaties with twelve nations are definite accomplishments in this direction. The unjust system has already broken down, and a new era is open in the history of China's foreign relations. However, we must know that we should not consider this partial success and the inadequate revisions as satisfactory; our ultimate object must be the total abolition of the unequal treaties.

The unequal treaties operate in many ways: tariff restriction, consular jurisdiction, concessions and settlements, leased territories, foreign military guards in China, foreign factories in China, postal administration, radio stations and the inland river navigation, etc. Among these the tariff restrictions and consular jurisdiction constitute the gravest violation of our sovereignty and inflict upon our country the greatest insult. Our rights are forfeited and our finance is restricted. Since the special conference on tariff autonomy in 1925, the question has been under constant discussion and negotiation. As a result, tariff autonomy was officially declared on the 1st of February this year. While the problems are by no means solved a good beginning is made.

Regarding consular jurisdiction the situation is different. In spite of the fact that a movement for its abolition was initiated in 1902, and a proposal to this effect was made both at the Paris Peace Conference and at the Washington Conference, yet the report of the commission in 1926 stopped with a repetition of the former condition that a perfect legal system should materialize first. So up to this day, we are unable to realize our fond hope of abolishing consular jurisdiction. When the time will come is very uncertain. Since the Nanking Road incident on the 30th May (1925), the outcry for the abolition of extraterritoriality has become louder and steps towards its accomplishment are more vigorous day by day. At present it has aroused the whole nation. Some young students have even committed suicide in their moments of indignation, but the officials in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs have been entirely puzzled, knowing not how to solve this problem. In these days when humanity is supposedly enlightened, the existence of such an illegitimate system should not be allowed. However, the imperialists are still intending to uphold and maintain their special privileges, the while making untenable excuses of one kind or another. It should be known that China of today is not that of 20 years ago when she was goaded by England to effect legal reforms, or that of 80 years ago when consular jurisdiction was first conceded to the treaty nations. Therefore, no matter from what vantage points one views the situation, consular jurisdiction should be abolished. But at the present time

when the outcry for its abolition has reached a high pitch, the slightest carelessness in handling the situation will cause serious hindrances to its success. For the sake of obtaining a remedy and avoiding all obstacles to a successful finish, it is absolutely necessary thoroughly to study the causes and evils of this sytem and then devise methods for its abolition.

Origin and Development of Consular Jurisdiction

The system of consular jurisdiction originated in the time of the crusaders. As the laws of Christian and Mohammedan nations at the time differed, this bad practice sprang up. In the time of Rome and Greece, every nation in Europe adopted the principle of jurisdiction over individuals. They stated that the laws of their countries were only for the protection of the interests of their own peoples and that no foreigners were entitled to the same privileges. So the foreign residents were left to their own choice as to what to follow. This may be called the embryonic stage of this system. In the primitive stage of natural life one is inclined to be anti-foreign, but when life becomes more complex it is impossible to live without communications with other nations. Therefore all nations pass from the stage of anti-foreign feeling to the stage of despising foreigners. On the pyramid in Egypt an inscription reads that no alien is allowed to enjoy the protection of the laws of Egypt. Greece called aliens "barbarians;" in fact, the word Hellas (Greece) means "civilized." The Romans called aliens "thieves and robbers" who were unfit to be governed by the municipal laws of Rome. The ideas of the Romans and Greeks, expressing an attitude of detestation of aliens, influenced Turkey. The Mohammedan Bible (Koran) was generally considered at that time as a kind of law for the religious people of the country only. All the others were looked upon as heathens to whom it did not apply. People coming from Europe to Turkey were given an area specially allotted for their residence and all the customs and practice in that area were left to their own choice. There they were allowed to exercise the laws of their own countries. The idea was that Europeans, being barbarians, were unfit to enjoy the privileges of the laws of a civilized country. Thus, if the European residents went to law, the judge of Turkey would refuse to take up the case, and both parties had to select one person each from among their own countrymen, who had resided in Turkey for a long time, as their judges to decide the case. Later on, owing to the daily increase of such cases, the foreign residents of each nation asked their governments to appoint officials to be stationed there to look after their affairs, with the title of consul. This is the origin of consular jurisdiction. In view of this, the system of consular jurisdiction was at first an unjust practice on the part of the nations which refused to look after foreign residents in their territory. Later on European nations took advantage of it and evolved the present system. In the 15th century when the traders of Northern Europe began to come to South Europe consular jurisdiction was also practiced but it existed only for a short while; in Asia and Africa, however, it has spread extensively. Time flies, and our country has suffered from consular jurisdiction for 86 years already. The violation of our sovereignty and the insult to our nation in the past need not be recounted. Let us turn our eyes to

the future. The first nation to impose consular jurisdiction upon us was England, the arch-representative of imperialism. Article VIII of the five ports trade regulations between China and England in 1843, says:

> A British subject having reason to complain of a Chinese must proceed to the consulate, and state his grievance. The consul will inquire into the merits of the case, and do his utmost to arrange it amicably. In like manner, if a Chinese have reason to complain of a British subject, the consul shall no less listen to his complaint, and endeavor to settle it in a friendly manner. If disputes take place of such a nature that the consul cannot arrange them amicably, then he shall request the assistance of the Chinese authorities, that they may together examine into the merits of the case, and decide it equitably. British subjects who may commit any crime in China shall be tried and punished by the consul, or other public functionary authorized thereto, according to the laws of Great Britain. Chinese subjects who may be guilty of any criminal act towards British subjects shall be arrested and punished by the Chinese authority, according to the laws of China.

The trade regulations concluded in 1844 between China and the United States and China and France, have similar stipulations. The first article of the trade regulations made between China and the U. S. A. says:

> Subjects of China, who may be guilty of any criminal act towards American subjects, shall be arrested and punished by the Chinese authorities according to the laws of China; and subjects of the United States who may commit any crime in China, shall be subject to be tried and punished only by the consul or other public functionary of the United States thereto authorized, according to the laws of the country.

The second article says:

> Concerning a civil law case, Chinese official and the consul shall first jointly try to settle it by compromise. If failing to have it thus settled, the Chinese official in company with the consul can proceed to investigate and decide the case.

The third article says:

> All controversies occurring in China between subjects of the United States and the subjects of any other governments shall be regulated by the treaties existing between the United States and such governments respectively, without interference on the part of China.

The five ports trade regulations were, as stipulated, to be in force for a term of 12 years only. At the expiration of the term, our nation could, as a matter of course, refuse to renew. In case of renewal, all stipulations which are unfair should be abolished. However, China has been fooled again and again by the imperialists! In 1856, Yeh Min-chen's (viceroy of Kuangtung and Kuangsi) arrest of a sailor on board a steamer flying the British flag in Canton, and the murder of French priests in Kwangsi, precipitated the war with Great Britain and France in 1858. At China's defeat the Tientsin treaty was signed. By this treaty not only was consular jurisdiction continued but it became more strict.

Article XV in the Sino-British Treaty says:

> All questions in regard to rights, whether of property or person, arising between British subjects, shall be subject to the jurisdiction of the British authorities.

Article XVI says:

> British subjects who may commit any crime in China shall be tried and punished by the consul or other public functionary authorized thereto, according to the laws of Great Britain. Chinese subjects who may be guilty of any criminal act towards British subjects shall be arrested and punished by the Chinese authorities, according to the laws of China. Justice shall be equitable and impartially administered on both sides.

Article XVII says:

> A British subject having reason to complain of a Chinese, must proceed to the consulate, and state his grievance. The consul will inquire into the merits of the case, and do his utmost to arrange it amicably. In like manner, if a Chinese have reason to complain of a British subject, the consul shall no less listen to his complaint, and endeavour to settle it in a friendly manner. If disputes take place of such a nature that the consul cannot arrange them amicably, then he shall request the assistance of the Chinese authorities, that they may together examine into the merits of the case, and decide it equitably.

Article XXXVIII of the Sino-French treaty says:

> In case a dispute arises between Chinese and Frenchmen, and in the struggle, one, two or several persons died from the wounds by firearms or other weapons, if the offenders are Chinese, they shall be instantly arrested, strictly tried, and punished by the Chinese officials according to the laws of China; if they are Frenchmen, the French consul will arrange for their arrest and trial without delay and inflict punishment according to the French laws. As to how they should be punished, the French Government will in future stipulate some definite procedure. If there are some other cases which the stipulations in this article do not expressly specify, this article shall also hold good for the time being. Because as an established law, Frenchmen in every port, no matter committing a light or severe crime, shall likewise be dealt with and punished according to the laws of France.

Article XXXIX says:

> Frenchmen in every treaty port, if having disputes among themselves, are under the control of French officials. If any dispute arises between Frenchmen and subjects of other foreign nations, the Chinese officials have no right to interfere in the matter. A French steamer in a treaty port shall not be subject to the control of Chinese authority but under the direct management of the officers and captain of the steamer.

In the same year, China renewed the commercial treaty with the United States, having similar stipulations. Therefore, all the other nations, in accordance with the "most favoured nation" clause, requested establishment of consular jurisdiction in China. As the legal practices of different countries varied, the principles which their courts follow in China are also different. In the main there are three principles:

> (1) The law of the country of the defendant applies in criminal cases. In civil cases, the countries involved sit jointly. But in criminal cases, the authority of the country to which the accused belongs will hear the case in accordance with the laws of that country. This stipulation was laid down in the Sino-French treaty, and those with several other minor nations.
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> (2) The law of the country of the accused applies in both civil and criminal cases. In a criminal or civil case, if the accused is the subject of a foreign country, it should be dealt with by the authority of that country in accordance with its laws. This stipulation was laid down in the treaty signed by China and Japan in the 22nd year of Kuangsu (1896).
>
> (3) Civil and criminal law cases are all to be decided by the two countries jointly, i.e., the official of the nation to which the plaintiff belongs can present himself as a counsellor to the court to oversee the proceedings. If the counsellor considers the proceedings in any way improper, readjustment can be made upon one point after another. Each will decide according to the laws of his own country. This stipulation was laid down in the treaties signed by China with England, the United States and other nations.

Although Japan adopted the principle related in Article II originally, yet later on, by her exercise of the "most favoured nation" treatment, she adopted the principle outlined in Article III on equal footing with Great Britain and the United States.

Since the year 1843 down to this day no less than 20 nations, foreigners, have enjoyed consular jurisdiction in China. Several have

either forfeited this right because of the World War or have relinquished it after the revolution. There are 16 nations who still enjoy this right. They are: The United States, Belgium, Brazil, Great Britain, Denmark, France, Italy, Japan. Mexico, Holland, Norway, Peru, Portugal, Spain, Sweden and Switzerland. Of these, five nations have recently declared their willingness to relinquish consular jurisdiction. But they also gave supplementary notice stating that the relinquishment of consular jurisdiction will not be carried into effect until all the nations are willing to relinquish the privilege. Ah! What is the use of this empty promise? It amounts to nothing more than lip service.

We have thus gained a general knowledge of consular jurisdiction. The term consular jurisdiction means that people of a country residing in the territory of another country are not subject to the laws of that country, but to those of their own country. This kind of privilege has no basis in international law, but is derived from the unequal treaties. It is a weapon of the powerful nations with which they infringe upon the rights of the weaker nations. It is a system contrary to justice.

Systems of Consular Jurisdiction

The courts established in China by those nations which enjoy consular jurisdiction are generally classified into two:

(1) Courts organized by consuls.

(2) Regular courts specially established.

Of the two, the first is most common and nearly every nation makes use of it. The second is comparatively rare, because the first kind also exists even though the second be established. We are now taking the court systems of those powerful nations most closely connected with China, as Great Britain, the United States, France, and Japan, for discussion, omitting the others.

(A) *England.* British courts in China belong to the "3 Court" system. A local court organized by the consuls in every treaty port is the first organ to deal with law cases of the British subjects to China. Its power is very limited and cannot take up important cases. Above the local court, there is a higher court to which the local court can refer cases. It also takes up cases which the local court cannot deal with. This court is in Shanghai. Above this higher court, there is a supreme court, that is, the supreme court in London. If a decision made by the high court is considered unsatisfactory, appeal can be made to the supreme court.

(B) *France.* French judicial courts in China are also of the "3 Courts" variety. All local courts organized by the consuls in the ports are for primary trials with very limited powers. The courts in Annam and Saigon are the 2nd courts or higher courts. The supreme court in Paris is the third.

(C) *The United States of America.* The American judicial courts in China have a "4 Court" system. The consul in every port organizes a consular court; this is the first. In Shanghai, a local court is established controlling all Americans in China; it is the second court. If in civil and criminal law cases the judgments given by the first court prove unsatisfactory, appeals may be made to the high court in San Francisco. This is the third court. If the decision is again found unsatisfactory, appeal can again be made to the Federal supreme court of the United States, the fourth court.

(D) *Japan.* The Japanese judicial system in China is slightly different from those of the three nations mentioned above. The consul in every port can take up both civil and criminal cases and make judg-

ment independently. But in a serious criminal case, the consul can only take up a primary trial and leave the rest to the local court in Nagasaki. Those who will not submit to the judgment given by the consul can appeal to the high court in Nagasaki. If the judgment on the case is again found unsatisfactory, appeal can then be made to the supreme court in Tokyo. This is the final trial. However, a Japanese in Manchuria (excluding Tsingtao) if not submissive to the judgment given by a consul, can only appeal to the high court in Kwantung prefecture, or to a local court, and is not allowed to appeal to the supreme court in Tokyo.

Sphere of Consular Jurisdiction

The scope of consular jurisdiction is rather broad, as will be shown below:

(1) Mixed cases between Chinese and foreigners.
   a. Civil cases in which the plaintiffs are Chinese and the defendants foreign.
   b. Criminal cases in which the victim is Chinese; and the defendant foreign.

(2) Civil and criminal cases between foreigners of same nationality.

In the "mixed" cases involving foreigners of different nationalities the law that applies is that of the country of the defendant. For instance, if a man of country A injures a man of country B, the law of the country to which A belongs will apply. If the defendants are too many and their nationalities are also different, the case is to be settled separately by the nations to which the respective accused belong, according to the said principle.

In "mixed" cases involving Chinese and foreigners, the law of the foreign country generally applies. But, if a crime was committed outside the foreign settlement, Chinese laws are valid then. For a law case involving those of the same nationality, laws of foreign countries are also applicable. As to a law case involving those of different nationalities, the laws of the countries to which the accused belongs are to be applied. Besides the laws of China and foreign countries, international laws and consular court precedents are to be adopted sometimes as circumstances demand.

Evil Consequences of Consular Jurisdiction

(1) *Violation of sovereignty of China.*

Since modern judicial principles have advanced from personal to territorial, all independent nations have supreme power within the borders of their own territory. Life and property in the country are all under the control of the supreme power. What is this supreme power? It is well known in the present century as an inviolable territorial sovereignty. Nowadays the life and property of the "privileged" nations in China are not subject to the Chinese laws. They establish judicial courts themselves, enforcing the laws of their own countries and all law cases are subject to the judgment of the consuls appointed by them. Is not this a violation of the Chinese sovereignty? This is the first evil consequence.

(2) *Differences in applicable laws.*

Consular jurisdiction concerning a lawsuit, is determined by the

nationality of the defendant. When one sues a Britisher, the case shall be brought to the British consulate. If the case is against a Frenchman, the French consulate is approached. The same principle holds good when one sues a Japanese or an American. Sometimes the laws of as many as ten nations are exercised simultaneously. But as laws of different nations are different, consulate A may consider it a crime, while consulate B may not, or one may consider the legal evidence insufficient while the others may regard the reasons given as quite satisfactory. Therefore, it often happens that crimes of a similar nature get quite different judgments. It is unfair that different punishment should be inflicted upon those who commit the same crime. This is the second bad consequence.

(3) *Difficulty in gathering evidence and witnesses.*

According to the stipulations of the treaties a foreigner committing a crime in China shall be handed over to the consul of the nearest port for punishment, and he shall only be in bondage en route but not insulted and treated cruelly. For instance, a Britisher who commits a crime in Mongolia shall be handed over to the consulate in a place several thousand miles off. To escort the criminal is itself a troublesome undertaking; to gather all necessary evidence is still more difficult. Therefore, it often happens that although a foreigner has committed a crime, yet, owing to insufficiency of evidence, no lawsuit can be brought against him. Consequently the victims are often unable to get redress for their grievances and the criminals are beyond the reach of law. Is there anything more unfair than this? An American Minister in Peking once said: "This kind of stipulation is simply to encourage a foreigner travelling in the interior of China purposely to commit murder and rape." What a lamentable state of affairs is shown in this simple expression of the Minister! Thus difficulty in gathering evidence and witnesses is the fourth bad consequence.

(4) *Confusion of judicial and executive duties.*

The duty of the consul is to protect the interests of his nationals abroad, and to look after the commerce of his country in foreign lands. He is now made a judge. In a law case he will naturally favour his national; but this may be left aside without further discussion. The consul is an executive official while the judge belongs to the judicial system. For an executive official to exercise a judicial function is in direct contravention of the modern conception of three separate independent powers. This is the fourth bad consequence.

(5) *National of the third party being under no obligation to be witness.*

If a witness required in a law case is a foreigner of a nationality different from that of the accused, the consulate is not only unable to force him to appear as a witness in the court but, in case he himself is willing to be witness, he may not tell the truth and may speak whatever he pleases, as the consulate can neither inflict a fine on him nor impose penalty either for obstruction of public affairs or bearing false witness. The same thing is true if the accuser belongs to another nationality. Moreover when the accused finds himself unable to meet a charge he may bring a counter-charge at the court of his own consul thus annulling the original charge. As the consulate has no jurisdic-

tion over the accused, no matter how sufficient and satisfactory a reason backs the counter-accusation, the consul will find no way to decide. This is the fifth bad consequence.

(6) *Difficulty in making appeal to higher court.*

The modern judicial systems are generally organized in four divisions of courts and require three trials. From the point of view of those who go to law, unless there are four courts and three trials, no grievance can be effectively redressed. The supreme courts of the nations which enjoy the privileges of consular jurisdiction in China are in their own countries. We are not only unfamiliar with the procedures of appeal in foreign countries, but the expenses connected with such a distant journey are so heavy that few, if any, Chinese can afford to undertake such an appeal! Thus the difficulty encountered in making an appeal to the supreme court is the sixth bad consequence.

(7) *Preventing China from opening up the country for foreigners to reside in the interior.*

As the territory of China is so extensive, her population so large and its production so plentiful, we have long welcomed foreign capitalists to make investments in China, so as to bring about industrial development. A proposal for China to open up the country was also made in the Washington Conference, showing that foreigners have been inclined to invest in China. However, all the nations enjoy consular jurisdiction, and if one more port in China is open, consular jurisdiction will extend to yet another place, which means that the sovereignty of China will be restricted in one more section of the territory. In case all the ports in China are open it would amount to China losing her sovereignty at all these ports. While it is a great harm and disadvantage to the Chinese, it is no benefit to foreign nations either. Therefore China is unwilling "to open all the doors." Thus consular jurisdiction will hinder the progress and development of China's economic and cultural life. This is the seventh bad consequence.

In view of the above mentioned evils, we see more plainly that this system of foreign jurisdiction in China is surely a "long iron chain" to us. How can independent China endure it forever? We, the Chinese, shall rise and start movements for its abolition with clear heads and patriotic fervor.

Former Movements in China for the Abolition of Consular Jurisdiction

The Chinese government's desire for the abolition of consular jurisdiction began long ago. The question was once taken up during the late period of the Ching dynasty. In 1902 (28th year of Kuangsu) on the 4th August, China concluded a commercial treaty with Great Britain, of which Article XII has one provision as follows:

> China having expressed a strong desire to reform her judicial system and to bring it into accord with that of western nations, Great Britain agrees to give every assistance to such reform, and she will also be prepared to relinquish her extraterritorial rights when she is satisfied that the state of the Chinese laws, the arrangement for their administration, and other considerations warrant her in so doing.

The Sino-American and the Sino-Japanese treaties concluded in 1903 have similar provisions. Since the establishment of the Republic our delegates first brought up this question at the Paris conference, 1919, and made the following promises:

(1) Promulgation of civil and criminal laws and rules for civil and criminal cases.
(2) Establishment of modern judicial courts in all important cities where foreigners reside.

At the same time, the following requests were also made:

(1) When the defendant is Chinese the consul or representative of a foreign country should not be present at the court to watch or to interfere with the proceedings.
(2) Warrant of Chinese judicial court and statement of sentence shall be in force in foreign settlements and the premises of foreign residents without securing consent from the consul or judicial officer of the foreign nation.

The Peace Conference considered these questions very important, but ruled that they were not within its scope. Nothing was accomplished and all our labours were lost.

At the Washington Conference in 1921 the Chinese delegates established the principle that China's freedom of jurisdiction should be restored. This was intended to cover the question of the abolition of consular jurisdiction. On 25th November the Chinese delegate, Wang Chung-hui, on the basis of Root's resolution respecting China's rights, officially brought up again a proposal before the Far Eastern Committee demanding the abolition of consular jurisdiction of all nations in China. The proposal is as follows:

> Extraterritoriality in China dated back almost to the beginning of China's treaty relations with foreign countries. It was clearly laid down in the treaty of 1844, between the United States and China, and similar provisions had since been inserted in treaties with other powers.
>
> These extraterritorial rights were granted at a time when there were only five treaty ports—that is, places where foreigners could trade and reside. Now there are fifty such places and an equal number of places open to foreign trade on China's initiative. This meant an ever-increasing number of persons within China's territory over whom she was almost powerless. This anomalous condition had become a serious problem with which local administration was confronted; and if the impairment of the territorial and administrative integrity of China was not to be continued, the matter demanded immediate solution.

The American delegate, Hughes, considered an investigation into Chinese present judicial and administrative conditions a matter of necessity, and stated that otherwise it was really impossible to come to a decision. This question was then referred to a minor committee for discussion, and the delegates of all nations unanimously decided to organize a commission to investigate into the judicial conditions in China. China further demanded that a definite date for its abolition be fixed. The request was not complied with by all the nations. On the 29th November, the minor committee made its report recommending that a commission be appointed to investigate the judicial system of China. This proposal had already been passed by the general committee. The general situation was as follows:

Of the members of the conference on armament limitation those who were to participate in the investigation into the Pacific and Far

Eastern questions were the delegates of the United States, Belgium, Great Britain, France, Italy, Japan, Holland and Portugal.

They were to study the Sino-British treaty signed on the 5th September, 1902, the Sino-American treaty of the 8th October, 1903, and Sino-Japanese treaty of the 8th October, 1903. The three nations, Great Britain, the United States and Japan agreed to do their best to assist China in order to enable her to fulfill her wishes for judicial reform. It was also declared that the three nations were prepared to abolish consular jurisdiction after they were satisfied with the condition of laws, judicial administration, and other matters related to it. On the basis of these principles, the delegates of all the nations expressed sympathy with the general principle that all restraints to the freedom of the Chinese political, judicial and administrative movements should be removed at once, or as soon as the situation allowed. As to the method for carrying out this investigation the committee made no recommendation. The resolution is as follows:

1. That the Governments of the Powers above named shall establish a Commission (to which each of such Governments shall appoint one member) to inquire into the present practice of extraterritorial jurisdiction in China, and into the laws and the judicial system and the methods of judicial administration of China, with a view to reporting to the Governments of the several Powers above named their findings of fact in regard to these matters, and their recommendations as to such means as they may find suitable to improve the existing conditions of the administration of justice in China, and to assist and further the efforts of the Chinese Government to effect such legislation and judicial reforms as would warrant the several Powers in relinquishing, either progressively or otherwise, their respective rights of extraterritoriality;

2. That the Commission herein contemplated shall be constituted within three months after the adjournment of the Conference in accordance with detailed arrangements to be hereafter agreed upon by the Governments of the Powers above named, and shall be instructed to submit its report and recommendations within one year after the first meeting of the commission;

3. That each of the Powers above named shall be deemed free to accept or to reject all or any portion of the recommendations of the Commission herein contemplated, but that in no case shall any of the said Powers make its acceptance of all or any portion of such recommendations either directly or indirectly dependent on the granting by China of any special concession, favor, benefit, or immunity, whether political or economic.

And the further resolution:

That the non-signatory Powers having by treaty extraterritorial rights in China may accede to the resolution affecting extraterritoriality and the administration of justice in China by depositing within three months after the adjournment of the Conference a written notice of accession with the Government of the United States for communication by it to each of the signatory Powers.

The Washington Conference closed on the 6th February, 1922, and the Commission should have convened and opened after three months. But, at that time, our government specially instructed Alfred Sze, Chinese minister to Washington, to notify the American government officially, asking to postpone the time for investigation until April of the next year, because preparations in China were not yet completed and it was rather inconvenient to commence investigation abruptly.

The American government complied. On May, 1923, our government officially notified the United States government requesting them to inform all the other governments that the extraterritoriality Commission should meet in Peking on November 1st, 1923. But the American government replied in January, 1924, stating that the Com-

mission would not be able to begin its work at the appointed time and proposed that the undertaking be postponed until November 1st, 1924. The French government also notified us that unless the gold franc question be settled first, France would not participate in the Commission. As all other nations had already seconded the proposal, this question came naturally to a deadlock. When the Nanking Road incident happened on May 30, 1925, popular indignation was aroused. The conviction that the unequal treaties could not be further endured and that consular jurisdiction should be instantly abolished was rapidly spreading over the whole world. On June 24th of the same year our government sent a note to the ministers of the eight countries (Great Britain, the United States, France, Japan, Belgium, Italy, Holland and Portugal) formally demanding revision of the unequal treaties.

The Judicial Investigation Commission which had gone through various vicissitudes was inaugurated on the 12th January, 1926, in the former imperial palace in Peking. On the following morning the first meeting was held and attended by the delegates of the following thirteen nations—the United States of America, Belgium, Great Britain, China, Denmark, France, Italy, Japan, Holland, Norway, Portugal, Spain and Sweden. The meeting was presided over by Dr. Wang Chung-hui, and Ma Chun-wu, Minister of Justice, was chosen honorary president of the Commission and the American delegate, Mr. Strawn, Chairman of the Commission. At the first meeting of the Commission the French delegate was chosen as vice-chairman. There were thirteen members in the commission in all who had in addition seven assistant delegates and four experts. The Chinese chief delegate was Dr. Wang Chung-hui, the assistant delegate was Cheng Tien-hsi. The experts were Shih Chih-chuan and Liu Hsing-kwei and secretaries were Hsu Wei-chen and Liao San-teh.

The Commission held twenty-one meetings and the last session took place on the 16th of September. The principal work of the meetings was first to study the Chinese laws and codifications and all the questions arising from the exercise of consular jurisdiction in China and then to consider the reports.

After the conclusion of the conference, the delegates organized parties to make investigations into the courts, jails, prisons and the administrations of Chinese law in various places. The time limit for this inspection trip was from the 10th May to the 16th June (1926). The original plan of the delegation for the trip was shortened by several causes. The authorities in Canton stood for unconditional abolition of consular jurisdiction and refused to receive the commission. In Taiyuan, Kalgan, Kweihua, Paotou, Ningsia and other places there was political disturbance and communications were interrupted. Furthermore, the incident occurring in Peking on the 18th of March in which many students were killed aroused among this commission great distrust of the judicial system of our country. Such conditions merely confirmed their prejudices. Anyone could have foretold that the investigations would bring no favourable results. There was no use to go further. It was a waste of time.

In June of the following year the delegations of the foreign nations issued four statements as a means to cover their activities, and made the suggestion of judicial reform. This may have been due to

lack of sincerity of the foreign delegation. Nevertheless, the militarists of our country who never had any respect for law and were in the habit of trampling on the rights of people could not be free from blame in the failure.

Necessary Steps for the Abolition of Consular Jurisdiction

Now, just look around. Where else in another independent nation besides China in the world does consular jurisdiction still exist? In this, China stands alone. Why is our country unable to abolish consular jurisdiction? Of course, because China is weak. She has no warships, aeroplanes or other weapons to back her. But her own mistakes in the past are also against her. We are now facing a crisis. The experience of Japan, Turkey and Siam are all useful lessons for us.

Japan. When Japan worked for the abolition of consular jurisdiction, the methods proposed were two. One group suggested the organization of mixed courts as a first step, and the other advocated judicial reform and instant abolition. The latter gained ground, and they started negotiations with foreign nations separately as well as collectively. Their attitude and policy often changed with the change of conditions, eventually attaining their goal. The main points of their negotiations were:

(1) Japan should throw open the whole country to foreigners.
(2) Foreigners should be subject to Japanese jurisdiction.
(3) Foreign settlements in Japan should be incorporated into the respective Japanese municipal districts and become a part of the local government. All public properties and investments belonging to the settlement should be transferred to the Japanese Government.
(4) Properties belonging to foreigners in the settlement on which they have deeds of perpetual lease were to remain effective.
(5) From the day when the new treaty was put into effect, the friendly commercial treaties contracted before were to be cancelled. Thus, consular jurisdiction was entirely abolished.
(6) The new treaties were to be in force within five years.

Japan, having been under the bondage of all nations for a long time, was set free in the 35th year of Meiji (1899). Her original freedom was restored and she could live "in the heaven of equality."

Turkey. Turkish sovereignty was totally lost after she signed the treaty of Sevres. There was no help for the weak and moribund nation of the Near East at that time. She was ready to be slaughtered by the powerful nations and waited for the arrival of the "death god" to take her away. Fortunately, under the inspiration of Mohammedanism, the Turkish youth were able to take a new lease of life. In 1922 they made a desperate fight and won a victory over Greece. Those powerful nations who had prepared to take part in the occupation of Turkish territory, now hesitated to go ahead or else took a favourable attitude toward Turkey. On the 20th November, 1922, when the Lausanne Conference was opened, Turkey in the capacity of a victor moved to abolish all unequal treaties. The Turkish representative, standing by national public opinion, refused to yield an inch on any of the ques-

tions before the conference and a deadlock of eighty days elapsed before the conference met again. The attitude of the contending parties changed slightly. The Turkish representatives were clever enough to take advantage of the differences of opinion among the allied nations. Turkey pushed forward her demands when there was a lack of unity, and held back when there was consolidation. For this reason, Turkey never lost sight of her supreme object. The treaty of Lausanne was signed on July 24th, 1923. Among the stipulations of the treaty, Article 28 is of the greatest importance. It reads as follows:

"Each of the High contracting parties hereby accepts, in so far as it is concerned, the complete abolition of the capitulations in Turkey in every respect."

According to these the foreign postal service was abolished, the Customs tariff could be revised and determined by Turkey herself and consular jurisdiction was abolished at the same time. The weakest nation of the Near East is recovering and growing stronger day by day.

Siam. The method adopted by Siam for abolition of consular jurisdiction was entirely different from those of Japan and Turkey. She carried on the negotiation by means of conciliatory and indirect methods. As a first step she organized a mixed court to try the nationals of all countries which enjoyed consular jurisdiction. All cases which originally came under consular jurisdiction came before these courts. After which, when the powers were convinced that the judicial system of Siam had been reformed, consular jurisdiction was relinquished. Although Siam adopted a "slow and steady" method, yet at present she has reached her goal of recovering complete jurisdiction.

The experiences of the above-mentioned nations are all different one from the other. Which method shall our country adopt at present? On this question much careful consideration is needed. Generally speaking the opinions of our country-men fall within the following categories: Some propose the revolutionary method by which China declares the abolition of the treaties by unilateral action. The basis for this is that times have changed and old treaties are no longer applicable. One should readily agree with this view. But the problem is not as simple as that. Suppose that consular jurisdiction were abolished today and all law suits between foreigners and Chinese came under Chinese jurisdiction. What can we do without adequate courts and qualified judges? How can we escape the dissatisfactions that will naturally come. For this reason the *second* group appears, who advocate a gradual process. A mixed court system is proposed as a transitional step. This would seem to be an excellent suggestion on casual observance. It obviates the danger of hasty and faulty steps. Although this plan had pretty good results in Siam, yet it is only a halfway measure. Moreover, the mixed courts in Egypt are still dominated by the imperialists. The prospect for the abolition of consular jurisdiction is in the remote future. From China's past experiences we have learned that the Powers have often said that our laws have not been reformed and refuse to relinquish consular jurisdiction. But the facts are quite different. The Bureau for the revised codification of China's laws was established in the year 1904 and five codes have been completed. Of these the criminal code, the code of civil procedure, and the code of criminal procedure have already been promulgated.

The commercial code has been partly put into force. The civil code is in course of revision. Other supplementary laws and regulations have also been under preparation. But the imperialists still insist on their own stories, ignoring these specific accomplishments. If after the mixed courts were organized, the imperialists should still express dissatisfaction with judicial reforms, what chance is there for China to restore complete jurisdiction? Therefore it is very plain that this proposal cannot be adopted. China today is entirely different from that of yesterday. Popular sentiment is strong and political affairs are rapidly improving. In foreign relations there must be a definite policy, in order that no opportunities be lost through hesitation. Therefore in the matter of abolishing consular jurisdiction, even though we cannot take a revolutionary course for reasons of expediency, we must not adopt the system of mixed courts as a temporary method. At least a time limit should be set for the complete restoration of China's jurisdiction. Since the new codes are not complete and the administrators of law with proper training are insufficient, we may, for the sake of good national friendship, transfer those cases involving either foreigners alone or both Chinese and foreigners to special courts where the conditions are better. But this should be only for one year or one and a half years. When this period has elapsed, foreigners will be treated in the same way as the Chinese. Wherever an accusation takes place the case shall be dealt with by the local court, and during the time in which this temporary arrangement is in force the warrant and the sentence issued by the Chinese courts shall be effective in the concessions as well as in other places.

Preparations Required for Abolition of Consular Jurisdiction

This paper does not permit a discussion of all the necessary preparations required for the abolition of consular jurisdiction beyond the following points:

Promulgation of new codes of law; the training of judicial officers; organization of modern law courts; reform of jails and prisons.

We have often shouted "down with the imperialists." But a mere desire to strike down the imperialists without making necessary preparations in advance, will bring no result. The most convincing proof of this is what obtains today in the boycott of Japanese goods. So long as our industries are in their present conditions the mere crying for boycott day in and day out will be of no avail. Even the paper used for propaganda purposes in the campaign of boycotting Japanese goods comes from Japan! Any undertaking without adequate preparations can bring no better results. Another proof is that two years ago when the relations between Nanking and Hankow were broken off, all the steamers in upper and lower Yangtze were commandeered for the transportation of troops. Foreign steamers were boycotted, with the result that the Chinese were not only greatly inconvenienced in their travels but also were worried by the shortage of daily supplies. It shows again that no matter what one undertakes, preparation is of primary importance.

Pacific Items

Arms Reduction

The preparatory disarmament commission which met at Geneva on April 15-May 6, and which received with favor the arms reduction proposals of the United States representative, Hugh S. Gibson, American ambassador to Belgium, adjourned on the last named date until November, in order that the United States and Great Britain might negotiate directly concerning naval limitation.

It has of late been pointed out in a number of British press dispatches that Britain has led the world in the scrapping of naval tonnage since the Armistice, 2,160,000 tons having been scrapped and 314,000 tons of orders cancelled. This information was given to the House of Commons by the first lord of the admiralty. The House was also told by the Secretary of State for War that the British army is being continuously reduced, the 1929 army estimates, totalling $202,220,000, being $2,525,000 below the 1928 estimates. An April 30 dispatch from the Chicago Tribune Service relates however the expenditure of six and a quarter million dollars since the war on poison gas research, by the British government. Gas will undoubtedly be the most deadly weapon of the future.

Communications

There are constantly coming to the fore new and interesting developments in the means of communication linking the Eastern and Western worlds. The Royal Netherlands Air Service has established an air line between Holland and the East Indies, having secured permission from Britain for Dutch planes to make use of British aerodromes on the way. Fortnightly passenger and mail service is to be opened in September, according to dispatches from the Hague. The British Imperial Air Service between Britain and India was inaugurated on March 30 of this year. It is a three-lap route, from London to Basel, Genoa to Alexandria, and Alexandria to Karachi.

In China the government has approved the plans of an American aviation corporation for coöperation in developing airplane communication within the nation. The China National Aviation Corporation and the Aviation Exploration Company of New York will give joint service in the carrying of mail for the National Government and will open three trunk lines across the country within six months, connecting Nanking-Peking, Canton-Hankow and Shanghai-Nanking-Hankow. In connection with this agreement, American aviation schools are to be established at once for the training of Chinese pilots and personnel, and the manufacture of planes and equipment in China is to be undertaken by the American company.

Radio and its adjuncts are playing an increasingly important rôle. Japan has just established direct radio communication with European stations with the opening of a powerful plant at Nagoya, erected by the Nippon Wireless and Telegraph Company, making possible more rapid and cheaper commercial contacts as well as more satisfactory transmission of press dispatches, eliminating the delays and errors of relaying. In China the development of the telephoto is being envisaged as a direct means of domestic communication of messages to replace the clumsy and unsatisfactory telegraphic code, which is eminently unfitted to both

Chinese written characters and phonetics. According to Prof. Tso-yang Wang, educational envoy from the Fengtien Provincial Government to Europe, the telephoto should make possible the direct photographic transmission of the Chinese characters, eliminating the errors and delays of telegraphic decoding, which have been the bane of official and commercial life in China of late years.

Australian Economic Research

The Australian Parliament has passed a bill establishing a Bureau of Economic Research, designed to undertake research into primary and secondary industries, marketing, transport, tariffs, bounties for industries, and matters of finance and currency. This economic information, according to Prime Minister Bruce, is essential to the insurance of wise government policy.

According to a dispatch from Brisbane, the manufacture of artificial silk yarn is being attempted in Queensland, the first state of the commonwealth to undertake this industry. An industrial chemist of Melbourne invented the process, the raw material of which is "bagasse," the residue fibre of crushed sugar cane. It is expected that Australian-produced artificial silk can sell at prices much lower than those now prevailing in Europe.

United States Immigration

The California State Assembly, before adjourning, May 16, memorialized the National Congress on the subject of Filipino exclusion from the territory of the United States. The resolution stated that unrestricted immigration of Filipinos caused unjust and unfair competition for American labor and nullified the results of the national restrictive policy in regard to other nationals. A similar memorial petitioning Congress to place Mexicans under the quota was passed. This is a development of the recent agitation on the part of American labor organizations for the further extension of Asiatic and Mexican immigration restriction. The movement is being strongly opposed, particularly in the Hawaiian islands. Likewise such a measure is considered to be intimately tied up with the granting of independence to the Philippines.

Japanese Evacuation of Tsinan

When the Tsinan Settlement was signed on March 28 by the Chinese and Japanese ministers, it was stipulated that the withdrawal of Japanese military forces in Shantung should take place within two months. In compliance with this agreement the Japanese Chief of Staff issued orders late in March for preparations to be made looking toward first withdrawals the 1st of May, evacuation to be complete by the end of that month. Owing to the hostilities engendered in Shantung by the rebel General Chang Tsung-chang, however, Minister Wang on April 11 requested the Japanese to delay evacuation until the National Government was in a better position to take over the military policing of the area. On May 4 the withdrawal from Tsinanfu began, when the city was turned over to a force of Chinese gendarmes, 3,600 in number, in the service of the National Government. Complete withdrawal of the Japanese expeditionary forces in Shantung was expected to take place by May 28, the date originally set, in spite of the earlier delay. Up to May 30 no further news was available.

Sino-Japanese Treaty

The long series of conversations, often interrupted and resumed, between Foreign Minister C. T. Wang for China and the Japanese plenipotentiary, which produced successive settlements of the Tsinan, Nanking and Hankow difficulties, culminated on May 1st with a signed agreement between Ministers Wang and Yoshizawa relative to the Sino-Japanese commercial treaty. This agreement settled the long existing controversy over the threatened abrogation of the treaty and stipulated the details of its rewriting. China's claim has been that the old treaty expired in July, 1928, and that a new bilateral treaty must be negotiated. Japan's claim was that the necessary previous notification of expiration had not been given and that consequently the ignoring of the old treaty would constitute an illegal abrogation on China's part. The new agreement provides for the recognition of the old treaty by China and also for its adequate revision on a basis of equality and reciprocity. This was considered to remove the last obstacle to friendly relations between the two Powers.

The China Domestic Situation

The situation in China since May 1 has been the subject of such persistent and conflicting rumors that any intelligent comment upon events there is extremely difficult. There is a minimum of known facts. The Kwangsi rebels, expelled from the Hankow area by National forces under General Chiang Kai-shek, rallied beyond the provincial borders and for the past month have been harrying Kwantung Province and threatening Canton. News reports have had the rebels in and out of control of that city several times. Chang Tsung-chang, who staged a reappearance in Shantung and was finally driven out of his strong position in Chefoo at the end of April, has left Shantung in peace and gone to Japan for refuge. Rumors, long current, of the disaffection of Marshal Feng Yu-hsiang from the National Government, persistently denied by official statements from both Feng and Chiang Kai-shek, were finally established as fact. In a public statement reported through foreign agencies on May 20 Marshal Feng made open charges against the Nanking regime. As a result President Chiang declared war upon his erstwhile Minister of War.

It has long been known that Marshal Feng, who coöperated in the Nationalist drive against the Peking warlord last year and aided in the establishment of the civil government at Nanking, was critical of Nanking's economic policy and out of sympathy with some other aspects of that regime. He has absented himself from the capitol on grounds of illness since before the Kuomintang congress in March, and tendered his resignation from the Cabinet at the time of the government's punitive expedition against Hankow, with which policy he disagreed. Whether the present difficulty may even yet be settled by manoeuvre and compromise rather than by warfare is a matter of conjecture and hope, as war is deferred until after the interment of Sun Yat-sen in the new mausoleum at Nanking, scheduled for June 1. The position of Chang Hsueh-liang, Manchurian leader, at this juncture, is apparently on the side of the National Government. He has been reported as sending troops within the wall in response to the summons of General Chiang Kai-shek for aid.

Reflections

Editorial Opinion on the Pacific

These reprints are chosen as reflecting diverse points of view in and around the Pacific upon problems uppermost in the news of the area. They are not selected, in any instance, as indicative of the editorial atitude of Pacific Affairs.

PACIFIC CROSS-CURRENTS

From the *New Zealand Herald,* March 27, 1929

What in a vague way is understood by most people to be the international position in the Pacific was made clear in detail by Dr. Condliffe last evening. The value of his survey lies particularly in his analysis of conditions in the "Orient" that he shows is deeply divided against itself. Japan is experiencing an accelerated development of Western ideas and practices; and China, while with difficulty and some reluctance shaking herself free from the past, is rapidly making strides toward a new order. These "Eastern" factors are destined to thrust into urgent notice the necessity of effort to find an international modus vivendi in this ocean, where East and West have already falsified in part Kipling's dictum as customarily read. The Pacific is a geographical entity, in spite of the habit of cartographers in cutting it down the middle when dividing the world into hemispheres, and nothing can stay the coming into intimate contact of the various peoples having interests on its shores and in its island groups. There is a clear call for statesmanship of a high order in grappling with the problems—inter-racial as well as international—presented by conditions already arising and bound to become more perplexing in the near future. What has to be recognised is that the clock cannot be put back, either in the countries concerned or in the region where their interests mingle. It is necessary also to acknowledge that the mingling brings with it a perilous possibility of implacable and ruinous antagonisms. . . .

Faced with these facts, every New Zealander must feel the urgency of doing his share to eliminate the risks of conflict and to promote understanding. . . . And the facts ought to be envisaged in a spirit of international fraternity. Sympathy with these other peoples is at least as important as knowledge of them and their aspirations. This does not necessarily involve unquestioning agreement with their intentions. But it does entail a thoroughly honest attempt to see through their eyes. Too long has there been an easy readiness in this country to leave these questions to the thinkers of the Homeland. The time has come, with the advent of greater responsibilities, for New Zealanders to consider earnestly these things for themselves. To them, in part, must fall the duty of working out the enlightened policy of British statesmanship in relation to the whole Pacific, and to this end they should begin by endeavours to understand what that policy should be.

CANADA STEPS TO THE FRONT

From the *Christian Science Monitor,* Boston, Feb. 13, 1929

What is Canada coming to? is a question that contains no implication of reproach. With each reassembling of Parliament the eyes of the world are drawn to the amazing forward strides of this vigorous young Dominion whose national birth occurred but a brief sixty-one years ago and whose adolescence might be said to have ended with the World War. The full manhood of the Nation was illustrated at the opening of Parliament, when, for the first time, the foot of the throne was graced by the presence of a corps of foreign representatives holding full diplomatic rank, including William Phillips and Jean Knight, ministers plenipotentiary from Washington and Paris, respectively; Shu Tomil, chargé d'affaires of Japan, and Sir William Clark, the first High Commissioner from Great Britain and Northern Ireland. W. L. Mackenzie King, Canada's Prime Minister, standing beside them in his gorgeously braided Windsor uniform, might well have felt a thrill of pride in viewing these results of his direct handiwork in international affairs.

Lord Willingdon, the Governor-General, in his throne speech not only drew attention to such things as these, but also to the country's unexampled business prosperity and growth. "Never in the history of Canada has there been such

industrial and commercial expansion as that which has taken place during the past twelve months," he said. New records have been made in the production of agricultural and other basic industries. Commerce has been stimulated by the establishing of trade commissioners at strategic points throughout the world, by the inauguration of a national steamship service between Atlantic ports and the West Indies, and by the extension of branch railway lines to tap the actual and potential wealth of the northern hinterland of Ontario, Manitoba and Saskatchewan.

Already Canada holds fifth place among the nations in its volume of trade, second place in exports and total trade per capita, third place in "favorable trade balance," and first place in "favorable trade balance" per capita. During the last year Canada's trade increased by more than 11 per cent, or $270,548,000—a sum greater than the country's total trade thirty years ago. Practically every other line of endeavor, in air, in water and on land, tells a similar story. For instance, the output of electric energy almost doubled in 1928, and during the last six years has increased by some 136 per cent. Indeed, Canada appears to have no reasonable limit to its natural resources. Only in the matter of population does there appear to be a deficiency, and the inducements now being held out to prospective settlers should in time remove even this handicap. The Dominion's prosperity is not dependent upon a "boom" and may be expected to expand indefinitely.

THE WESTWARD MOVEMENT OF THE AMERICAN DOLLAR

From the *Osaka Mainichi,* March 17, 1929

Now that Mr. Hoover has settled down in the Presidential chair of the United States and Mr. Stimson is about to settle down as Secretary of State, it is not unnatural to expect that the particular kind of Imperialism which the United States has wielded with effect will take a westward course. "Imperialism" in its original sense is now a discarded word. It is a fact that it still exists in its original and crude form in the United States—her policy toward Nicaragua proves this—but it is not supposed to be good manners to flaunt the word in the faces of our fellow beings.

Imperialism in modified forms is, however, regarded as quite a noble, up-to-date affair, and thus enjoys the easy acceptance of the civilized world. In other words, forceful penetration is an international ban, but peaceful penetration is a virtue. The United States has reaped a good harvest by skilfully combining Imperialism, both in crude and refined forms, in an extremely happy ratio, so much so that she has won the fame of being one of the least bellicose nations on earth.

But the fact is that the United States is at least as bellicose as other peoples, if not more. A glance at her history will convince one that we are not making empty charge. The methods which she employs are, however, vastly different from those used by other nations. Instead of sending a gunboat, she sends a check. Instead of taking an island by force of arms, she quietly gets it by a commercial transaction. In creating a protectorate, she comes down upon the victim not with a bayonet, but with the dollar. In a word, hers is economic Imperialism, capitalistic Imperialism, dollar Imperialism, and with Messrs. Hoover and Stimson at the back of the wheel, it seems only natural that the westward progress of this particular kind of Imperialism should be quick and tremendous.

AFFORESTATION IN CHINA

From the *Canton Gazette,* March 14, 1929

The importance of timberlands to the well-being of China is well expressed in Dr. Sun's lectures on "Outlines of Reconstruction," while, before his untimely death, there were many occasions when he made public addresses on this subject.

Timber plays a very intimate part in the economic life of China, and were there to be a great or continued shortage of it, not only would the livelihood of the people be affected, but the progress of the country would also be retarded. The extensive use of wood as fuel immediately comes to mind when one begins to reflect on the many purposes to which it is put. In China all furniture is made of wood, even the houses are of wood, while outdoors, wheel-barrows, boats and

junks, and a great variety of articles of everyday use are fashioned of this material. One might very well say that without wood life in this country would indeed be hard to sustain.

The urgent need for conservation and development of this country's natural timber resources has always been stressed by the leaders of the people. The constant demand for firewood results in extensive areas being denuded of trees, and with the population on the increase a time must come when the natural reserves will run out, unless steps were taken either to lessen the demand for this material by finding substitutes, or to bring new areas under timber.

Timber in the form of forests also exercises considerable effect on the physical conditions of the country. . . .

Every year different parts of China are subject to floods. . . . Were a program of afforestation seriously pursued in these regions in a few years it would do much to lessen the risk of flooding that is now an annual threat.

The importance of afforestation to the country is recognised by the present government. The Central Government has a special bureau to attend to the promotion of afforestation, while in this province a Forestry Bureau was inaugurated only last month. The greatest publicity is being given to this work and the annual observance of Arbor Day serves to focus public interest in this problem. . . .

There would seem ground for the hope that with the education of the younger generation to the importance of forestry to the economic life of the country, timber resources will not only be conserved in every way possible, but there will also ensue a gradual development and extension of the timberlands.

SCIENCE AND JAPAN'S FOOD PROBLEM

From the *Trans-Pacific*, Tokyo, April 11, 1929

The population problem is in Japan what King Charles's head was to Mr. Dick; it gets into every question, and naturally it was invoked in connection with the excellent and practical food reform work which the Imperial Nutrition Institute is doing. There is an obvious connection between food and population. The essence of the whole tragedy of China is that the population recklessly increases while its means of support actually diminish under the wastage of perpetual civil war. But Japan's food problem is not scarcity. She grows all the rice she requires, and the small percentage she imports does not usually amount to more than that which she uses for the production of her vinous luxury. . . .

Dr. Saiki showed exactly what the trouble is. In the factory dormitories which were investigated, though plenty of food was bought and served, it was badly combined, deficient in both proteins and calories, and, in effect, hundreds of young women were being starved at an age where under-nourishment was likely permanently to impair their health with disastrous results on the physique of the next generation. By re-arranging the dietary, spending no more, and using only foods grown in the district, the experts of the Imperial Nutrition Institute were able to provide healthy and adequate meals. . . .

The question is whether Japan can be a modern nation on a medieval diet. The meditative life can be lived on rice and pickles, and peasants can digest sufficient food of low quality to keep them healthy. But that food is ill-suited for the factory worker, the brain worker and the town dweller in general. Japan has to pay a high price for the low nutritive value of the customary diet of her people. An obvious example is the prevalence of diseases of the stomach and intestines, the incidence of which is greater in Japan than in any other country for which accurate information is available. The death rate from intestinal diseases is higher even than from tuberculosis which in other countries heads the list, and which is high enough here in all conscience.

What can be done? Dr. Saiki and his co-workers have just shown how a rearrangement of the dietary can restore the deficient food values, thereby, as was said above, vindicating science in the material terms of cost of illness saved and working productivity increased. It cannot be expected that the Japanese people can be talked out of their natural liking for rice, but they can be instructed in methods of supplementing its deficiences, and that is what the Government, through the Imperial Nutrition Institute, is doing. . . .

JAPANESE BIRTHS IN CALIFORNIA A DIMINISHING PROBLEM

From the *San Francisco Chronicle,* April 26, 1929

Japanese births have decreased to such an extent during the last seven years that the migration of aliens other than Japanese into California presents a far greater problem, according to a statement by Dr. Walter M. Dickie, State Director of Public Health, filed today with Governor Young.

The health director showed that less than a decade ago eight out of every hundred children born in California were of Japanese parentage. Today the ratio is but 3.4 per cent. Continued enforcement of the anti-alien legislation, together with the ageing of the Japanese already here, is attributed by Dickie for the sharp drop in Japanese offspring.

Japanese births in 1928 totaled 2833. This is a drop of 408 from the total in 1927, of 1120 from 1925 and of 2442 from 1921, which was the peak year in this State.

From 1906, the first year that vital statistics were compiled in California, until 1921, the upward trend of Japanese births in the State was steady and unbroken. In the latter year 5275 births of Japanese parentage were recorded.

In a report at the monthly meeting of Governor Young's Council yesterday Will J. French, Director of Industrial Relations, declared that a tremendous influx of Filipinos, practically all of them men, is creating a serious social problem. In the Stockton area alone, he said, are 10,000 Filipinos.

STUDYING THE ORIENT

From the *New York Post,* April 5, 1929

We have at various times had occasion to point out what we considered the need for greater facilities for the study of China and Japan if the American public is to play an intelligent part in the development of our Far Eastern policy. A detailed study of just what courses are at present offered on these two countries in our colleges and universities has now been made by the American Council of the Institute of Pacific Relations. The conclusion clearly drawn in this report is that our universities and colleges "are not yet prepared to equip either scholars or men of affairs to deal competently with the Orient."

Of the 546 institutions to which questionnaires were sent on this subject 443 replied. Not a single course relating to the Far East was offered by 201. Oriental subjects were merely touched upon in courses offered by 131 and specific courses could be cited by only 111. The only colleges which gave evidence of any thorough attempt to cover the field were Washington, California, Harvard, Stanford, Columbia, Chicago, Pennsylvania, Minnesota and Radcliffe. Together these nine institutions account for 127 of the 281 courses on Japan and China which are given throughout the country.

The United States is a Pacific Power. Our relations with China and Japan are of continually increasing importance. We cannot afford to allow ignorance of the history and civilization of the Far East to cast any shadow upon developments which a better understanding might clarify.

ISSUES IN CHINA'S CIVIL WARFARE

From the *China Weekly Review,* March 30, 1929

A Chinese friend, a newspaper publisher, tells us that the chief cause was the attempt of the National Government "to go too fast with its reforms," and thereby provided ammunition for its political enemies at home and abroad. There is food for thought in this suggestion because recently the Chinese newspapers have been filled with resolutions against the government on the part of merchants who didn't want to be subjected to the new taxes that are supposed to replace likin; the protests of the old-style doctors, who do not want to be put out of business by the modern scientifically-trained practitioners, and want to continue the use of herbs and other nostrums; the protests of the pork-butchers who don't want to be sanitary; the protests of the chambers of commerce who do not wish to be reorganized or abolished; the protests of the native priests who don't want to be kicked out of the temples, and so on, etc., etc.

Books of the Pacific

A HISTORY OF THE FAR EAST IN MODERN TIMES

By Harold M. Vinacke
Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1928

The professor of international law and politics at the University of Cincinnati has joined the few scholars who have given us a comprehensive study of the Far East. Treat, Gowen, MacNair, and Williams have made excellent general studies of this important region. Gowen and Williams have made separate studies of Japan and China. Treat, MacNair and Vinacke have written of the region commonly called the *Far East,* and have used this term in their titles. This tendency will doubtless increase the use of this term among students and scholars rather than the term *Orient.* The author restricts, in keeping with accepted practice, the term to China, Japan and Korea, rather than to include all the countries of Eastern Asia. The remaining countries, save Siam, states the author, are under European control, and none of the Oriental countries other than China and Japan have separate cultures of extended development, nor have they affected international relations to any great extent. India, the only possible exception, is better classified, declares Dr. Vinacke, under the British Empire.

The author also explains his use of the term "modern," an essential explanation in any study of the nations of the East. The modern period, to him, dates from the time China, Japan and Korea came into an enlarged contact with the world, and the term is defined in its relation to the Far East rather than to Europe. The institutions and cultures of pre-modern China, Japan and Korea are therefore, and properly, dismissed with brief reference only.

Of the twenty-two chapters of the book, twelve deal with China, and include China under the Manchus, its opening, the foreign impact, its divisions among the powers, financial imperialism, reform and revolution, the rule of Yuan Shih-k'ai, military power, modernization, progress—social, economic, cultural and intellectual—and the world war. Chapters on Japan deal with its opening, transition, the war with Russia, the various forms of national progress, and its increasing hegemony. Chapters dealing with relations between China and Japan, and with the East as a region, treat of the contest for Korea, the Washington Conference, and the East and West. One chapter is devoted to the Far Eastern republic of Siberia.

The book does not deal with the Far East in any novel or striking way. The usual terms "opening," "impact," "transition," "imperialism," "revolution," "modernization," etc., of which all writers on the Far East are inordinately fond, may be found here in abundant measure. It is to be hoped that future writers on the East will give us new titles, chapter headings, and a new nomenclature for the facts and events of that region of the world which we have come to call Oriental or Far Eastern. Future studies, it is hoped, will not be dictated by the mere sequence of historical events, or alone by the trends of politics.

One can hardly read this book without arriving at the conclusion that the author, within the clearly defined limits laid down in the preface, has produced an invaluable manual of the modern history of the Far East. To compress within 463 pages all the necessary informa-

tion about this important region is in itself a colossal undertaking. One who essays to do this has a large responsibility, for his appeal is to the general rather than to a special reading public. The exclusion of unnecessary and tiring details is a relief to one who would envisage the Far East in its setting, historically and internationally. The style is direct, simple, and sometimes vigorous, in contrast with much of the dull and ponderous historical writing of the past. There seem to be no serious omissions, and there is a commendable inclusion of economic, intellectual and cultural data of the first importance. Moreover, there has been no sacrifice of accuracy. The author, through his prior specialized studies, has established his knowledge of the sources, and his ability adequately to use them.

Dr. Vinacke does not hesitate to express opinions and to draw conclusions, and in some cases he does so vigorously. And one gathers as one reads a certain preference for institutions, points of view, and policies which seem to have formed a part of the author's special background. This is only natural, and in no case does it depart from the standard of impartiality which the author has attempted to follow, and with success. In the last chapter, "The East and the West," Dr. Vinacke, while maintaining a commendable sense of balance, becomes, in spite of his usual caution, a clearly perceptible friend of nationalism in the East, and consciously or unconsciously sides with the East in its struggle against the West.

The book, it seems to the reviewer, deals in the main with the politics and the international relations of the East. The books by Treat and Vinacke, revised and brought down to date from time to time, should be adequate introductions to the modern history of the East. What is now needed is a series of studies, special and substantive, rather than general and historical, dealing with the East in all phases of its constitutional and international life. Studies in colonial administration, in diplomatic relations, and in comparative government are greatly needed. Certainly they should not be mere rehearsals of what has gone before, of facts now widely known and which are becoming common knowledge to an increasing number of readers.

Certain comments on the physical make-up of the book are in order. The index is complete and workable. The marginal notes are an invaluable aid to one who would have the content of a paragraph before reading. This is not good pedagogy, however, for it encourages a short cut on the part of the student. The chapters are divided into topics, which make the thread of the story easy to follow. The type, while bold and clear, is too small for easy and sustained reading.

The reviewer regards the two introductions by Professor Harry Elmer Barnes as open to objection. They would appear on the jacket of the book to better effect. The first, virtually a justification of the "New History," is not new or pertinent, and Dr. Barnes' views on this subject are pretty well known to most of the people who will read this book. The second introduction, showing the place of such a book in a series of historical studies, seems superfluous also.

Reference to the books now published and under preparation in the Borzoi Historical Series indicates how slightly Dr. Barnes is carrying out his views in the second introduction. There are a number of titles, general and special, on the history of Europe and of the United States. Latin America, Africa, the Far East and the Near East, certainly im-

portant regions in national and international affairs, are dismissed each with a single volume. Clearly this is a defect to which the "New History" can address itself with a reasonable chance of success. Dr. Barnes will do civilization great good and will bring distinction and originality to his series by including a number of special studies on the East, to which Dr. Vinacke's study should serve as a penetrating and suggestive introduction. —CHARLES E. MARTIN.

A HISTORY OF CHRISTIAN MISSIONS IN CHINA
By K. S. Latourette
The Macmillan Company, New York, 1929. G$5.00

This voluminous history of 930 pages by the Professor of Missions and Oriental History in Yale University is of an interest more particular than most histories of the East written by sons of the West. For it is a history of the activities of a certain section of Western humanity in the East, a record of emotions and faiths and the confusion of other psychological promptings which offered the group and its ideal an implementation quite other than that of the more familiar games of trade and diplomacy and warfare. But because the desired conquest in this field struck most deeply at the fundamental cultural and spiritual life of the nation, and implied a radical alteration in the traditional modes of the people, its history is of as great importance to the Chinese as to foreigners.

For this reason, then, we believe that PACIFIC AFFAIRS readers will be more interested to know how a modern Chinese writer, a non-Christian, has reviewed this book, than to know what we ourselves think of it. We reprint from a comprehensive review by Quentin Pan, one of the Associate Editors of the *China Critic,* Shanghai, appearing in that journal for April 11, 1929. Mr. Pan said in part:

". . . But Professor Latourette's book is an unusually valuable contribution for other obvious reasons than its comprehensiveness and the fact that it fills a need long felt. It is far more than a mere compendium; it contains a wealth and a variety of painstakingly gathered and carefully sifted materials, to which the ordinary student of Christian missions, not to say the general reader, can have little or no access. In point of variety, it may be further noted that the *History* is not merely one of Christian missions as evangelical bodies, but at once one which traces the development, in modern China, of medical and sanitary work, of the modern educational system, and of western ideas and attitudes in many fields of social and intellectual endeavor; for these, wittingly or otherwise, have all been closely bound up with the missionary enterprise. Even in the field of politics, beginning with the wars that ended in the conclusion of many unequal treaties, through the Tai Ping insurrection, the Revolution of 1911, and down even to the political fortunes of many national leaders of the day, results are in many ways traceable to missionary influences. . . .

"While nobody can be sure of the future of the Christian missions in China, and while our author sees fit not to say much about it, he seems nevertheless quite optimistic and at times even sanguine about the enterprise. The optimism, however, does not seem to be well founded, for two important reasons. . . . These are, in brief, that the Christian conception of God is one of refined anthropomorphism,

and does not tally with the prosaic common sense of the average Chinese; and that the ideal of the brotherhood of men, in ignoring the natural principle of diminishing emotional attachment to persons within and without the family, tends to foster shallow sentimentalism rather than genuine good will, and hence is also opposed to our traditional ethical standards. . . . But there is one difficulty with which our author does deal, and that is, that so far the Christian religion has failed to induce into its fold the scholarly and intellectual elements of the country. But even here, he seems to have been rather reticent about presenting the whole case, or else he seems to have quite underestimated the difficulty. He does not, for instance, go into any careful search as to why Christianity has so far failed to attract the scholarly. That it is exotic and is opposed to traditional modes of thought certainly will not explain in these latter days of missionary experience when all traditional barriers are being rapidly razed. More explanatory is perhaps the fact, which Christians will not own, that Christianity lacks any profound system of metaphysics such as possessed by Buddhism, to which the intelligentsia of the country very readily betook themselves even in the early days of its introduction. . . .

"But when all is said, the fact remains that Professor Latourette, in preparing this book, has rendered an unprecedented piece of service for which missionary workers and Christian students will remain for years indebted. Even those readers who are interested in Christian missions only in a general cultural way will find the book a veritable fountain, from which materials for the study and appreciation of cultural contact, conflict, and intermingling may be freely drawn."

MEXICO PAST AND PRESENT
By G. B. Winton
Cokesbury Press, Nashville, Tenn., 1928. G$2.00

The literature on Mexico is abundant and chaotic. It is passionate, sentimental, partisan, a maze of conquest, constitutions, church domination, foreign interference, popular heroes, military dictators, and interminable, inexplicable revolutions. Dr. G. B. Winton's "Mexico, Past and Present" emerges from this confusion as a coherent uncontroversial and above all undramatic story of Mexican political history. Of the recent works on Mexico, it is to the unfamiliar reader one of the most intelligible.

From his orderly chronicle, events are seen to be motivated logically through 400 years by the conflicting ambitions of three powerful minority groups, Church, foreign interests, military. The Church is perhaps given the leading role in Mexico's social and political tribulations. Though the people were usually scantily rewarded for their adherence to one or another of these factions, they were always a determining force in the struggles and there has been throughout the past century a definite progress toward self government which made possible the Madero revolution of 1910 and the subsequent Constitution of 1917. The revolutionary period since 1910 and its outstanding figures, Madero, Carranza, Obregon and Calles, are accurately and sympathetically pictured.

For the investigator concerned with understanding the extent to which socialistic policies are being worked out, Mexico's present and future relationships with the United States, its position with reference

to other Latin-American nationalist movements, its tremendous task of incorporating into the State an overwhelming indigenous population possessing a persistent culture of its own, and other equally vital questions, Dr. Winton offers no new material. The very important subject of American policy in Mexico is not probed. For example, of Henry Lane Wilson, whose behaviour at the time of the murder of Madero has been so bitterly and authoritatively criticized, there is little more than the comment that his attitude was "annoying." The land and Church questions have been dealt with more specifically but because the book is completely undocumented and the analyses are necessarily brief and inadequate, the author's interpretation, though in the main correct, is not satisfying. The book must be regarded as a careful personal interpretation for the lay reader. —L. P. K.

CHINA AND JAPAN IN OUR UNIVERSITY CURRICULA
Edited by Edward C. Carter
American Council, Institute of Pacific Relations
129 East 52nd Street, New York, 1929

The American Council of the Institute of Pacific Relations has completed an interesting study in the cultural field as preparation toward the Kyoto conference of the Institute. For this first publication of 1929 the Council has chosen the very significant problem of how the civilization of the Orient is being presented to the university students of America. The keynote of the Council's purpose in this study is sounded by a quotation from Berthold Laufer, in the April 1929 Bulletin of the American Council of Learned Societies: "We hold that a truly humanistic education is no longer possible without a more profound knowledge of China. We endeavor to advance the scientific study of China in all its branches for the sake of the paramount educational and cultural value of Chinese civilization, and thereby hope to contribute not only to the progress of higher learning, but also to a higher culture and renaissance of our civilization and to the broadening of our own ideals. . . ." Expanding the term "China" to "the Orient," this expresses the attitude of contributors to the volume in hand throughout the work.

In his introduction the editor, Edward C. Carter, suggests a significant line of thought when he says: "There are now 1,100 Chinese and 800 Japanese studying in this country. It would be difficult to envisage the changes that might take place in the texture of American life, if, for two generations, each quadrennium found a corresponding number of carefully chosen American graduate students studying in the universities of China and Japan." What such a situation might mean even in the very specific instance cited on the next page by Professor MacNair, seems obvious. Professor MacNair quotes the attitude of a scholar of the 8th century A.D., who protested against the spreading Chinese practice of venerating Buddha, a "barbarian" whose language, manners, and even personal accoutrements were so alien to those of China. Professor MacNair then says: "The point of view of Han Yu has, with justice, been cited as typical of that of many Orientals toward foreign peoples, ideas, and institutions from earlier times to the present day. What is likely to be overlooked, or conveniently forgotten, by Americans is that Han Yu's viewpoint is not noticeably different from that of many of their own countrymen with reference to

Asiatics and their 'alien' cultures. There is, perhaps, quite as great danger to the peace of the world from American ignorance of the East as from Eastern ignorance of the West."

The data upon which this study is based was secured by means of a questionnaire sent out by the American Council of the Institute to 546 institutions of higher learning in the United States. As is stated in the Summary of Findings (p. 21), "the specific objectives were: first, to make an inventory of the resources which our universities and colleges offer for the study of Pacific questions, and, second, to furnish those institutions which are contemplating additional courses on China and Japan with information as to those given elsewhere." The incoming material was then carefully analyzed and tabulated, in order to show the number and nature of courses being offered in American universities, the number of students affected by them, the geographical distribution of such available courses, and various other data connected with the strictly academic details which may be important to educators. The presentation of these facts in summarized and tabulated form is made by Elizabeth Watson and occupies some 30 pages of the volume. In addition to this statistical and analytical material, there are two papers, one by Professor Harley Farnsworth MacNair, professor of Far Eastern History and Institutions at the University of Chicago, the other by Professor William H. Kilpatrick, professor of the Philosophy of Education, Teachers College, University of Columbia, giving respectively the interpretations of an historian and an educator on the data collected. Dr. Kilpatrick states (p. 18): "The data herein presented are from an educational point of view highly interesting, significant of great changes in history on the one hand, and in American outlook and education on the other. At the same time the showing made raises the inquiry as to whether, taking the nation as a whole, outlook and educational opportunities do not even yet lag behind the demands of the present world situation."

There are additional brief statements made by professors who have had experience in the teaching of Oriental subjects in the larger universities of America, telling something of the process by which their departments came into being. These are by Professor Quincy Wright, University of Chicago, L. Carrington Goodrich, Columbia University, Dean George H. Chase, Graduate School, Harvard University, who tells of the Harvard-Yenching Institute, Professor Harold S. Quigley of the University of Minnesota, Dr. Ray Lyman Wilbur, ex-President of Stanford University, and Dr. Charles E. Martin of the University of Washington, now visiting professor at the University of Hawaii. There are 35 pages of interesting excerpts from the returned questionnaires, being comments on the changing trends in Oriental curricula, on conditions favorable or unfavorable to such curricula and on the contacts which institutions attempt to make for their students and teachers, with actual Far Eastern affairs. The remainder of the book, some 80 pages, is given over to detailed descriptions of courses relating to the Orient, which are actually being offered in American institutions.

This is a first comprehensive and scientific study on the subject in the American field, and it should be not only a valuable indication of present trends but a stimulus for the future.

In view of the fact that the present study did not include territories of the United States, it might be interesting here to append the fact

that the University of Hawaii very early after its emergence from collegiate to university status, recognized the importance of placing special emphasis upon those fields of knowledge wherein it might, in its peculiar position half-way between the East and the West, act as a link between two varied civilizations. In the academic year 1920-21 two Oriental departments were inaugurated, one being the History and Language of Japan, the other, the History and Language of China. These departments have proved to be an extremely popular and important addition to the university life. —E.G.

AMERICAN DIPLOMACY IN THE MODERN WORLD
By Arthur Bullard
University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, 1928. G$1.50

The substance of three lectures delivered for the Jayne Foundation is here printed in a short readable book that deals with the pressing problems of the relations of the United States to the modern world-machinery for the conduct of international affairs. The author is a well-known writer on international relations who has spent considerable time in the service of the League of Nations both on the Secretariat and on some of the League Commissions. The first lecture is a critical survey of the traditional old-world methods of diplomacy and an attempt to show how the machinery of the League of Nations has superseded and improved on those methods. The author has drawn upon certain incidents in Central and South American history to point the moral that the United States might make use of the machinery at Geneva with considerable prestige and profit to itself.

> If our Government were in a position to use the new machinery at Geneva it would find many of its problems with Latin America greatly simplified. If . . . government broke down in one of these countries and it became necessary for a "superior civilization" to assert the "right of eminent domain," our marines would go into action with the approval of the world, and would not be held up to scorn as the "agents of Wall Street imperialism."

The second and third lectures are useful for their attempts to clarify the issues that surround the subjects of disarmament and the organisation of peace. The writer explicitly indicates that the maintenance of peace or progress in disarmament involves certain definite sacrifices, including some real curtailment of those national rights that are supposed to reside in the "sovereignty" of a country, and a measure of positive coöperation with other nations. Similarly he presents the goal of effective reduction of armaments as involving a definite cost, namely, the renunciation of war and the obligation to arbitrate on disputes, the outlawry of offending nations, and the thorough coöperation and pooling of resources—military, economic and moral—against such an offender. These things being the price, the author challenges the nation to say whether it is willing to pay it. He does not gloss over the fact that it is a high price. It is one which the British Government was not prepared to pay at the unsuccessful Geneva Protocol because of the absence of the United States. The short-sighted policy of attempting to secure armament reduction on the basis of technical compromises arranged by naval strategists and the ineffectiveness of all concepts of "equality" and "parity" in such fundamentally political problems, are points that the writer urges with conviction and force. He goes to the heart of the matter in pleading that the United States, whatever its general views on disarmament may be, ought not to try

to maintain an unnatural and impossible "neutrality" in the case of a nation violating its treaty obligations with the members of the League. "We are so strong that if we join forces with the highwayman, the policemen will run. If we claim the right to be strictly neutral—just as ready to help the crook as the cop—any attempt to establish a reign of law among the nations is paralyzed."

The book is primarily addressed to American readers. It does not advance any important new ideas or add much to the sum of knowledge on the subject. Indeed the residual amount of real information in the book is not large after the numerous anecdotes, reminiscences and purely illustrative passages are extracted. But it is a useful work for its simple and attractive presentation of the issues of disarmament and peace organisation, and for its candid championship of the cause of the League of Nations. —W. L. H.

TRAVELS IN FRENCH INDO-CHINA
By Harry Hervey
Thornton Butterworth, Ltd., London, 1928. 10s 6d

This is, the author tells us, "a book of personal reflections on that corner of Asia where France has planted her bayonets," the "corner" whence he had gone in search of a ruined city of the Khmers far to the north of Angkor. His philosophical discussions and political comments are no less entertaining than the very vivid story of his travels into the northern jungles of Siam. While his primary interest was the quest for the ruins concerning whose existence he had received a vague hint, he nevertheless pays keen attention as he goes to people and conditions, and gives facts and figures, as well as necessary historical background for an understanding of the land. Thus in the course of the volume he pictures the spectacular rise and fall of the Khmers, known and guessed, the acquisition of the country by the French, attendant conditions of this occupation in its physical and spiritual aspects as they affect both the French and natives, the marvellous, almost unbelievable beauty of the country and ruins, and his own most intimate reactions to it all. If his descriptions seem rather flamboyant and his metaphors somewhat luxuriant, perhaps that is the effect of a country and a vestigial civilization which can be spoken of only flamboyantly and metaphorically. At least it is a graphically told story, entertaining and informative along varied lines, and well illustrated, covering 280 pages of easily read type.

He objects to being called a tourist because "a tourist, in spite of popular opinion, travels to tell other countries about his own." And his own keen observations, analysis and comments effectively remove him from this objectionable category. In particular he has collected illuminating and authentic information upon the government opium monopoly (p. 32 ff.) and his comments thereon and on colonial activities in general are highly interesting. In this latter connection he says: (p. 54) " . . . this is not intended entirely as a criticism of France's policy in this Asiatic colony. It is broader than that. It is giving a specific example to illustrate the policies of all nations who maintain colonial possessions . . . In every country where the white man is 'protector' I have found that democracy, the gallant cry of those paler skins, is a mere rhetorical term, to be recited by children and used by politicians . . . Colonization is commerce and has no reverence for tradition or man." —B.G.

AUTUMN LEAVES
By E. T. C. Werner
Kelly & Walsh, Ltd., Shanghai, 1928

"An Autobiography," so the title page declares, "with a sheaf of papers, sociological and sinological, philosophical and metaphysical"—beginning with "A Comprehensible (?) Theory of the Universe" and winding up with a story of the man himself which is a revealing human document. The "sheaf" contains informative essays on interesting sinological subjects as well as reprints of numerous "To-the-Editor" letters covering a wide variety of topics from trivial to tragic during some twenty years past.

Some of the author's pronouncements betray a naïve inconsistency, as witness this from "Saving China," where he argues *against* intervention: "Europeans who prate about the 'salvation' of China, and who, for their own short-sighted and selfish ends, are tinkering with an ancient civilization which, while they were still in the paleolithic stage, successfully weathered many a worse storm than now raging, would be better advised to devote their energies to 'saving Europe.' She needs it. . . . . Foreign 'protection,' 'control,' 'administration,' are slow poisons, not tonic medicines," (p. 295); and this, where he argues *for* the protection and control that already exists: "These 'leased territories' serve as examples for her to follow and as places where the foreigner may refresh himself by living for a few weeks 'out of himself' and 'out of China' at the same time. And they no more infringe China's 'sovereign rights' than the tenant's leasehold infringes the 'sovereign rights' of his landlord."

Throughout the writer evidences a pronounced anti-Japanese feeling, not only in connection with China, but in all that nation's international dealings, notably with subject peoples. Another major note of the book, sounded and resounded throughout, is the author's criticism, in general and in detail, of the foreign diplomatic service of which he was for 30 years a part in China.

The author is a recognized sinologue, and since his consular retirement has continued his devotion to the study of the Chinese classics and culture. His chapters on various controversial sinological subjects and on aspects of academic and cultural traditions are of value.

The foreign student of the Chinese language will find of special interest the paper on the spelling (romanization) of Chinese words and the order of Chinese names, and will be glad of the inclusion of the Chinese characters in the chapters where names of persons, places, deities, etc., occur. One could wish this were a more common practice, especially in translations of Chinese books. B. G.

FOREIGN DIPLOMACY IN CHINA (1894-1900)
A Study in Political and Economic Relations with China
By Philip Joseph
George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., London, 1928

This volume is one of a series of studies in Economics and Political Science, being produced by the London School of Economics and Political Science, and edited by the School's Director, Sir William H. Beveridge. The author is a Barrister-at-Law of the Middle Temple, having had previous connections with McGill University, Canada, the home of one of the most complete Chinese libraries outside China; he is at present a Laura Spelman Rockefeller Fellow. There is an ex-

tensive introduction, setting forth the importance of an adequate study of this subject, written by Sir Frederick Whyte, who is now Political Advisor to the National Government of China.

The scope of the work is the period 1894-1900, which fact necessarily limits its usefulness to that of an historical background study.

CHINESE POLITICAL THOUGHT
By Elbert Duncan Thomas
Prentice-Hall, Inc., New York, 1927. G$12.50

A comprehensive study of what is described as "representative" Chinese political thought, although the system of thought under consideration was that generated in the course of a single epoch of Chinese history which began some thousand years before Christ. This analysis of the political conceptions which evolved during the Chou dynasty, a period of some 900 years, forms an excellent background study for students of political science who interest themselves in the more modern outgrowths of this ancient Chinese philosophy of the State.

The author is Professor of Political Science at the University of Utah, where he was formerly Professor of Oriental Culture. There is a foreword by Professor E. T. Williams, head of the department of Oriental Languages and Literature at the University of California.

THE MODERN CIVIL LAW OF CHINA, Part II
By V. A. Riasanovsky
Harbin Daily News Press, Harbin, Manchuria, 1928

In Part I Professor Riasanovsky, of the Faculty of Law at Harbin, made a general survey of the Chinese Civil Law. Part II contains "The General Principles of Land, Mining and Forest Laws of China." The volume is paper bound and contains 141 pages. These two volumes should make a valuable addition to the literature on China and be of special interest to financiers and students of China, as well as to lawyers in search of comparative material on laws of the Orient and Occident. It has particular bearing on the problems of extraterritoriality which are now coming to the forefront in China's foreign affairs.

CHINA CHRISTIAN YEAR BOOK
Editor, Frank Rawlinson
Christian Literature Society, Shanghai, 1928

This 445-page book is the fifteenth issue of the year book which is published under arrangement between the Christian Literature Society for China and the National Christian Council of China. It is made up of forty-one papers by various contributors. The preface states, "This Year Book has very few statistics. They are in general unobtainable. It contains, however, considerable history, some of which runs back as far as 1900; some of its contents are made up of impressions, opinions and discussions. It is, therefore, primarily historical, to some extent psychological but only casually statistical." The book is divided into sections which take up: national life; religious thought; church life; missions and missionaries; education and students; social life; medical and health work; literature. The paper on "Best Books in English on China," by J. B. Powell (p. 376), and the "Bibliography on English Books on China," by Mr. Powell and Frank Rawlinson (p. 424), will be of interest to the English-speaking students of China.

CHINA IN THE FAMILY OF NATIONS (Second Edition)
By Henry T. Hodgkin
George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., London, 1928. 7s 6d

This book, which was first published in 1928, has been revised to bring it up to date. Dr. Hodgkin, who was until his recent resignation secretary of the National Christian Council in China, will be remembered by Institute members as a member of the British group at the 1927 conference. Dr. Hodgkin states that the purpose of the book is to "serve the great cause of international good will and understanding." While admitting that he is strongly pro-Chinese in his sympathies and that he has among the Chinese some of his closest friends, he states that he has studied China with critical judgment. He takes up in turn: a brief survey of the historical setting; explanations and estimates of the forces at work in China; and the attempt to supply a point of view which may help readers in studying the future development of China. The chapters include: China today; treasuries of the past; early international connections; China's entry into the family of nations; the republic of China; Japan in China; China, Europe, and America; the industrialization of China; the new thought movement; China's gift to the world. The appendix dwells on the problem of how China may be induced to enter the League of Nations. There is a six-page bibliography as a guide for further reading. This is a book which, briefly read, impels to a renewed and more exhaustive study.

POLITICAL HANDBOOK OF THE WORLD
Malcolm W. Davis and Walter H. Mallory, Editors
Yale University Press, New Haven, Conn., 1929. G$2.50

This political handbook was published for the Council on Foreign Relations, Inc., which is composed of "a group of men, many of whom have had wide experience in international affairs, who wish by scientific and impartial study to aid in the development of a reasoned American foreign policy." The nations of the world are arranged alphabetically and under each one is given the titular head, governing body and the parties represented therein, and the Press. Under the "Press," the foreword states, "an effort has been made to select those papers which are most apt to be quoted abroad; many papers of large circulation and much local influence are necessarily omitted." Newspapers are listed, together with their political affiliation, the proprietor, editor, etc. This volume is a revision of the first one issued in 1928, which has proved so useful a reference volume for all those dealing with foreign affairs.

THE PRESS CONGRESS OF THE WORLD IN SWITZERLAND
Edited by Walter Williams
E. W. Stephens Publishing Company, Columbia, Missouri

A combined scheme of verbatim and reportorial accounts of the sessions of the second Press Congress of the World, prepared by its President, Dean Walter Williams of the Missouri School of Journalism. Formal addresses, resolutions, etc., are incorporated in full in the text instead of in an appendix, although there is an appendix including the constitution, a list of delegates, and such committee reports and addresses as were not delivered before the Congress. The plan of these sessions was that of formal speeches and brief discussion, rather than of group consideration of agenda topics. Some of the problems pre-

sented in addresses had to do with journalistic education in the several countries represented by delegates to the Congress; journalistic codes of ethics; news censorship (under normal and war-time conditions); physical conditions of news communication, etc., etc.

THE EAST AND THE USSR
By M. G. Galkowitch
Moscow University, Moscow. 1928

This is book No. 6 in a series of seven on "Ten Years of the Capitalistic Circle Surrounding the USSR," prepared under the supervision of E. Pashukanis and M. Spectator. The chapters are entitled: the roots of the USSR's eastern policy; the importance of the colonial problem as a result of the war; national liberating movement in eastern countries; East and the USSR; capitalistic states in Asia and their mutual contradiction; where is Asia going. The book is in Russian.

IMPERIALISM AND COLONIAL POLICY
Part I. The Economics of Imperialism
By E. H. Pashukanis
Moscow University, Moscow. 1928

This book, in Russian, consists of a series of lectures given in Moscow University. The chapters are entitled: the development of monopolistic capitalism; a new role of banks; financial oligarchy and its prevalence; export of capital; international monopolistic union; the struggle for the sources of raw materials; and the economic theories of imperialism.

THE LAND OF GODS AND EARTHQUAKES
By Douglas Haring
Columbia University Press, New York, 1929. G$3.50

A pleasing travel-book just off the Columbia University Press. It has a number of photographic illustrations, almost print-like in quality. The contents are pleasingly discursive and no weightier than a travel-book should be. The author has enjoyed long residence in Japan.

THE FIRST AMERICANS, 1607-1690
By Thomas Jefferson Wertenbaker
The Macmillan Company, New York, 1927. G$4.00

This is Vol. II of "A History of American Life," in twelve volumes, Arthur M. Schlesinger and Dixon Ryan Fox, Editors, Ashley H. Thorndike and Carl Becker, Consulting Editors. Professor Wertenbaker of Princeton covers the life of the early settlers in the northern and southern states of the Atlantic coast of the United States. It makes interesting reading for those in search of factual material on this period. There are many footnotes and the final chapter is a "Critical Essay on Authorities."

RECENT GAINS IN AMERICAN CIVILIZATION
By Kirby Page, Editor
Harcourt Brace & Co., New York, 1928

Another symposium on American life, aimed at rousing victims of "smug contentment" or "sullen despair." The contributors number such liberal minded critics as Norman Thomas, David Starr Jordan, Oswald Garrison Villard. There is an interesting chapter on race relations by a negro, Charles S. Johnson, and an illuminating "Oriental Evaluation of Modern Civilization" by Masaharu Anesaki.

Pamphlets

COMMERCIAL HANDBOOK OF THE NETHERLANDS EAST INDIES, 1928
By Philip C. Coote
Sampson, Low, Marston & Co., Ltd., London. 3s

This is the third edition of the handbook. In the 91 pages are given data desired by those who wish to have commercial relations with the Netherlands Indies. It is carefully compiled and well indexed.

VILLAGE FAMILIES IN THE VICINITY OF PEIPING
By F. C. H. Lee and T. Chin
Social Research Dept., China Foundation, Peiping, 1929

A 65-page bulletin giving an analysis of data collected in the year 1926 by students in Mr. Lee's Social Survey Class at Yenching University. Two villages were studied and a house-to-house canvas made. Details obtained include family income and expenditure, and "other social and economic factors." The object of the study was to obtain "an accurate and intimate knowledge of the living conditions of the rural-suburban families in the vicinity of Peking."

NINE YEARS OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS, 1920-28. (9th Yearbook)
By Denys P. Myers
World Peace Foundation Pamphlets
40 Mt. Vernon Street, Boston, Mass. 40c

A 220-page booklet covering: I. What the League of Nations is; II. Organs of the League; III. Promotion of International Cooperation; IV. Achievement of Peace and Security.

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION OF THE SOVIETS
By W. I. Ignatieff
Moscow, 1928

This 148-page "state edition" is in Russian. Part I deals with the origin of the USSR constitution; Part II with its development.

RADIO
Irwin Stewart, Editor
Annals of Amer. Acad. of Pol. and Soc. Science
Philadelphia, March, 1929, (Supplement)

A survey, edited by Dr. Stewart of the University of Texas, of the development of radio communication and its place in the modern world. There is an interesting section on "The Radio in International Affairs."

INTERNATIONAL REVIEW (Vol. 1, No. 1, April)
Joachim Friedrich Moser, Editor
Bad Sooden-Werra, Germany

The subject matter of this International German journal, of which this is number one, covers science, art, culture, industry, and politics. This issue contains translations into German from "Science & Life," Paris; "Empire Review," London; "Revue des Vivants," Paris; "American Magazine," New York; "Nation's Business," Washington; "Indian Review," Madras; and various German journals. There is also a department giving additional article citations, and a department of book mention.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE TRADE PROMOTION SERIES
United States Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C.

No. 54. *Nicaragua, a Commercial and Economic Survey,* 1927. 30c
By Harold Playter and Andrew J. McConnico

The principal topics covered are: the geography of Nicaragua; the people; trading centers; agriculture and live stock; other industries; transportation and communication; finance and banking; foreign trade.

No. 60. *Taxation of Business in Great Britain,* 1928. 20c
By Mitchell B. Carroll

. . . This work is probably the first comprehensive study of British taxation that has been made from the viewpoint of Americans selling merchandise and investing money in Great Britain.

No. 67. *Australian Public Finance*, 1928. 20c
By Joseph Mayton

This 108-page bulletin covers Australian economic and financial history; the fiscal system; Commonwealth revenues and expenditures; state revenues and expenditures; Commonwealth and State public debts; municipal finances; Australian currency and exchange; Governmental organization of Australia.

No. 69. *Reconstruction and Development of the Tokyo-Yokohama District.* 30c
By J. H. Ehlers

"Reconstruction of Japan's devastated areas, instead of moving forward in 1923-24, became more a matter of 1928-29.

New Books

Received and Held for Further Examination

THE HOJOKI (THE TEN FOOT SQUARE HUT) and TALES OF THE HEIKE
Translated by A. L. Sadler. Angus & Robertson, Limited, Sydney, 1928. 6s

ANCIENT CHINESE POLITICAL THEORIES
By Kuo-cheng Wu. The Commercial Press, Limited, Shanghai, 1928

SOME CHINESE TALES.
By Tseu Yih-zan. The Commercial Press, Limited, Shanghai, 1928

THE KUOMINTANG AND THE FUTURE OF THE CHINESE REVOLUTION
By T. C. Woo. George Allen & Unwin, Limited, London, 1928. 15s

THE MODERN MALAY
By L. Richmond Wheeler. George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., London, 1928. 15s

THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS (2 volumes)
By W. Cameron Forbes. Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston, 1928. G$12.50

CANADA AND WORLD POLITICS—A Study of the Constitutional and International Relations of the British Empire
By Percy Ellwood Corbett and Herbert Arthur Smith. Faber and Gwyer, Limited, London, 1928. 10s 6d

THE AMERICAN INDIAN FRONTIER
By William Christie Macleod. Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1928. G$6.50

THE AMERICAN EXPERIMENT
By Bernard Fay. Harcourt, Brace and Company, New York, 1929. G$2.75.

RECENT GAINS IN AMERICAN CIVILIZATION
By a Group of Distinguished Critics of Contemporary Life. Edited by Kirby Page. Harcourt, Brace and Company, New York, 1928. G$3.00

THE FREEDOM OF THE SEAS IN HISTORY, LAW, AND POLITICS
By Pitman B. Potter. Longmans, Green and Company, New York, 1924. G$2.50

THE REAL SITUATION IN RUSSIA
By Leon Trotsky. Translated by Max Eastman. George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., London, 1928. 7s 6d

DREISER LOOKS AT RUSSIA
By Theodore Dreiser. Horace Liveright, New York, 1928. G$3.00

LABOR AND INTERNATIONALISM
By Lewis L. Lorwin. The Macmillan Company, New York, 1929. G$3.00

TWENTY YEARS OF EDUCATION FOR JOURNALISM
By Sara Lockwood Williams. The E. W. Stephens Publishing Company, Columbia, Missouri, 1929. G$2.50

THE CHINESE LABOUR YEARBOOK
Published by Social Research Department, Peiping

HILLS OF BLUE
By A. E. Grantham. Methuen & Company, Limited, London, 1928

NATIONAL GOVERNMENTS AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
By Frank Abbott Magruder. Allyn and Bacon, New York, 1929

PETROLEUM AND COAL—The Keys to the Future
By W. T. Thom. Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1929. G$2.50

ONWARD?—A Study of the League of Nations and the Principles of International Coöperation
By Willis Airey. L. M. Isitt, Limited, Christchurch, 1929

In the Magazines

Note: All the following references to magazines published in the Orient are for English language publications. National ownership of such publications is indicated.

CHINA—GENERAL

CIVIL WAR IN CHINA, THE; editorial; the *Spectator*, London, April 6, 1929.

"Even if it be true that Chiang Kai-shek, the head of the Nationalist Government at Nanking, has done an unnecessary thing in declaring war upon the Wuhan cities, one cannot help hoping that his policy of settling the problem of Chinese unity once for all will be successful. Let us hope that it is a gamble which will 'come off.' . . .

"It is impossible to leave the Chinese the imbroglio without an expression of admiration for the reasonableness and moderation with which Japan has behaved in regard to the Tsinan affair. A few months ago it would have been incredible that Japan would offer to withdraw all her troops from Shantung without exacting the apology and punishment which she demanded."

CONSULAR DEPUTIES OF THE SHANGHAI PROVISIONAL COURT, THE; by Vee Esse; the *China Critic* (Chinese), Shanghai, April 25, 1929.

"Some foreigners—especially those living among us—have an impression that if treaties, conventions or agreements do not exactly provide for the things they wish to see in black and white their provisions should necessarily be interpreted in a way that follows their self-centred line of reasoning. Eighty years ago, the Chinese did not know enough to argue with them. Within the last two decades, they made attempts to do so, and usually failed. Today, we have a glaring example of the above assertion in the controversy over certain matters concerning the Shanghai Provisional Court. . . ."

HISTORICAL ANALOGIES OF THE PRESENT SITUATION IN CHINA—II; by W. J. Clennel; the *Asiatic Review*, April, 1929.

"Though sovereignties of Western type have come to embrace the greater part of the earth, and though they have a sufficient similarity of tradition and outlook to make intercommunication of ideas comparatively easy and intimate, even the vast advances of modern science, . . . have so far failed to bring about unity of control, or even general acceptance of a doctrine that such unity is desirable or possible.

"In China, on the other hand, the accepted theory of the universe has implied, for as far back as records extend, the doctrine of the rightful existence of one single paramount sovereignty over mankind, and, during several long periods of Chinese history, dynasties have borne sway so nearly universal over the regions with which the Chinese have been familiar, as to make it inevitable that the claim of those dynasties to be the holders of an unique Divine Commission should be practically unquestioned."

The first section was published in the October, 1928, issue of this Quarterly.

IMPORTANCE OF FAMILY LIMITATION IN CHINA, THE; by Maxwell S. Stewart; the *China Weekly Review* (Chinese), Shanghai, April 27, 1929.

MEMORIALS TO DR. SUN YAT-SEN IN NANKING AND CANTON; by Y. C. Lu; the *Far Eastern Review*, Journal of Engineering, Finance, Commerce, Shanghai, March, 1929.

With architect's drawings and photographs at various stages of construction.

POLITICAL OUTLOOK AFTER WU-HAN, THE; unsigned; the *China Weekly Review* (American), Shanghai, April 20, 1929.

PROBLEM OF CHINA'S UNIFICATION, THE; by Harry Paxton Howard; the *China Weekly Review* (American), Shanghai, April 20, 1929.

A consideration of militarism, business elements, the peasantry, government agrarian policies, conditions in industrial districts, taxation in cities, etc.

SOME ABORIGINAL TRIBES OF SOUTH-EASTERN CHINA; by W. R. Price; *China Journal*, Shanghai, April, 1929.

With many photographs, maps, and scientific notes.

WOMEN'S MOVEMENT IN CHINA, THE; by Edith M. Pye; the *Asiatic Review*, April, 1929.

The author was a member of the delegation sent by the Women's Inter-

national League for Peace and Freedom in 1927 to carry messages of sympathy and goodwill to Chinese women and to gain a better understanding of their movement.

COMMUNICATIONS

AIRCRAFT CONSTRUCTION IN THE CHINESE NAVY; by F. Wong; the *China Weekly Review* (American), Shanghai, April 20, 1929.

CHINA MAKES WAY FOR THE MOTOR; by Viola Smith; *Nation's Business,* Washington, D. C., April, 1929.

The story of "the greatest array of workers in China since the building of the Great Wall," which is now engaged in road building.

CONSTRUCTION PROGRAM OF THE MINISTRY OF RAILWAYS (China), THE; by Y. S. Chun; the *Far Eastern Review* (American), Shanghai, April, 1929.

CURSE OF THE PASSPORT, THE; by Leonard Matters; the *Review of South and Central America and West Indian Gazette,* London, March and April, 1929.

A vigorous objection to the prevailing passport system, the expense and annoyance accompanying it and, in the author's estimation, the uselessness of the "lying document." To be continued in May issue.

DEVELOPMENT OF JOURNALISM IN JAPAN; by Walter Williams; *Japan,* San Francisco, May, 1929.

JAPANESE GOVERNMENT RAILWAYS; editorial; the *Far Eastern Review,* Journal of Engineering, Finance, Commerce, Shanghai, March, 1929.

Based on the annual report of the Japanese Government Department of Railways, just issued, for year ending March 31, 1927. Many photos of rolling stock, stations, etc.

POTENTIAL EARNING POWER OF CHINESE GOVERNMENT RAILWAYS, THE; unsigned; the *Far Eastern Review* (American), Shanghai, April, 1929.

PRESS AND THE CONFERENCE ON PACIFIC RELATIONS, THE; unsigned; the *China Weekly Review* (American), Shanghai, April 20, 1929.

". . . As a matter of fact one wonders how the Japanese happened to permit the Institute of Pacific Relations to select Japanese soil as the meeting place for this year's meeting. However, there is sincere hope that they will go through with it, for while the forthcoming Conference is entirely unofficial, it should accomplish much good in clarifying the Far Eastern atmosphere in respect to certain diplomatic issues which should be reduced to their essential elements. What we particularly have in mind is the so-called Manchurian question, a three-cornered problem involving China, Japan and Russia, that is so beclouded in propaganda as to be practically unintelligible to most persons. . . ."

RECONSTRUCTION OF CHINA'S COMMUNICATIONS, THE; by Wang Peh-chun; *Chinese Economic Journal,* Shanghai, March, 1929.

SINO-AMERICAN AIR PARTNERSHIP, THE; unsigned; the *China Weekly Review* (American), Shanghai, April 27, 1929.

Details of the new arrangement, sanctioned by the Chinese government, for air-route development in China by an American company.

TOMORROW'S AIRPORTS; by Francis Keally; *Nation's Business,* Washington, D. C., April, 1929.

"A prophetic view of the Grand Central Station of the air."

TRANSPORTATION AND FAMINE RELIEF; by Grover Clark; the *Week in China* (American), Peking, May 4, 1929.

"Transportation difficulties complicate relief work." What has been done and is in prospect.

WHO OWNS THE DAILY PRESS? by John Loomis; the *Nation,* New York, April 17, 1929.

On the growing process of monopoly in newspaper ownership in the United States, explained partly by a monopoly of print paper.

WORK OF THE CONFERENCE OF PRESS EXPERTS; *League of Nations Official Journal,* Geneva, February, 1929.

CULTURES

BELOVED SHRINES OF OLD AND NEW JAPAN, THE; by Joan S. Grigsby; *Japan,* San Francisco, April, 1929.

With eight beautiful full-page photographic reproductions of famous shrines and their "prose-poem" descriptions.

DESCRIPTION AND DETERMINATION OF SUNG DYNASTY PORCELAIN UNEARTHED AT PING-YANG HSIEN, SHANSI, THE; by Aitchen K. Wu; *China Journal* (British), Shanghai, April, 1929.

EDUCATION SYSTEM IN THE DUTCH EAST INDIES, THE; by J. F. W. van der Meulen; the *Asiatic Review,* London, April, 1929.

"Here we have an example of the difficulties which are making themselves felt everywhere throughout the East, both in countries with a national Government and in the Colonies. The Western stream is washing away much that for the East constituted a firm rock, whilst so far nothing has been found to replace what has been lost."

RACE ATTITUDES IN CHILDREN; editorial; the *Inquiry,* New York, April, 1929.

"It is in childhood that the soil of our natural pre-dispositions is cultivated, that the seeds of adult attitudes are planted. It is in childhood that, during the dawning epoch of inner freedom, we shall want to keep alive that elasticity of response to experience which will enrich individuals and humanity at large with shared interests, enthusiasms, understandings so long barred by self-imposed superstitions concerning the nature of the human soul. It is to childhood, accordingly, that the Inquiry's Commission on Race Relations turned when it sought for the roots of interracial prejudice and conflict. The book, which is to be published simultaneously with this number of the Occasional Papers, is the outcome of that study."

DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS

CLEARING UP IN SHANTUNG (after the Japanese Evacuation); by J. J. Heeren; the *China Weekly Review* (American), Shanghai, April 20, 1929.

FREEDOM OF THE SEAS; Suggestions for Group Study; by James T. Shotwell; the *Inquiry,* New York, April, 1929.

GREAT BRITAIN AND DISARMAMENT; by George Glasgow; in "Foreign Affairs" section of the *Contemporary Review,* London, April, 1929.

JAPAN AND CHINA AT PEACE; by George E. Sokolsky; the *Far Eastern Review* (American), Shanghai, April, 1929.

JAPAN'S MISTAKES IN CHINA; by Masanao Hanihara, translated from the *Diplomatic Review,* Tokyo; the *Trans-Pacific* (American), Tokyo, April 25, 1929.

Consequences of the "strong" policy—costly failure of the present ministry; opinions expressed by a former Ambassador to Washington.

KELLOGG PACT: WAR: WORKING CLASS; editorial; the *Pan-Pacific Worker,* Sydney, April 1, 1929.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS AND JAPAN, THE; "An Admonitory Welcome to Mr. Avenol;" by Editor Hanzawa in the *Diplomatic Review,* Tokyo; translated in the *Japan Weekly Chronicle* (British), Kobe, April 4, 1929.

"Bluntly speaking, the League has Japan for a permanent member of its council and it may rely on her judgment and advice for measures it may like to adopt in regard to China. . . . No nation knows China, its conditions and circumstances and its strong and weak points, and the philosophy which governs its people, better than Japan, so exercised is the whole nation about the China problems. . . ."

MONROE DOCTRINE AND LATIN AMERICA, THE; by Leonard W. Matters; the *Review of South and Central America and West Indian Gazette,* London, March and April, 1929.

"This is the second instalment of the report of the lecture given before the Foreign and Colonial Affairs Committee of the National Liberal Club, London, by Mr. Leonard W. Matters, Editor of The Review, on 'The Monroe Doctrine from the Latin American Point of View.'"

NEXT STEP IN INTERNATIONAL ORGANISATION, THE; by O.; the *Contemporary Review,* London, April, 1929.

"It is now more than four years since the Geneva Protocol of 1924 was approved by the Assembly of the League of Nations. That approval, it is hardly necessary to say, has remained without political effect; the Protocol has never come into force nor even been within measurable distance of coming into force. Is there then no other direction in which we can turn our steps? May not the desire for a better organisation of peace be given some satisfaction? Ultimately can Europe remain half-armed and half-disarmed, any more than the United States could remain half-slave and half-free? We are met by an objection. We are told that it is better to wait for a psychological

change before we alter our institutions. Existing arrangements must not be altered until it is 'safe' to do so. The reply is simple. The institutional and the psychological changes must come together."

PEACE MAINTENANCE BY ECONOMIC ISOLATION; by William H. Blymyer; *World Unity* Magazine, New York, April, 1929.

"The author's argument may be summarized as the insistence that a truly effective peace plan must combine the following features: Compulsory Arbitration (affording to each nation opportunity to eliminate unfavorable judges); the threat of Non-Intercourse as sanction for the decisions arrived at by the arbitrators; and General Disarmament."

PROBLEM OF INTERNATIONAL DISARMAMENT, THE; by P. T. Chen; the *China Critic* (Chinese), Shanghai, April 18, 1929.

ECONOMICS IN PACIFIC—GENERAL

CHANGING CONDITIONS IN JAPAN'S COTTON INDUSTRY—A New Automatic Loom; from a special correspondent; the Commercial, Manchester, April 4, 1929.

COTTON TRADE COSTS OF PRODUCTION IN JAPAN; by a special correspondent; the *Commercial,* Manchester, May 2, 1929.

This article on weaving is Part II in the series. Part I discussed comparative costs of cotton-spinning in Japan and Lancashire. In the present article the same writer deals with the weaving section of the trade.

ECONOMIC RECONSTRUCTION OF CHINA, THE; by Wu Kwan-tsung; the *China Weekly Review* (American), Shanghai, April 27, 1929.

EFFICIENCY AND UNEMPLOYMENT; by Dr. S. Washio, the *Trans-Pacific* (American), Tokyo, May 2, 1929.

"What can rationalization do for Japan's superfluous labor?"

END OF THE TETHER, THE; by Dr. S. Washio; the *Trans-Pacific* (American), Tokyo, April 25, 1929.

"Japan's gold reserve abroad will be exhausted by the fall—what will happen to the yen?"

FOREIGN CAPITAL IN JAPAN; editorial; the *Japan Magazine,* Tokyo, March, 1929.

A series of articles beginning in the February issue and not completed in April.

FOREIGN TRADE OF JAPAN DURING 1928; editorial; the *Japan Magazine* (Japanese), Tokyo, March, 1929.

"The foreign trade of Japan during 1928 was unexpectedly unsuccessful."

FOUNDATIONS OF BRITISH TRADE IN CHINA, THE; by G. E. Hubbard; the *Chinese Social and Political Science Review* (Chinese), Peking, April, 1929.

A reproduction of this article appears in the *Week in China* for April 27, 1929.

INDUSTRIES OF COCHIN CHINA, THE; by Cendrieux; the *Le Monde Colonial,* March, 1929.

A review of native and French industrial enterprises in this French Asiatic colony.

JAPAN'S INTERNATIONAL BALANCE; editorial; the *Japan Magazine* (Japanese), Tokyo, April, 1929.

MONETARY SYSTEM OF INDO-CHINA, THE—Possibilities for Reform; by A. Lochard, Inspector General of Mines and Industry of Indo-China; *L'Europe Nouvelle,* Paris, April 8, 1929.

NEED OF INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT, THE; by D. K. Lieu; the *China Critic* (Chinese), Shanghai, April 25, 1929.

NEW ZEALAND'S TRADE WITH THE EAST; by W. A. McNair; the *Economic Record,* Melbourne, May, 1929.

"It is the purpose of this article to discuss in summary fashion the present extent and value of New Zealand's economic relations with the East; to examine briefly the difficulties experienced in the conduct of Eastern trade; and to indicate the possibilities which appear to exist of future development of such trade." The author is at Auckland University College, and acknowledges the assistance of Professor H. Belshaw in the collection of material.

PANIC AND ITS RESULTS, THE; by Junnosuke Inouye; the *Japan Advertiser* (American), Tokyo, Annual Review 1928-1929.

Junnosuke Inouye, former Finance Minister and former Governor of the Bank of Japan, sees prospects of declining yields on securities and says that ban on gold must remain for time being.

PASSING OF THE COMPRADOR SYSTEM (in China)—AND WHY?—by B. Y. Lee; the *China Weekly Review* (Chinese), Shanghai, April 27, 1929.

PREVIOUS ATTEMPT AT CURRENCY REFORM; by S. R. Wagel; the *Chinese Economic Journal* (Chinese), Shanghai, April, 1929.

"In view of the presence in China today of the Kemmerer Commission, among the purposes of which is understood to be the placing of the country's currency on a sound, unified basis, a study of previous attempt at currency reform is of current interest. This article is a part of the comprehensive discussion of this subject by Mr. S. R. Wagel, in his volume on "Chinese Currency and Banking."

PROGRAM OF PUBLIC WORKS FOR INDO-CHINA, A; by A. A. Pouyanne, Inspector General Public Works of Indo-China; *L'Europe Nouvelle,* Paris, April 8, 1929.

Irrigation projects, the extension of railways and roads, the increase of traffic, laying out of new ports, etc., indicate the chief lines of work undertaken in this French "colonial empire of Asia."

REPORT ON VOYAGE IN THE FAR EAST; by M. Albert Thomas, Director of the International Labour Office; in Document Section of *L'Europe Nouvelle,* Paris, April 8, 1929.

Report on Russia, China, Japan, Indo-China, Netherlands Indies and Egypt, with general conclusions.

REVIEW AND ANALYSIS OF JAPAN'S BUSINESS; editorial; the *Japan Advertiser* (American), Tokyo, Annual Review 1928-1929.

SUMMARY OF WORK ON LABOR STATISTICS—1928 (China); by T. Y. Tsha; *Monthly Journal* of the Bureau of Social Affairs, Shanghai, January, 1929.

A voluminous report in English dealing with general statistics and particularly those on labor strikes and the methods of securing them, (with many charts), an explanation of the Index Numbers of Earnings listed, Foreign Exchange indexes, etc.

This is Volume I, No. 1, of a new journal issued part in English, part in Chinese. The contents include articles on "Reconstruction of Present Social Mind," a symposium on "Social Problems," and "Statistics of Social Diseases," but these are in Chinese only.

MANCHURIA

CHINESE EASTERN RAILWAY; by L. E. Tsao; the *Chinese Economic Journal* (Chinese), Shanghai, April, 1929.

"Attempts recently of Chinese authorities in Harbin to recover the Chinese Eastern Railway have once more brought the conflict of Sino-Russian interests in North Manchuria into the limelight of public attention. . . .

"In view of the important role the Chinese Eastern Railway plays in the development of North Manchuria, the history of the Railway and the trade conditions along its main as well as its branch lines are worthy of attention."

KOREANS IN MANCHURIA; unsigned; the *Japan Weekly Chronicle* (British), Kobe, April 4, 1929.

". . . the emigration of the Koreans to Manchuria was welcomed by the Japanese, not because they were good cultivators and industrious, but because wherever they settled Japan had a legitimate claim—they were Japanese citizens. In other words, the migration was an example of what Putnam Weale calls 'infiltration tactics'—creating areas where trouble may arise affording Japanese military authorities a valid reason for occupying those areas. . . ."

MANCHURIA—HOW IT STANDS IN ITS RELATIONS TO THE UNITED STATES, JAPAN AND CHINA; by Toshi Go, Manager, South Manchuria Railway, New York Office, the *Pacific Review,* New York, April, 1929.

MANCHURIA FROM THE METALLURGICAL AND FUEL STANDPOINTS; by Boris P. Torgasheff; the *Chinese Economic Journal* (Chinese), Shanghai, April, 1929.

"Owing to the enormous population of China, which is about one-third of the world's total, the Chinese market consumes considerable quantities of iron, steel and various petroleum products. . . . For this reason it is of high interest to discuss the metallurgical and fuel prospects of Manchuria, whence at the present time Japan imports considerable quantities of coal and iron and looks forward to having regular supply of petroleum products from the Fushun oil-shale."

SOUTH MANCHURIAN COMMERCE HURT BY CIVIL WARS, THE; editorial; the *Japan Advertiser* (American), Annual Review 1928-1929.

The reviewer notes that the flood of immigrants from Shantung and Chihli promises to make this rich territory more productive in future, and that though crops are better their movement to foreign markets slackens as domestic consumption gains.

WHICH WAY MANCHURIA? Some Personal Observations and Reflections; by K. K. Kawakami; *Japan*, San Francisco, June, 1929.

The writer, well-known Japanese resident of the United States, here gives a frankly Japanese account of conditions as they appeared to him on a recent tour of Manchuria. Opportunity to labor in peace is the unique blessing which Manchuria offers to thousands of Chinese immigrants from war-torn Shantung, he says, "due to Japanese influence."

POPULATION AND MIGRATION

FRIENDLY BONDS OF TRADE, THE—Japan's Difficulties and Struggles; by M. T. Yamamoto; *Japan*, San Francisco, May, 1929.

"There is often too great an importance attached to emigration as a means to the solution of a nation's problem of overpopulation. . . . Further, it should be remembered that the space left by emigration only offers opportunity and encouragement for an increasing birth rate. Emigration will not serve as a fundamental solution of overcrowding. . . .

"Not territorial expansion, nor oversea emigration, but industrialization is the real program for the solution of Japan's problem of population. . . ."

IMMIGRATION AND INFRINGEMENT; editorial; the *China Critic* (Chinese), Shanghai, March 28, 1929.

"In spite of China's refusal to grant lands to the Japanese, the railway administration finally decided to appoint an Agricultural Investigation Commission of Manchuria and Mongolia to investigate the arable land in these two territories. A comprehensive report of the results of investigation was submitted last month by the chief of Agriculture Department of the Railway to the director of the company. The Reclamation Proposals follow."

MIGRATION: AN AUSTRALIAN VIEW; by Kenneth T. Henderson; the *Contemporary Review*, London, April, 1929.

"A population of six millions cannot 'digest' migrants by the hundred thousand, especially migrants with little or no capital, and therefore with little or no power for waiting opportunities or opening up independent fields of self-sufficient activity for themselves. A new and undeveloped country requires a certain power of initiative in its migrants—a power resident both in the character and skill of the individual and in the capital owned by him or lent him by government. That Australia will one day support from six to ten times her present population is estimated by economists, but her rate of absorbing newcomers can only increase more or less in proportion to the increase of her wealth and population."

NO SURPLUS OF POPULATION IN JAPAN; by Duncan K. Overell; the *Japan Advertiser* (American), Annual Review 1928-1929.

The writer states that statistical comparisons demonstrate that the country's ability to care for its millions is rising more rapidly than excess of births over deaths—talk of need for emigration outlet has no basis in fact.

POPULATION PRESSURE AND THE GROWTH OF FAMINE IN CHINA; by Harry Paxton Howard, *Chinese Economic Journal* (Chinese), Shanghai, March, 1929.

RECENT POPULATION STATISTICS (China); by Warren Chen; the *China Critic* (Chinese), Shanghai, April 18, 1929.

RURAL SOCIOLOGY AS A FIELD OF RESEARCH IN THE AGRICULTURAL EXPERIMENT STATION; by Wilson Gee; the *American Journal of Sociology*, Chicago, March, 1929.

This article points out the need for further research into certain aspects of rural sociology such as the truth or falsity of the conceptions of rural advantages in health and social life (arguments used against migration of the young to urban communities); underlying forces in farm depopulation; rural standards of living; rural group life and contributory institutions.

RELIGIONS IN THE PACIFIC

CENTRAL ASIA AS A MISSION FIELD; by A. Mildred Cable; the *International Review of Missions*, London, April, 1929.

This writer believes that: "It is humiliating to be compelled to record

that Christianity was more generally spread throughout Central Asia in the fourth century than it is today, and still more tragic to realize that were a Moslem missionary to write a report of the victories of his faith he might claim Central Asia as the scene of one of its most notable conquests."

CHRISTIANITY'S CRISIS IN ASIA; by Count Carlo Sforza; reprinted from the N. Y. Herald Tribune; the *Week in China* (American), Peking, April 20, 1929.

"It is no use denying that the work and even the very existence of the numerous Christian missions in China and the few missions in Japan now find themselves at one of the most critical periods of their history."

MODERN REVOLUTION AND RELIGION IN CHINA; by Frank Rawlinson; the *International Review of Missions,* London, April, 1929.

"Some people are inclined to think that if the politicians of China would keep quiet no one would trouble about Christianity in particular or religion in general. Is that true? To give a partial answer to that question is one of the purposes of this article. As an approach to such an answer we may in addition ask: Are the only changes and aspirations seriously affecting Christianity in China political and economic? Certainly not; there are religious movements which, while caused by the general revolutionary spirit now sweeping over China, stand apart in the main from political strife."

RELIGIOUS CHAOS IN KOREA; by Dr. P. Thomas Ohm; *Ostasiatische Rundschau,* Hamburg, April 16, 1929.

A survey of traditional religious trends in Korea before Japanese occupation, with a description of present conflict between Buddhism, Japanese Shinto, western-introduced Christianity, and a growing indifference to all sects or creeds.

MISCELLANEOUS

FARM RELIEF PROBLEM IN AMERICA, THE; the *Congressional Digest,* Washington, D. C., May, 1929.

A collection of information upon modern Farm Legislation, work of government bureaus, agricultural forecasts, and statements on the subject from President Hoover's message, and from various leaders pro and con.

JAPAN'S MANDATE IN THE SOUTH SEAS; by W. P. C. de Trafford, the *Japan Weekly Chronicle* (British), Kobe, April 18, 1929.

KYOTO MEETING OF THE INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS, THE; by Chester H. Rowell; *Japan,* San Francisco, April, 1929.

NATIONALIST SPIRIT IN THE PHILIPPINES, THE—In Relation to Protestant Christianity; by E. K. Higdon; the *International Review of Missions,* London, April, 1929.

SCIENTIFIC STUDY OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS; by Dr. Werner Picht; la *Cooperation Intellectuelle,* Paris, April 15, 1929.

SOCIALIZATION OF THE AMERICAN INDIAN, THE; by Frank Wilson Blackmar; the *American Journal of Sociology,* Chicago, January, 1929.

This Sociologist, a professor in the University of Kansas, believes that the factor of prime importance in the American Indian problem is to make the Indian a well-assimilated citizen of the political sphere, a well-adjusted co-worker in our industrial mechanism, and a recognized sharer of American social life; rather than to attempt the preservation of his own distinctive culture. The author believes the Indian is manifesting a new disposition toward American education.

STATUS OF KOREA, THE; editorial; the *Japan Weekly Chronicle* (British), Kobe, May 2, 1929.

TWO-HOUR WAR, THE; by Stuart Chase; the *New Republic,* New York, May 8, 1929.

A matter-of-fact but appalling technical description of the brief war of the future—war from the air.

"The persons capable of imagining the holocaust in advance are so few, and of such slight influence—particularly in war and navy departments—that the world will not realize what it now faces until it has faced it, in a *fait accompli.* Then, and not until then, realization will come—possibly, as the extras bring one incredible horror after another, it will come very fast. In a few days, perhaps, after the two belligerents have been laid to rest, the neutral world will be in a sufficient state of shock to see that this sort of thing must stop forever."

Institute Notes

The information published in this department is issued officially by the International Secretariat of the Institute of Pacific Relations at Honolulu.

The Kyoto Conference

October 28, 1929, has been set as the opening date for the third biennial conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations at Kyoto, Japan.

The Pacific Council, International Research Committee and Program Committee will hold a series of preliminary meetings at Nara, from October 23 to 27.

The sessions at Kyoto are scheduled to continue for twelve days, coming to a close on November 9.

Defining the Kyoto Issues

The purpose of the following list of specific issues is to stimulate discussion and comment in order to define more sharply the questions likely to be discussed at Kyoto either in round tables, forums, or by addresses.

This list is based on a large number of personal interviews, memoranda of individuals and groups, letters, etc., which have come in from the several interested countries.

A reprint of this list of issues has been circulated to the different member groups. As comments and revisions are suggested they will be incorporated in future revisions.

I. *Food and Population*

1. What criteria can be used to measure the over-population of a country?
2. What countries in the Pacific area are over-populated today?
3. How can we measure under-population?
4. What countries in the Pacific area are over-populated today?
5. What forms of control are justifiable in reason and law for checking or encouraging the flow of population across national boundaries?
6. Which of the following "cures" for over-population are of value, and to what extent, under what regulative conditions and on what grounds?
   a. Decreasing birth rate as a result of birth control, later marriage age and higher standard of living.
   b. Industrialization.
   c. Emigration.
   d. Development of land utilization.
7. What methods for controlling the supply of raw materials are compatible with conditions in present-day international relations? Why? How can these forms of control best be put into operation?
8. What is the extent of the present international exchange of food stuffs? What are the results of this exchange? What measures should be taken, if any, to facilitate this exchange?

II. *Questions Particularly Concerning China*

1. What new problems for China and for international relations are raised by the removal of limitations upon her sovereignty?
2. Under present circumstances, what next steps should be taken by the Powers in relation to extraterritoriality?
3. Under present circumstances, what next steps should be taken by the Powers in relation to foreign concessions or settlements?
4. What should the Powers now do in regard to stationing their military forces in China?
5. Under what conditions can the Powers assist China in accomplishing her financial readjustment?
6. What has been the experience of China in regard to foreign capital investments? In the light of this experience and other relevant facts, under what conditions should future investments be made?
7. What pertinent facts do we find in the Manchurian situation which demand early attention? What are the possible solutions?
8. What is the existing treaty situation between China and the Powers? What is the issue as to the validity of these treaties?
9. What does the sovereignty of China over the Three Eastern Provinces (Manchuria) mean in relation to the economic interests of individual nations, or their nationals?
10. What are the legal and ethical rights involved? Are there any conditions in fact which warrant special measures of protection or control in relation to these economic interests?
11. What are the population movements from various areas into the Three Eastern Provinces? What are the effects of these population movements?
12. What are the policies and programs of China and Japan, U. S. S. R. and other countries in relation to the building and control of railroads in the Three Eastern Provinces? What, if any, conflicts arise out of these situations? What solutions are advisable for such conflicts in the interests of better international relations and the welfare of the people in the Three Eastern Provinces? In what way does the strategic situation of Manchuria affect these relations?

III. *Industrialization*

1. What is the importance of making new adjustments in tariff relations between Pacific countries? What should these adjustments be and what methods can be used for working them out in the interest of the welfare of the family of nations?
2. What are the present facts and trends in foreign investments? What do these facts and trends mean for present and future good relations between nations?
3. What forms of control or supervision are desirable in relation to the movements of capital in the Pacific?
4. What relation do the military policies and practices of the various interested nations bear to these investments?

5. What are the unfavorable consequences attendant on the shift from agricultural and handicraft economy to large scale machine industry as actually existent in Japan, China, the Pacific islands, etc.?
6. What experience in social legislation can the more industrially developed nations of the West furnish?
7. What other methods for social amelioration (in regard to living wage, humane hours of labor, health and safety as to working conditions, protection of women and children, etc.) are capable of useful application in the Pacific?
8. What basis exists for the assumption that all Pacific countries will follow the pattern of industrialization as laid down by Western countries? Will this mean standardization of culture throughout the Pacific? What, if anything, can or should be done to preserve national and racial cultural values?

IV. *Diplomatic Relations*

1. What is the trend of policy of the League of Nations in relation to the problems of the Pacific area?
2. In the light of war prevention policies and the non-participation of the United States and the U.S.S.R. in the League, is there a need for any additional international machinery for the Pacific area? If so, is there any existing machinery which can be utilized, or should a new arrangement be devised to meet the requirement.
3. What steps towards disarmament can now be taken in the Pacific, and how?
4. What is the present official meaning of the Monroe Doctrine as interpreted and specifically applied by the U. S. government? What is the relation of this policy to the Pacific?
5. What adaptations of the diplomatic machinery of Pacific nations are now being made in conformity to the more intimate and complex international relationships that have grown up? What further changes are desirable?
6. What legislation is now in force in Pacific countries in regard to ownership and leasing of land by aliens, other economic rights of aliens, naturalization, etc.? How is such legislation enacted and enforced? In what cases and to what extent have these matters caused international misunderstanding and been the subject of diplomatic negotiation? What steps can be taken to solve the difficulties, if any?

Data Papers

It will be noted that August 1 is the date set for data-paper manuscripts to be in the hands of the Central Secretariat at Honolulu for publication and distribution. As the secretaries will move to Japan early in the autumn in order to coöperate more effectively with the Japanese Conference Preparation Committee, this is the latest date following which manuscripts can receive attention in Honolulu. There will be no publishing done in Japan.

NOTICES AND NEWS

Study Bibliographies

In the line of conference preparation the attention of members is called to the series of bibliographical reviews which have been appearing in Pacific Affairs beginning with the April issue, under the following headings: Diplomatic Relations in the Pacific; Political China Today; and this month, Industrial Problems. These, being weighted reviews of standard books and current periodical material, are designed as aids to the study of agenda topics in advance of the Kyoto Conference and are recommended especially to the use of prospective conference members.

China Research Committee

Mr. D. K. Lieu, chairman of the research committee of the China National Council, has announced the addition of the following persons to his committee: T. K. Ho, F. C. Yen, S. H. Tan, T. C. Wang, Quentin Pan and C. L. Hsia.

The Scientific Study of International Affairs

A conference of Institutions for the Scientific Study of International Affairs was held in London, March 11 to 14, at which the Institute of Pacific Relations was represented by Hon. H. A. Wyndham, Chairman of the Institute's British Council. Mr. Wyndham reports the conference as being very technical in character, composed of four types of institutions—those which are centers of study and discussion, those offering special courses supplementary to universities, teaching institutions outside universities, and associations of university faculties. Among the institutions represented were such as the Academy of International Law at the Hague, the Institute of Higher International Studies at Geneva, the German Hochschule für Politik, the American Geographical Society, the National Italian Commission for Intellectual Coöperation, the London School of Economics, the Royal Institute of International Affairs, the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, the League Committee on Intellectual Coöperation, etc., etc. Plans were worked out for institutional coöperation through the exchange of programs of study, exchange of students and lectures, the mutual supplying of information, the preparation of bibliographies, the exchange of publications, and research. An informational Handbook of Institutions for the Scientific Study of International Relations is in course of preparation by the Conference.

Chairman of the Pacific Council

Following the resignation of Dr. Ray Lyman Wilbur from the Pacific Council upon the occasion of his appointment to the post of Secretary of the Interior in President Hoover's Cabinet, Mr. Junnosuke Inouye, first Vice-Chairman of the Pacific Council, succeeded to the chairmanship of that body. Mr. Inouye was until recently Governor of the Bank of Japan, and is Chairman of the Japanese Council of the Institute.

The American Chairman

In accepting his election as Chairman of the American Council last month Mr. Jerome D. Greene said in part: "In taking this position in succession to Dr. Ray Lyman Wilbur and for the period of his un-

expired term, I am only too conscious of the difficulty of taking his place. Apart from his distinguished and able leadership as Chairman of the international body, the American Council owes largely to his wise guidance and sympathetic counsel such success as we have had in becoming a coherent organization with a definite plan of coöperation with the other national councils. We shall miss Dr. Wilbur's direct and vigorous thinking, his unfailing humor and his skill in guiding our deliberations toward harmonious conclusions; and we rejoice that his remarkable talents and his grasp of international problems are to be at the service of our government."

Dr. Condliffe

The Research Secretary of the Institute, Dr. J. B. Condliffe, who has been absent on a three months' tour of New Zealand and Australia, returned to Central Headquarters at Honolulu on May 17. On that date the Advisory Committee met at luncheon to greet Dr. Condliffe and four of his fellow passengers, who were en route to Europe, these being Mr. R. N. Kershaw of the Minorities Section of the League of Nations, Major General Sir Andrew Russell of New Zealand, Mr. A. Barker, editor of the Suva *Times,* Fiji, and Mr. Lawn, manager of the General Electric of Sydney. Dr. Condliffe reports a most satisfactory journey.

Carnegie Journalists

The Institute of Pacific Relations central staff coöperated with Honolulu newspaper men in entertaining the group of American journalists en route to the Orient on a Carnegie tour of study. A luncheon was given in their honor at the Royal Hawaiian Hotel on April 30, at which the Governor of Hawaii, Frank C. Atherton and Lorrin A. Thurston, veteran editor of Honolulu, spoke on Hawaii and the Institute of Pacific Relations. Riley Allen, editor of the Honolulu Star-Bulletin and member of the Hawaii Council of the Institute of Pacific Relations, presided.

Confucian Leader

Dr. Chen Huan-chang, President of the Confucian Association of China and of the Confucian University of Peking, was a visitor at Institute headquarters during May. Dr. Chen spent a week in Honolulu en route home following a year's tour abroad, during which time he attended the preparatory conference at Geneva for the Conference of World Religions which is scheduled to take place next year.

Dr. Chen is one of the few remaining Han Ling scholars in China, holder of a degree following the ancient and arduous style of competitive examination. He is a staunch fighter for the preservation of the Confucian mode of teaching and deplores the edict eliminating the Confucian classics from modern curricula and the more recent substitution of "San-Min-ism," the political writings of Dr. Sun Yat-sen. "I do not care how much Westernism our young people introduce into China," he said, "so long as they do not destroy our old heritage. Such a thing has never happened to China before. Always she has absorbed the new and strengthened the old."

Honoring New Staff Members

In order to introduce to the local community the two latest additions to the Secretariat, Dr. Hawkling Yen, Associate General Secretary

from China and Miss Isabelle Clark, Librarian, the Institute held a reception honoring these two on May 20. Judge and Mrs. Walter F. Frear opened their home, "Arcadia," for the occasion, to a large and representative gathering of the several racial communities of Honolulu. Dr. Yen spoke briefly in the course of the afternoon.

Japanese Associate Secretary

Keichi Yamasaki, to whom was offered, on the recommendation of the Japan Council, an appointment as Associate General Secretary on the central staff of the Institute, has apprised General Secretary J. Merle Davis of his acceptance of this offer and is expected at the Honolulu headquarters by June 18 next. Mr. Yamasaki retired last year from the diplomatic service, after a consular career in China, the United States and England and a period of three years in Peru as Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary. Mr. Yamasaki's relations with the Japanese government have been entirely severed.

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The Institute of Pacific Relations

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PACIFIC AFFAIRS

JOURNAL OF
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JULY, 1929

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ELIZABETH GREEN
Editor

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No. 7 1929

The object of the Institute of Pacific Relations is to study the conditions of the Pacific Peoples with a view to the improvement of their mutual relations.

PACIFIC AFFAIRS

No. 7 JULY 1929

Fiji—Where Three Continents Meet

By A. W. McMillan

Fiji the Beautiful, where the world's day begins, is likely to become the winter-garden of the South Pacific. The climate is healthy and the scenery alluring and picturesque. Its beauties of mountain or river, coral shores or palm groves, its wonderful colouring and its bright sunshine make it a charming mid-winter resort.

A mere fortnight after leaving the North American coast, and less than 70 hours' voyage from New Zealand, the trans-Pacific mail-boat noses her way through a narrow opening in the coral reef and, entering Suva harbour, is berthed in deep water alongside roomy wharves and customs sheds. It may surprise the visitor to find many modern conveniences in Suva—from 200 to 300 taxis plying for hire (mostly Indian-owned), well-stocked shops, electrical supply and appliances, grammar-schools, churches, Carnegie library, hotels, banks, botanical gardens, facilities for cricket, tennis and bowling, and the inevitable cinemas. Should time permit, travel in the group can be accomplished in comfort.

Fiji is strategically situated. For trans-Pacific passenger traffic and for commerce, Suva is on the main highway and is a regular port of call. Up-to-date cargo ships direct from London ply regularly. The inward shipping for 1927 totalled 641,491 tons, an increase of 60% on 1924. This Crown Colony is the nearest land to New Zealand, being but 1,180 miles from Auckland. Sydney is reached in less than five days. The Fiji Islands are centrally situated between various other groups such as the Cook, Ellice, Gilbert, and Samoan Islands, or the Solomons and the New Hebrides. In the Fiji Islands the Melanesian and Polynesian races meet at their border line, the former predominating, and the latter having invaded the group from the east in quite recent generations. Imperially these islands are bound to play an important part in the development of the South Pacific. Quite recently, Suva received a world-wide advertisement when the "Southern Cross" alighted on Albert Park amid cheering crowds on that epoch-making flight from America to Australia. This centrality is bound to bring the Fiji group into increasing prominence in the coming years. Australia and New Zealand are not likely to disregard the importance of so important an island junction.

In matters pertaining to tropical agriculture, the type of education most suited to island conditions, and other kindred problems, the peoples of the South Pacific groups are likely to find it advantageous to study

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The Rev. A. W. McMillan has had a long and varied career among Indians as a missionary, first among the aborigines in the Central Provinces and later in the Benares State. From 1924-1927, at the special request of Dr. S. K. Datta, he worked among the Indians in Fiji as the representative of the New Zealand Y. M. C. A. He has recently returned to the Colony to serve as Inspector of Schools under the Department of Education.

their mutual interest collectively. At present Fiji leads the way. Already, partly owing to accessibility, the lepers from distant groups, and from New Zealand, are collected together on the Makogai Island, where hundreds of these patients are cared for by the Medical Department under ideal conditions and with very encouraging results. Recently, too, aided by the Rockefeller Foundation, a Central Medical School has been established in Suva where students from the different races of the South Pacific may receive suitable training for service in the islands, with special reference to tropical diseases that are common to all.

Economic Prosperity and Politics

Fiji is producing sugar-cane, copra, bananas, cotton, rice, and pine-apples of extraordinary quality. In 1928, for the third time in the Colony's history, the total trade exceeded £4,000,000. The exports for 1928 totalled £2,701,251. In 1926 the value of the exports exceeded imports by £259,000; in 1927 the excess was £774,000, and in 1928, £1,218,000. Of this, 120,683 tons of sugar accounted for £1,827,095, and copra £567,245. As compared with 1920 these figures indicate an increase of 66% in the production of sugar, and a doubling of the tonnage of copra. The past four or five years have seen new commercial development in the production of cotton, in dairying, meat-canning, and pineapple-canning. At the recent annual meeting of the Suva Chamber of Commerce the president stated that "during the year (1928) it was decided to raise a considerable loan, and the first issue of £765,000 was offered to the public in London on March 27, the stock bearing interest at 5 per cent, and being issued at 101 per cent. Within five minutes of the opening of this list no less than £7,027,100 was tendered."

All points to stability and steady prosperity. There is no unemployment problem in the Colony, no abject poverty, no hunger-urge. An insufficiency of labour militates against any spectacular growth. The pay of unskilled labour varies from 2s. per day upwards, and skilled labour can earn from 4s. to £1 per day, e.g., an Indian carpenter receives 8s. or more, and a European carpenter about £1. Domestic servants (usually Indian) get from £3 to £6 per month and their food. The system of indentured labour was ended in 1920 after operating for forty years, during which time many thousands of East Indians of the agricultural classes were introduced to the Islands. Large numbers elected to remain in the Colony. Today, more than 15,000 male Indians are independent cultivators and planters, and only 4,000 are agricultural labourers, an additional thousand men being engaged in other work as labourers.

The native Fijian supplies casual labour, and produces copra in large quantities, but in spite of the example of the industrious Indian farmer during fifty years, he has not yet roused himself to engage in such regular toil as is involved in dairying, or the cultivation of sugar-cane, rice or cotton. Even in the supplying of the fish-market it is the keen Chinaman rather than the laughing Fijian who provides for public consumption. There are a thousand Chinamen in the group whose quiet, steady enterprise is being felt in various ways. These store-keepers have not only established large and attractive shops at the main ports, but they have penetrated into the remotest parts of the islands. Their

well-stocked retail stores are ofttimes centers for the collection and export of copra, and their competition is being felt by Europeans and by Indians. Not long ago, the writer sat in an Indian store in a small, remote island whilst the Hindu occupant complained bitterly of the keen competition of a newly-established Chinese store. He himself had been securely established for a number of years and he was supporting a large family. His shop was dingy, untidy, and unattractive. An hour later a visit paid to the competitors revealed cleanliness, glass-covered show-cases, two smart young Chinese making shirts at treadle sewing-machines, and adjoining was a bakery. John Chinaman in Fiji has made good advance along the road to prosperity—and he makes no noise about it! At the last census there were but 86 Japanese recorded in the group.

Fiji is a Crown Colony administered by the Colonial Office, London. The sovereignty of the group was formally ceded to Queen Victoria by King Cakobau in October, 1874. The Colony is administered by a Governor, who is advised by an Executive Council, which at present consists of the Colonial Secretary and the Attorney General as ex-officio members, three other official members and two nominated unofficial members. Letters Patent passed under the Great Seal of the United Kingdom and dated February 9, 1929, have recently altered the constitution of the Legislative Council. That Council now consists of the Governor as President, not more than 13 nominated members, six European elected members, three Fijian members appointed by the Governor from a number selected by the Council of Chiefs, and three Indian elected members. The franchise has been granted to the Indians on a communal basis in May, 1929. Hitherto one Indian, nominated by the Governor, has represented that community on the Council. Being a Crown Colony, no civil servant has a vote, and no man who is in receipt of a salary from the Government is allowed to be a candidate for any of the unofficial seats. An Indian elector, among other qualifications, must be able to read and write one of the following languages: English, Hindi, Urdu, Tamil, Telugu, or Gurmukhi. No linotype in the Colony handles the characters of the last four languages and hand type has not yet been introduced. Consequently 1929 voting papers have had to be run through a power-driven cyclo-style. The attitude of the first elected Indian members of the newly-constituted Legislative Council is looked forward to with great interest by all classes.

The Native Fijian

Tradition indicates that natives of the Melanesian type arrived in canoes from somewhere in the west and made their home first in the island of Viti Levu. Centuries later, Europeans from the far west found their way to these islands and placed Fiji on the map of the world, and fifty years ago, on May 15, 1879, the first ship load of Indians appeared on the western horizon and anchored off Levuka.

Among the 171,000 people comprising the population of the group today, nearly 90,000 are of the native race. That these people are not dying out is seen in the fact that their number has increased by over 5,000 since the 1921 census. The most serious losses are among infants under 12 months old, the rate of mortality being three times greater than among Indian infants of similar age. This matter is re-

ceiving official attention and the Government has commenced work that will promote mother and infant welfare.

For census purposes the Fijians are all Christian, seven-eighths being declared Methodists. They are the first Melanesian race to be Christianised. Owing to the intensive work of Christian Missions during many years, and the increasing attention paid by Government to education in later times, most of the Fijians are literate. Owing to the agricultural bias in the education being provided, instances are appearing of isolated Fijians growing sugar-cane and engaging in dairying. The native is allowed to lease but not to sell his land. A further protection is extended to him by a policy of partial prohibition which makes it illegal to supply a Fijiian or an Indian with alcoholic liquor, except in the case of several hundred privileged holders of official liquor-permits. Sport is increasingly attracting Fijian boys and young men, and they are producing some very skilful players on the football and cricket fields. They are a happy, music-loving people. Few who heard it will easily forget the singing of the "Hallelujah Chorus" at the official Jubilee Celebration Service in October, 1924, when a Fijian choir rendered that inspiring chorus with neither conductor, instrumental accompaniment, nor music books, and, of course, in English, a foreign language. The Australian Methodist Missionary Society will celebrate its centenary in 1935. A remarkable transformation has come over these natives, whose forefathers were cannibals as recently as the middle of the 19th century.

In Fiji, Europe, Asia, and Oceania meet. The Europeans (numbering about 4,300), include men and women who were born in some forty different countries, mostly within the British Empire. The total number of half-castes is a little over 3,000, and the noticeable fact about this community is that the admixture has been between Europeans and island peoples, and that Anglo-Indians are very few, although Indians have resided in Fiji for half a century.

Growth of the Indian Community

For the agricultural development of certain territories in the British Empire, such as Mauritius, Natal, and the West Indies, labour was imported from India under a system of indenture for a period of years. Fiji followed suit, and thus was introduced into Pacific affairs a new problem of racial contact which today focusses the attention of India's political leaders upon a part of the globe in which otherwise they would have no interest.

This important community now totals 69,463, an increase of 8,844 since the 1921 census. That report states: "Indians born in Fiji have more than doubled their numbers during the last ten years, and are now within measurable distance of being half of the total Indian population of the Colony." The previous ten years (1911-1921) showed an increase of 50.51 per cent in the Indian population, whilst the average decrease of the native community per decade during the 30 years prior to 1921 had been 8 per cent. That the climatic conditions are healthy is seen in the fact that the death rate is only 8.26 per mille as against 30.84 per mille in India. (The death-rate for Europeans in the Colony is 9.32 and for Fijians 23.09.) Between 70 and 80 per cent of the Indians in these islands are under 40 years of age. This large proportion of enthusiastic young life makes the problem of their future the

more important. The most serious factor is the disproportion of the sexes; even when allowance is made for equality of proportion in the Colonial-born new generation, there are still eight to ten thousand fewer women than men between the ages of 15 and 45 years. Consequently, of the total female population among Fiji-Indians only 0.82 per cent are widows, whereas in India, custom being against the re-marriage of women, even though quite young, widows number 26,000,000. It is interesting to note that whilst in the last census year only 2.50 per cent of the Indian women over 15 years of age were able to read and write, 73 per cent of the native Fijian women are literate, a direct result of the laudable efforts of Christian Missions. The same report indicated approximately 53,000 Hindus (showing an increase of 34% in ten years); nearly 7,000 Mohammedans (17% increase); and under 1,000 Christians (60% increase). Of the immigrants, 28% came from the Madras Presidency and nearly 60% from the northern Provinces, where Hindi and Urdu are the languages in use. Intercourse in the Colony has made Hindi the *lingua franca* that is understood by all, although the South Indians are not only retaining the use of their Tamil, Telugu, or Malayalam, but, in their desire to preserve contact with South Indian culture, have established schools in which these languages are being taught.

Coming to the Colony with over twenty years of experience of Indian village-life, the writer has been struck by the many changes that may be seen in this community. Caste-observance, as seen in India, has disappeared in Fiji. It is erroneous to state in general terms that the Hindu "coolies" who migrated to Fiji are of low caste. Quite a good proportion are of high caste and of the artisan classes. They represent most of the castes to be found in a typical Indian village; but under the changed and foreign conditions they have departed from the rigid observance of caste-rules. They eat, drink and smoke together and even intermarry. In some ways this emancipation from an age-long thraldom has been beneficial. Caste, however, representing social law and order, is not necessarily an unmitigated evil, and the disappearance of its organised and authoritative social discipline has resulted in a lack of cohesion and a measure of chaos.

Much has been written concerning the unhappy conditions of the indenture period covering 40 years, and it will serve no useful purpose to make reference to them here. Let it be frankly recognised in passing, that the morals of the community have suffered by removal to Fiji, and that it is taking long years to remove the unfortunate consequences. The small proportion of women who were brought to the Colony has led to moral confusion and increased crime. Yet, in her normal environment, for modesty, domestic attachment and devotion to husband and children, the Indian woman is second to none in the world. The community is making commendable efforts toward improvement.

The experience under indenture has, withal, been a practical education. Apart from elementary sanitation and common tidiness around the "lines," these men have learned something of modern agricultural methods. Under European management they have had to handle improved ploughs and other implements, and adapt themselves to new conditions. Today, in this respect, they are perhaps half a century ahead of their cousins in ordinary Indian villages.

The disappearance of many superstitious practices and sorcery is due to the excellent climate and to medical provision. It is found to be unnecessary to propitiate malevolent goddesses and evil spirits to ensure protection from ague, smallpox, etc. Malaria, cholera, and plague are non-existent. The people have discovered that cleanliness is better than that kind of "god"-liness.

The disappearance of the "mazdurin" or woman labourer, numbering many millions in India, is also noticeable. Only 408 women were returned at the last census as "labourers." It is no longer necessary to toil from sunrise to sundown to add a paltry three annas to the family income as in India. It is considered "infra dig" in Fiji for a woman to have to go out to earn money. Purdah seclusion, too, has ceased to exist. Life is freer and easier—and this is not altogether an unmixed blessing.

A Proud and Progressive People

Thus, in habits, customs, beliefs, and methods of work, great changes have come over the Indian populace in this Colony. They have been freed from much of the conservatism that characterises the motherland and have grown more progressive in thought and outlook. They are proud to belong to that great country which has produced the ancient Sanskrit Vedas, the land of the dream-like Taj Mahal and luxurious marble palaces, the motherland of such outstanding men of today as Tagore, the poet, Bose, the scientist, and Gandhi, the champion of the "untouchables."

The "Indian Problem" in Fiji is to some extent a problem of youth. In common with the world's long coastlines this little Colony, too, is being washed by the same disturbing waves that are influencing Youth in greater and older lands. The thrill of joy-rides and the cinema have become a common experience. The restraints of hoary-headed religions show signs of weakening, and an interrogation mark is placed by Youth against old traditions and customs that previously were not questioned. Youth is on trek.

It is encouraging to note that Government is adjusting itself to the changed conditions of this post-indenture era. In 1927 an Indian Department was brought into existence, and a Secretary for Indian Affairs appointed who had served for 35 years in the Indian Civil Service, one who is more than competent both to tender expert advice on Indian matters to the Governor, and also to establish understanding contact with the people themselves, being conversant with Hindustani and their customs. Furthermore, a Royal Commission examined the educational needs of the Colony in 1926 and reported thereon. The first result was the appointment of a Director of Education. The Legislative Council is making provision for increased educational facilities. In these the Indian community is being granted a place. Hitherto, during more than twenty years the Christian Missions have blazed a trail and have done good pioneer work in providing schools. Impatient to secure at least the advantages of literacy for their children, the Indians themselves have shown great activity in recent years by spending large sums of money on the establishment of schools which are managed by local committees. It has been the policy of Government to make grants-in-aid to approved schools. Increased recognition of the needs of the 20,000 Indian boys and girls is to be seen in the opening

of a Government teacher-training centre for Indians early in the present year. The determined and widespread activity among Indians makes it desirable that Government should be in close touch with this movement, and particularly to see that the education be closely related to the daily life and needs of a distinctly rural community. In some instances these schools are used as a channel for the expression of the faith of the Sanatan Dharm (Fundamentalist) and Arya Samaj (Modernist) Hindus, or the ever-zealous Mohammedans, and there is need for the cultivation of a broad, tolerant spirit of comradeship that will overcome sectarian jealousies if Fiji is to be preserved from the Hindu-Muslim bitterness that is such a hindrance to progress in India. In general, there is a commendable spirit of tolerance and unity between Hindus, Moslems, Christians and Sikhs in Fiji, but constant watchfulness will be necessary if this is to be preserved.

Indian and Fijian

Similarly, there is a friendly spirit between the two main races. Intermarriage is almost unknown, but a neighbourly feeling is present, without which the outlook for the Colony would be menaced. The two races differ in many ways. Fijians, both men and women, are tall, broad-shouldered, and possess splendid physique. The type of Indian introduced into the Colony is thin and slightly-built. The former has for centuries enjoyed an abundance of food, wholesome, clean surroundings, and the benefits of delayed marriage. The latter hails from conditions less favourable and where child-marriage harms the race.

The native has experienced the thrilling excitements of inter-tribal warfare with all its sense of adventure. The Indian has come from the tranquility of agricultural life; his foes were not cannibals, but occasional deficiencies of rainfall and recurring pestilences, or oppressive landlords and moneylenders. The Fijian women delight in loud, hearty laughter, literally abandoning themselves to the unrestrained enjoyment of a joke. The quiet Hindustani woman considers this rather immodest and, drawing her cloth across her face, seeks to suppress or hide such demonstrations, for she comes from the land of the purdah where women are hedged in by old-time conventions and restrictions. The Fijian is the product of centuries spent in a luxuriant, fertile garden, wherein he has been able to provide himself with a sufficiency of food in return for the minimum amount of work. His agricultural instincts lie dormant. The Indian, a born lover of agriculture, has known hard toil of the land, tedious hand-irrigation, and the vagaries of an uncertain monsoon. Such hard training has made him industrious. The writer recollects seeing two Indian labourers make a complaint against a couple of Fijian labourers. A joint task had been given to the four. The Indians were aggrieved when in the middle of the morning, the laughing, care-free natives sought relaxation by turning from the work in hand to catch fish in the river near by; whereas the Hindus were anxious to finish the day's appointed piece-work by the early afternoon in order to plough their own fields before sunset. The good-natured, generous-hearted Fijian often fails to understand much of the mysterious talk of these brown-skinned toilers about sacred rivers, numerous deities, wonderful cities and ancient history. He cannot visualise the dazzling splendour and the gorgeous pomp of an

Indian Maharaja's beautiful Palace, and turns meditatively to his local Chief's grass house.

And what is the attitude of the Indian toward the native? He calls him "jungly"—a wild sort of fellow. Conscious of his own ancient heritage, that his civilization and religion are among the oldest in the world, he inclines to look down upon these people—eaters of pork and beef—who, but 70 years ago were cannibals; but there is nothing provocative in his attitude. The Indian's inborn sense of courtesy is balanced by the Fijian's corresponding sense of good humour, and thus they maintain friendly and cordial relationships. He may consider the Fijian girls somewhat bold and forward according to Eastern standards, but at least in the secrecy of his heart he has to admit that they do well in postponing marriage until a later age than is customary among his own people. For this reason his community has not yet produced its own nurses and female teachers as the Fijians are doing. Withal, he feels assured that his intellect is his great asset, that so far, he has proved himself a more apt mechanic, that he owns and drives motor cars wherever roads exist, that he possesses business ability, and for the present the Fijian is no serious competitor in either agriculture or trade. There are hundreds of shrewd Indian store-keepers all over the Islands, but it is rare indeed to find a Fijian shopkeeper.

The Boy Scout Movement and organised sport are both doing much to promote good feeling. A recent public holiday saw a typical instance of this. A large party of Indians left Suva in motor cars and visited the historic Island of Bau. A cricket match had been arranged against the Bauan Fijians who, a fortnight previously, had defeated the European Cricket Club in Suva. The match was played, and the Indians were thoroughly beaten. The visiting team was most hospitably entertained by Fiji's paramount Chief, Ratu Pope Seneloli, who is the grandson of King Cakobau. Complimentary speeches were made by both visitors and by Fijians. It was found in the afternoon that the native minister was solemnising a marriage in the Methodist Church near by. So, with characteristic thoughtfulness and kindliness, the Indian visitors promptly collected two pounds ten shillings among themselves as a present for the bride and bridegroom. It was late evening when the Indian party returned to Suva, tired but very happy. It had been a day of goodwill and fellowship, an experience of healthy sport, hospitality, generosity, and the strengthening of happy race-relationships.

India Watching the Pacific

It is the presence of these 70,000 Indians that makes the Fiji Group to differ from all other Islands of the South Pacific. Commercially and politically the importance and influence of this community will increase with the passage of time. They have this year entered their second half century of history, and none can forecast what developments will be witnessed before the centenary is reached by the boys and girls who today are at school. Behind them, increasingly attentive, are India's political leaders and writers. The problem of the Overseas Indians is Empire-wide and embraces far-distant Kenya, and Natal, Malaysia, Mauritius, the West Indies and British Guiana. It is desirable that the influences that unhappily divide India in this day of her opportunity be avoided as much as plague or cholera.

Today, the Colony of Fiji is pulsating with the throb of new life. Young Fijians have organised themselves for the promotion of the all-round welfare of their people. Indians too, were never more active, building schools, mosques, temples and libraries, organizing societies, urging social reform, publishing periodicals, striving upwards, and now proposing to form a Congress for political activity. It is the ferment of new life and will be watched with keen interest.

It is regrettable that the stigma of indenture lingers long, and it is this which makes it difficult for some to adjust their attitude to the conditions of this new era. Truly, a people is seriously handicapped when they are introduced to other nations, as Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru has said, "as a nation of coolies." The present transitory stage calls for patient adjustment. Whilst admitting the existence of "colour-antipathy" in the Colony, the writer has been agreeably surprised to discover among his fellow-Britishers during extensive travels in the Group a commendable spirit of fair-play, a real interest in the welfare of others, and a preparedness to admire and applaud achievement and good character in a man regardless of the colour of his skin. The task of fostering inter-racial co-operation and a Colonial "esprit de corps" is one which calls for the exercise of constant effort and a willingness to seek to understand and appreciate the view-point of others. Granted the right team-spirit, the future is bright with hope.

Japan and Overpopulation

By I. Taiguin

This article, which appeared in a Russian journal, World Economy and World Policy, *Moscow, was translated specially for* Pacific Affairs. *It is published here in accordance with this journal's policy of discovering what is being thought and expressed in various countries about the problems now agitating the Pacific area.*

There is a widespread opinion strongly supported by statesmen and economists of the ruling class in Japan that the "Island Empire" is suffocating, within its narrow borders, from the enormous superfluity of its population. They demonstrate with long columns of figures, they give the number of mouths to be fed from each unit of sown land, they cite the sentiments of politicians, financiers, manufacturers and even poets—they do everything to prove how crowded is Japan with its sixty millions of population and how it is therefore acutely necessary to find access to new countries where its superfluous population could find a new home and food. Thence it is very easy to make a deduction of the inevitability and righteousness of Japanese expansion everywhere that opportunity offers. Truly, the above explanation for this expansion is most advantageous and successful. It is greatly welcomed in Japan even by democratic social opinion, even by peasants and, in part, by workmen; and abroad it meets less resistance than any other argument which might be brought forth.

Therefore it is very important and interesting to check the correctness of the assertion about the overpopulation of Japan by means of exact facts and figures. It is important and interesting to give a quite objective answer to the question whether or not in the Japan of today an actual superfluity of working hands and hungry mouths exists.

The Increase of Population

For the last 50 years the population of Japan almost doubled, being now about sixty millions. This increase is gigantic and has few examples in history.

The increase of population in Japan for the last half-century has one original peculiarity which occurs in no other contemporary capitalistic country. Everywhere in Europe, America and even in Asia from the second half of the nineteenth century there is revealed a systematic decrease in the birth-rate. However, at the same time, better material conditions and higher culture result in a decrease of the death-rate. In spite of this the level of population increase goes down year by year; that is a common tendency.

There has been a quite different case in Japan, as we can see from the following table:

For 1,000 People There Were:

Years	*Birth-rate*	*Death-rate*	*Increase*
1871-80	25.1	19.6	5.5
1881-90	28.1	20.8	7.3
1891-1900	29.8	20.5	9.5
1901-1910	32.9	23.5	9.4
1911-1920	33.3	21.8	11.4
1921-1925	34.6	21.9	12.7

This table is remarkable at three points: *First.* Here is brought out quite distinctly an enormous increase in the birth-rate; for a half-century the birth-rate is increased from 25.1 to 34.6 or by 38%—that is a fact quite unexampled in world annals for the last century. *Second.* It is obvious from the table that for the above mentioned period the death-rate in Japan not only did not decrease, but even increased from 19.6 to 21.9 or by 12%—that is a fact also unexampled for the last century. *Third.* From the table we can see quite clearly that in spite of the increase in the death-rate, the increase of population has nevertheless rapidly progressed. Indeed for the period which interests us we have an increase of population from 5.5 to 12.7 or by 131%. And that is a fact also unexampled in the history of the last 100 years.

It is very interesting to compare these figures with similar data in other countries. If we take average figures for a period 1921-1925 the increase of population for 1,000 people was:

Japan	12.7	Germany	8.8
Italy	12.2	England	7.7
U. S.	10.7	France	2.0

As we can see, all countries except Italy remain considerably behind Japan. But we can give other data about other countries which presents quite a different picture. For instance:

U.S.S.R. (1923-25)	20.5	Egypt	17.5
Argentine	18.1	Holland	15.2
Bulgaria	17.8	Australia	14.2
		Canada	14.0

It is quite evident that Japan is not the only country with high figures for increase of population. Even not mentioning U.S.S.R., which holds a world record of population increase, we have many capitalistic countries where the increase of population is much higher than in Japan.

Anyhow, Japan has grown very quickly, and Mr. Inouye, the very well-known statistician, predicts that in 1965 the population in Japan will reach 108 millions.

As we see, the problem of population regarded from the perspective of history is a very important question for Japan.

The Density of Population

The average density of population in Japan in 1925 was 157 persons per square mile. If we compare Japan with other foreign countries, we will see the following:

Japan	157	Germany	132
Belgium	250	Italy	131
Holland	217	France	74
England	189		

It is evident Japan can in no way pretend to be the most overpopulated country in the world. In some provinces of China which are as great as Japan there are 350 persons per square mile.

The distribution of population over the territory of Japan is very disproportionate. There are some sections (in the central and southern parts of the state) where the population is very dense (Tokyo—2,093, Osaka—1,718) and there are some others (in the north) with a very sparse population (Iwate—59, Hokkaido—28).

It is very important to keep in mind this great difference because we will return later on to this fact.

Elements of Nutrition

Is Japan provided with the most important elements of nutrition? The most essential part of Japanese food (90%) is of vegetable origin —about 2 lbs. per person a day; fish—1/10 lb. per person a day, and meat only 2.5 lbs. per person a year! The main requirement in Japanese food is rice, and it is a very notable fact that the consumption of rice increases every 10 years by 8.43%, whereas the consumption of other grains decreases 10%. But the most important fact is that 93% of all *kinds of grain required for consumption* are produced *in Japan and its colonies* (Korea, Formosa) and no more than 7% is imported from other countries. Almost the same thing is true with other products of nutrition. Fish, meat, sugar, vegetables, vegetable-oil, saké, are their own productions.

Finally we can boldly affirm that at the present time *Japan consumes at least 95% of the food produced in its own country.*

Is it possible to find among the many countries of the world, particularly big capitalistic countries, one which is so little dependent on foreign countries in the question of self-nutrition?

The Prospects

But maybe in the near future, because of increase of population and consumption of rice, it is possible to expect some crisis, as is predicted by the Japanese economists?

At the present time there are in Japan 1.7 million hectares of land good for cultivation but till now uncultivated. They belong to the Imperial Court and some of the nobility. Certainly this area in the coming decades must be given over to agriculture.

Then, too, Korea and Formosa, which produce now only one million tons of rice every year, can increase their productiveness with the improvement of their agricultural methods. Finally, 43% of the land in Japan is under forest. There are many such areas suitable for agriculture.

Taking into consideration all the above mentioned facts, we can conclude that at least for half a century Japan can satisfy its subsistence needs by its own means.

Emigration and Colonization

The countries which suffer from overpopulation, like England and Italy, send every year to their colonies or abroad the excess of their population. Before the war the figures for emigration from England were about 200 to 300 thousand per annum, from Italy 300 to 400 thousand.

But from Japan there emigrated no more than 15 thousand a year. For 60 millions of population that is almost nothing. The number of Japanese living abroad totals only 640 thousand.

In Manchuria, sections of which have been for almost 25 years under a Japanese protectorate, there are no more than 200 thousand of Japan's citizens. And only some hundreds of them are agriculturalists; the rest prefer some other business.

In the northern island of Hokkaido, where there is a big area of land good for cultivation, until now the density of population has been 28 per square mile.

The Government, which takes more interest in the economic life of its people than is true in other capitalistic states, is not in a hurry over the problem of colonization, which is mostly in the hands of private organizers. Certainly that would be impossible if the question of overpopulation were so urgent.

Summarizing all the above mentioned facts we can assume that emigration to foreign countries as well as internal colonization in Japan is, up to the present, not being carried on on any big scale.

Conclusion

Now, is Japan suffering from overpopulation? We can answer this question only thus:—No; so far it is not suffering. Japan is a country with a dense and rapidly increasing population, but it is sufficiently secure in the matter of its main food products and at the same time its emigration abroad and to the colonies is quite negligible. Certainly, there may come in the future a time when there will be real overpopulation in Japan, for instance, in case of some serious shock to its economic organization. But, at least at the present time, there is nothing resembling such a situation.

The real meaning of all this noise about the problem of overpopulation is quite different. The discussion of overpopulation is merely a smoke screen used to protect the project of imperialistic expansion which is now absorbing the attention of the ruling class in that country.

Great Britain and the Pacific

A Report on Occurrences Bearing on Pacific Affairs for the Quarter, March-May, 1929

Prepared by Stephen A. Heald

Assistant to the Hon. Information Secretary, Royal Institute of International Affairs

The present report from Great Britain, covering the period from March 1st to June 1st, 1929,* deals with the Sovereignty of China as discussed in the British House of Commons, and includes the texts of the Notes addressed by the Chinese Foreign Minister, Dr. Wang, to His Majesty's representative in China on the subject of Extraterritoriality and the Provisional Court at Shanghai with explanatory notes. The House adjourned from March 27th to April 15th for the Easter Recess, and Parliament was dissolved on May 10th.

British Interests in China

Mr. Locker-Lampson (Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs) informed Mr. Duckworth (Lib.) on March 4th that Sir Miles Lampson reported that Chang Tsungchang had landed at Leng Chow and had some 15,000 men under him. Replying to the second part of Mr. Duckworth's question as to what steps, if any, in view of the large British interests in Shantung were being taken to protect those interests, he stated: "There are two British warships in the area affected by this development, as well as an American cruiser and several Japanese warships."

On 25th March in answer to a question from Mr. Day (Lab.) Sir Austen Chamberlain stated: "So far as I can ascertain, 17 British subjects have been killed in China during the last five years by mob or military violence. To this figure should be added 15 cases of murder by pirates or robbers. I regret that, in the absence of full particulars, I cannot give a return of the British subjects wounded in similar circumstances."

Arms Embargo

On March 1st, replying to a question from Sir Walter de Frece (Cons.) concerning the embargo on the exportation of war munitions to China by European Powers, Mr. Locker-Lampson (Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs) stated that the China Arms Embargo had not been raised, and the Embargo Agreement of 1919 was still in existence and operative.

Mr. Locker-Lampson informed Sir Walter de Frece (Cons.) on March 6th that "by the Arms Embargo Agreement of May 5, 1919, Great Britain undertook to prevent the export of arms and of munitions to and their import into China by British subjects. The other Parties to this Agreement are Spain, Portugal, U. S. A., Brazil, France, Japan, Denmark, Belgium and Italy. Germany, though not a Party to the Agreement, has recently passed legislation to stop the arms traffic with China. There has been no recent relaxation of the terms or conditions of the Agreement."

* The section of parliamentary discussions consisting solely of questions and answers relating to the current military situation in China has been omitted here, as having already been covered in previous issues of Pacific Affairs.—Editor.

Sir Walter de Frece asked the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs if he would suggest to the other Powers the desirability of raising the embargo on the importation of arms into China, on the ground that an embargo was both derogatory to the newly constituted National Government and restrictive of employment in Great Britain.

Sir Austen Chamberlain (Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs) replied on March 18th that the question of the termination of the China Arms Agreement of 1919 was at present under consideration.

British Naval Officers

Replying to Sir Walter de Frece (Cons.) on 18th March, Mr. Bridgeman (First Lord of the Admiralty) said: "No formal request on behalf of the Chinese Government for the loan of British naval officers has been put forward, but in reply to informal inquiries which have been received we have replied that so long as the China Arms Embargo Agreement is in force we cannot give such assistance. We shall, however, be only too pleased to render such assistance as soon as the restrictions are removed."

China Indemnity Fund

Mr. Looker (Cons.) asked the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs on March 18th whether, now that the Nanking Government had been recognised by Great Britain, any steps were being taken to give effect to the proposals relating to the China Indemnity Fund.

> Mr. Locker-Lampson (Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs): It is, of course, impossible to find time during the present Session to pass an an amending Act, as was originally contemplated. My right hon. Friend has therefore been in communication with His Majesty's Minister at Peking in an endeavour to find means to expedite action so as to release some portion of the funds at an early date for purposes of mutual benefit to Great Britain and China, such as have been recommended by the Buxton Advisory Committee.
>
> Mr. Looker: Before any definite decision is arrived at, as to the steps to be taken in relation to the Boxer Indemnity Fund, will the right hon. Gentleman issue a White Paper showing the proposals contemplated by the Government so that the House may have an opportunity of considering them before the Government are committed to them?
>
> Mr. Locker-Lampson: I should like to consider that matter in consultation with my right hon. Friend.
>
> Captain Crookshank: If the right hon. Gentleman is issuing such a White Paper, will he, at the same time, state the total expenditure in which this country has been involved in China since the passage of this Act?

Asked by Mr. Looker (Cons.) whether the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs proposed to release any portion of the Boxer Indemnity funds, now in the hands of His Majesty's Government, without prescribing such conditions as appeared desirable to him to ensure that the expenditure of the portion released was duly safeguarded, Mr. Locker-Lampson replied on March 25th, that the funds in question were subject to the China Indemnity (Application) Act, 1925. The Act would require amendment if those funds were to be dealt with in any way other than provided for therein.

> Mr. Looker: Can we have an assurance that, before any amendment of the Act is considered with a view to releasing any portion of this fund, the question of safeguarding its expenditure will receive due consideration?
>
> Mr. Locker-Lampson: Yes, certainly.

British Troops

Lieut.-Commander Kenworthy (Lab.) on 2nd May asked the Secretary of State for War when it was proposed to withdraw the British troops from Shanghai; whether any threat to the International Settlement was expected; and, if so, from what quarter or forces.

> Mr. Duff Cooper (Financial Secretary to the War Office): The additional forces in China have been very considerably reduced during the past year. There is no present intention further to reduce these forces. There is no indication at the moment of any imminent danger to the International Settlement or of any attack from any particular quarter, but conditions are still uncertain and subversive activities by no means extinct.
>
> Mr. Looker: Is there not in existence in Shanghai a very considerable element of Chinese Communists of subversive tendencies, which renders the position still a matter of great insecurity and makes it inadvisable completely to withdraw these forces at the present time?
>
> Mr. Cooper: That is what I intended to convey in my reply.
>
> Lieut.-Commander Kenworthy: Does it mean that Shanghai is to be a garrison town for the rest of time?
>
> Mr. Cooper: No.

On March 11th, Mr. Duff Cooper (Financial Secretary to the War Office) replying to a question from Mr. Foot Mitchell (Cons.) as to whether the salary of the British officer lent to the Shanghai Volunteer corps was paid by the Shanghai municipality or by the home Government; and how long the present arrangement on this point had been in existence, stated that the salary was paid by the Shanghai Municipal Council and that this arrangement had been in force for over 20 years.

British Troops in China

Sir Laming Worthington-Evans (Secretary of State for War) informed Sir Walter de Frece (Cons.) on March 27th that "the extra cost involved in the employment of additional troops in China, as shown in the Accounts and Estimates presented to Parliament, is as follows:

Army Accounts.

1926	£1,026,500
1927	£2,730,910.

Army Supplementary Estimate.

1928	£ 565,000

North China Daily News

Mr. Looker (Cons.) asked the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs on May 9th whether his attention had been called to the fact that the Nanking Government has banned the *North China Daily News* the use of the Chinese Post Office; and, whether, in view of the conditions under which China is a member of the International Postal Union, he would take immediate steps to make representatons to the Chinese Government against this differential treatment of the mails:

> Mr. Locker-Lampson (Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs): Yes, Sir; this matter has been reported by His Majesty's Minister at Peking. In view of the saving for internal legislation contained in Article 6 of the Universal Postal Convention, and of the right of prohibition defined in Article 41 (1) (g), that instrument furnished no ground for representations to the Nanking Government, but Sir Miles Lampson has instructed His Majesty's Consul-General at Nanking to take up the matter with the Minister of Foreign Affairs.

Peking-Mukden Railway

On March 25th Sir Austen Chamberlain informed Mr. Day (Lab.) that the amount of British capital invested in the Peking-Mukden Railway was:

(1)	Original sterling loan of 1899 (£2,300,000) outstanding at 1st February, 1929	£ 920,000
(2)	Double Track sterling loan of 1921 (£500,000) outstanding at 31st December, 1928	395,000
(3)	Double Track silver loan of 1921 ($2,000,000), outstanding at 15th March, 1929, $1,000,000	100,000
		£1,415,000

"I understand," he added, "that most of the outstanding bonds in the above loans are held in England."

Mui-tsai at Hong Kong

On April 22nd, Mr. Malone (Lab.) asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether he had yet received the Report on the system of child adoption known as *mui-tsai* in Hong Kong; and whether it was proposed to publish this Report at an early date.

Mr. Ormsby-Gore (Under Secretary of State for the Colonies) replied that the Secretary of State had received a despatch from the Governor of Hong Kong. A number of points in connection with the enforcement of the Ordinance passed in 1923 to abolish the system required elucidation, and he was asking the Governor by telegraph for further information in writing. The Secretary of State proposed, when his reply had been received, to lay the papers before the House.

Mr. Day (Lab.) on April 22nd asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether any action was being taken by his Department to abolish the *mui-tsai* system in Hong Kong; and could he give particulars.

Mr. Ormsby-Gore (Under Secretary of State for the Colonies) referred Mr. Day to his reply to Mr. Malone and added:

> Mr. Ormsby-Gore: I would, however, repeat that the system of child adoption so far as it involved a restraint on personal freedom has been made illegal since 1923. My right hon. Friend is engaged, in concert with the Governor, in considering means to prevent evasions of the law.
>
> Mr. Day: Is it not a fact that the statement was made in this House in 1923 that *mui-tsai* was to be abolished altogether; and is it not also a fact that at the present time there are more cases than there were in 1923?
>
> Mr. Ormsby-Gore: With regard to the first part of the question, legislation was passed abolishing *mui-tsai*, but, of course, it is a very difficult thing, where you have a large number of non-British subjects coming temporarily into Hong Kong from Canton and neighbouring provinces, to say whether or not they have got *mui-tsai* with them. It is estimated that since the ordinance was passed 300,000 Chinese subjects have come into Hong Kong with a proportion of *mui-tsai*.
>
> Colonel Wedgwood: Is it not a fact that the right hon. Gentleman communicated with the Governor of Hong Kong to find out why the law was not being enforced, and is the House not entitled to know the reasons which were given by the Governor why this law was not enforced?
>
> Mr. Ormsby-Gore: As far as it is practicable to enforce the law, steps are being taken to do so. It is proposed, as soon as the correspondence is complete, to lay papers, and I will give a further answer on that point.
>
> Colonel Wedgwood: Can we be assured that papers will be laid?
>
> Mr. Ormsby-Gore: Yes. As soon as the correspondence is complete and we see what we can do, papers will be laid.

Mr. Day: In view of the fact that this is very serious, can the right hon. Gentleman say when he expects to be able to lay papers or when the correspondence will be completed?

Mr. Ormsby-Gore: I cannot say offhand. I think probably it means collecting a certain amount of further data as to the actual facts, apart from discussion of methods of law and order.

The Sovereignty of China

Extraterritoriality

On May 9th, Mr. Locker-Lampson (Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs) informed Sir Robert Thomas Bt. (Lib.) that a Note from the Nanking Government on the question of Extraterritoriality in China had been received and the reply to it was at present under consideration.

The following is the text of the Note, taken from the *London Times* of Tuesday, May 7th, 1929:

It may be recalled that the Chinese Government, through its representatives, had had occasion to express at the Paris Peace Conference its strong desire for the removal of limitations on China's jurisdictional Sovereignty imposed upon her by the old Treaties concluded between China and the foreign Powers and that the Chinese delegation emphatically reiterated the same desire at the Washington Conference, which placed on record its sympathetic disposition towards furthering the aspirations of China for the removal of restrictions on her political, jurisdictional, and administrative freedom of action.

With the unification of China and the establishment upon a firm foundation of the National Government, a new era has been happily inaugurated in the relations between our two countries through the conclusion of the recent Tariff Treaty, and it is to be confidently hoped that the material well-being of our two countries will henceforth be greatly enhanced. But it is the belief and the conviction of the Chinese Government that the promotion of such material well-being will be accelerated by a readjustment of the relations between our two countries on a basis of friendly equality in matters of jurisdiction, and if his Britannic Majesty's Government could see their way to meet the wishes of the Chinese Government and people in this regard, it is certain that another obstacle to the full and frank cooperation in trade or otherwise between the Chinese people and foreign nationals in this country would be happily removed, and that the desire of the Chinese Government for promoting to the fullest extent the material interest of all who choose to associate themselves with our own people would find its early realization.

It goes without saying the extra-territoriality in China is a legacy of the old régime, which has not only ceased to be adaptable to the present day conditions, but has become so detrimental to the smooth working of the judicial and administrative machinery of China that her progress as a member of the family of nations has been unnecessarily retarded. The inherent defects and inconveniences of the system of consular jurisdiction have been most clearly pointed out by the Chinese Government on various occasions and also by the jurists and publicists of other countries in their official utterances as well as in their academic discussions. It is a matter of sincere regret that while many Governments which are playing an important *rôle* in international affairs are eager and persistent in their endeavour to promote genuine friendship and harmony among nations, such anachronistic practice as only tends to mar the friendly relations between the Chinese people and foreign nationals should be allowed to exist at a time when justice and equity are supposed to govern the relations of nations.

With the close contact between China and foreign Powers, the assimilation of Western legal conceptions by Chinese jurists and the incorporation of Western legal principles in Chinese jurisprudence have proceeded very rapidly. In addition to the numerous codes and laws now in force, the Civil code and Commercial code have reached the final stage of preparation, and will be ready for promulgation before January 1, 1930. Courts and prisons, along

modern lines, have been established, and are being established throughout the whole country.

Inasmuch as doubt has been entertained with regard to the advisability of relinquishing extra-territorial privileges at this juncture by the interested Powers, it may be pointed out that certain countries, having ceased enjoying extra-territorial privileges in China, have found satisfaction in the protection given to their nationals by Chinese law, and have had no cause of complaint that their interests have been in any way prejudiced. His Britannic Majesty's Government may, therefore, rest assured that the legitimate rights and interests of British subjects in China will not be unfavourably affected in the least by the relinquishment of the exceptional privileges which they now possess.

As his Britannic Majesty's Government have always maintained a friendly attitude towards China and have always shown their readiness in the adoption of measures for the removal of limitations on China's Sovereignty, the Chinese Government is happy to express to his Britannic Majesty's Government the desire of China to have the restrictions on her jurisdictional sovereignty removed at the earliest possible date and confidently hope that his Britannic Majesty's Government will take this desire of China into immediate and sympathetic consideration and favour it with an early reply so that steps may be taken to enable China, now unified and with a strong central Government, rightfully to assume jurisdiction over all nationals within her domain.

Provisional Court at Shanghai

On May 17th Dr. C. T. Wang addressed identic Notes to the representatives of Great Britain, the United States, France, Holland, Norway and Brazil, pressing them to open negotiations for a final and satisfactory settlement of the question of the Provisional Court at Shanghai which was set up in place of the old Mixed Court.

The following is the text of the Note:

With reference to the former Mixed Court established in the International Settlement at Shanghai, the former Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Peking repeatedly protested to the Ministers of the interested powers and demanded its rendition. In 1926, delegates were appointed by both sides to discuss the question, but they failed to arrive at any proper or satisfactory agreement.

Although since then a change has been made in the judicial machinery of the said settlement, it is impossible to gainsay the fact that the position of the new Court is still anomalous and its system remains confusing, being different from that of the whole country. Inconveniences arising from this have caused much complaint and dissatisfaction on the part of the people.

In view of the increasingly cordial relationship happily existing between China and the Foreign Powers, it is necessary and opportune to exert every effort to bring about a change compatible with present needs.

I have the honour, therefore, to propose to your Excellency, with regard to the above-mentioned judicial organ, to open negotiations in all sincerity and promptly to make proper and satisfactory arrangements in order to effect a final settlement, so that the integrity of China's judicial power may be maintained and international goodwill increase. I am also communicating with the Ministers of the other interested Powers on the same subject, and shall be glad if your Excellency will kindly favour me with a reply.

As Dr. Wang stated in the Note delegates were appointed by both sides in 1926 but failed to arrive at "any proper and satisfactory agreement." A Provisional Agreement was, however, for the rendition of the old Mixed Court signed on August 31, 1926, to take effect from January 1, 1927, when the new Provisional Court was to take its place, and provisional regulations for the administration of justice in the new Court were drawn up. The arrangement was for a period of three

years, at the end of which it might be prolonged for a further period of three years if no final settlement had been agreed upon between the Chinese Central Government and the Powers.

By the agreement the control of the Provisional Court was transferred from the Consular Body to the Kiangsu Provincial Government, which was vested with the right to appoint the judges.

In the new Court criminal offences "liable to disturb the peace and good order of the International Settlement" are tried by a Chinese Judge and a Senior Consul's Deputy is on the Bench, who, while not having a say in the proceedings or the decision, has the power to draw up a protest. Purely Chinese criminal cases are tried by a Chinese Judge alone with no Deputy. With regard to civil cases, purely Chinese cases (with a Chinese plaintiff and defendant) are now tried by a Chinese Judge sitting alone, instead of by a magistrate and an assessor as previously. In civil cases where foreigners having extraterritorial rights or the Shanghai Municipal Council are concerned as plaintiffs with Chinese defendants, the case is tried by a Chinese Judge and a Consular Official, of the same nationality as the plaintiff, the presence of such an official being a fundamental right conferred by the treaties, which cannot be abrogated unless the treaties are revised. Another important change in the new Court is the provision of Courts of Appeal for both civil and criminal cases.

Laughing at the Wrong Place

By Romanzo Adams

Some years ago Chinese students in Honolulu presented "The Yellow Jacket" to an audience of mixed racial character. Many people unfamiliar with the traditions of Oriental life and art laughed at the wrong places—at moments of tragic climax. A year or two later the Japanese students presented "The Faithful"—and with similar results. Many Caucasians laughed during the scenes of heroic self devotion. Still a few years later an American moving picture was presented at the Mid-Pacific Institute. The audience was made up almost wholly of boys and girls of Chinese and Japanese ancestry. These children, too, laughed at the wrong place. In all the above cited cases the laughter was spontaneous. There was no intent to be rude. It was not the laughter of the over-sophisticated. It was just a case of some people seeing in a situation something incongruous and hence ludicrous while people of a different tradition saw it otherwise. Much seems to depend on custom and on the ethical and æsthetic standards.

The plot of "The Yellow Jacket" turns on the desire of the first wife to see her son inherit the family honors. He is a cripple and so his half-brother, son of the second wife, is expected to succeed to the father's place. The first wife communicates with the spirits of her departed ancestors, asking for help. They inform her that her child may be healed and become the wearer of the yellow jacket—garment of honor—only on condition that she herself join the departed and, from the vantage point of the other world, give help to her son. The tragic climax comes in the scene in which the mother bids farewell to her child and by choice departs this life. So far the audience is emotionally of one mind. Mother-love and ambition speak in a universal language.

But the mechanical procedure through which her spirit joins those of the departed ancestors (with the help of the property-man she climbed a ladder into the balcony of heaven) provoked a laugh on the part of Americans unfamiliar with Chinese stage technique.

The property-man according to Chinese custom is always in full view. According to Chinese theory he is invisible, and almost literally so—the Chinese audience ignores him. His behavior is based on the assumption that he actually is unseen. Somewhat bored, nonchalant, he kills time as he pleases when there is no service to render. Because of the novelty of this procedure to a Caucasian audience, he practically divided the honors with the star rôle when this performance was given in Honolulu.

"The Faithful" is a modern rendering of an ancient plot—one that has been a staple in the Japanese theater for hundreds of years. A noble lord-daimio was forced to commit hara-kiri through the machinations of a contemptible rival who won honor by his treachery. The samurai retainers of the unfortunate daimio made a vow to avenge their lord and after many discouraging years they found opportunity to slay the villain.

A typical American audience here feels that justice has at last triumphed. The slaying of the villain is no more a crime than was the killing of Macbeth. The man got what he deserved. The moral order was vindicated. The whole truth should come out and the loyal samurai should be honored for their loyalty. But not so. For while they have kept utter faith with their immediate overlord they have set themselves against the higher authority—ultimately the authority of the imperial family of divine descent. Here lies the essence of the tragic situation. The duty of a samurai was to be loyal to his lord to the last, even after death to avenge him, but at the same time no man must raise his hand against the higher authority. What could loyal men do under the circumstances? Only one course was open. They must first avenge their lord and then expiate their offense in the only honorable way. Hence when they received written orders to commit hara-kiri they repaired to the tomb of their lord and there, without visible force to compel their action, without hesitation, and with little or no manifestation of emotion, each member of the noble band took his own life. They died as they had lived, according to the ethical standards of bushido—the chivalry of Japan. In an impossible situation their conduct had been most heroic. They had been true to the finest traditions of Japan.

The emotion called forth among Japanese at this point in the drama is one of great exaltation and intensity. One would as little be moved to laughter as would an Englishman by the last act in King Lear. And yet many Caucasians laughed. To the Occidental unfamiliar with bushido there is something unnatural in this behavior. The nature of the tragedy is not apparent. He does not realise that hara-kiri is the one way in which the samurai could preserve their honor or extricate themselves from the dilemma of their double loyalty. The apparent lack of the appropriate emotion—the perfect self-control—makes the whole act seem unreal. Herein lies the incongruity which gave rise to the laughter.

The other play, the movie, is one of much less fame. Its name is immaterial. A leading character was a man of wealth and local power.

Lacking the finer sort of sentiment, he was contemptuous of the better ideals of his time. A sordid money-getter not too particular as to methods. The one good thing in his life was his sincere love for his daughter. This devotion to the girl humanized him. It revealed something worthy in his character. He was not wholly bad.

The tragedy of the play centers around the accident that causes the daughter's death. The father's grief is mixed with remorse for he sees himself as partly responsible. If he had followed a different course the accident would not have occurred. According to the way of movies, the father registered extreme grief. He was all broken up.

Under the circumstances most Americans would have sympathized with the father. Even if they felt that his loss was a sort of retribution they would not, in the presence of such extreme suffering, have failed to be sympathetically moved by his grief. No occasion for laughter here. But the children of Oriental ancestry did laugh.

Probably, to them, the incongruity lay in the weakness of a man who gave way to his feelings. To Orientals the display of grief is unworthy of a man; it forfeits respect. Here was a supposedly strong, at least ruthless leader who turned out to be only a cheap imitation of a man. Sympathy was impossible. This false note in the would-be tragic ending made the whole affair ludicrous to Oriental minds.

This failure of dramatic situations to call out similar emotional responses on the part of peoples of differing cultural traditions does not stand alone. The whole field of art and of life is replete with similar instances. The harmless witticism of the man of one culture may be a profanation for the man of another culture. What is mere common sense to one is sordidness to the other. What excites the disgust of one is to the other a matter of indifference. What is to one an occasion for the highest emotional exaltation leaves the other cold.

Doubtless differences of a somewhat similar character are found among people who are regarded as the heirs of a common culture. Something depends on temperament as well as on the relation of the individual to the general cultural inheritance of his people. One may utilize only a part of his potential inheritance. But the point to be emphasized here is that each culture tends to produce a type and to the extent that there are diversities of custom and æsthetic and ethical standards there is failure of understanding and a diversity of emotional response.

Because of the multiplied contacts among the peoples of distant regions of our time there is need for a better understanding, a larger appreciation, a more adequate sharing of spiritual values. Not too much reliance should be placed in diplomacy nor in trade nor yet in a knowledge of such facts as can be expressed by columns of figures and graphs. If the peoples of the world would understand each other in the interest of the coming world cooperation they must each give thought to the finer achievements of all the others. Only the liberally educated persons of all lands can have a hand in shaping this world cooperation, and the liberally educated person is one who knows and justly appreciates the poetry, the dramatic literature, the art, the religion and the philosophy of many peoples. Laughter at the wrong place may seem but a symbol, an interesting symptom of cultural difference, but it is a deep offense.

Cultural Contacts in the Pacific

A Review Bibliography *

By W. L. Holland

It does not appear likely that the question of cultural relations and contacts in the Pacific will be a major topic for round-table discussions at the Kyoto Conference of the Institute. A proposal has been made that the subject "should be handled by publications of an historical and interpretative character, by several formal lectures, and by first-hand study in Kyoto itself." In consequence, only a very brief survey of outstanding literature on the question is attempted here. It should be noted that a number of books bearing directly or indirectly on the topic of cultural relations have been included and commented on in previous numbers of these bibliographies, as for instance under the headings "Political China Today," and "Economic Factors in the Pacific." Most of these references are excluded from this review. Thus to some extent this bibliography is a remnant from the material of the other three—a collection of material that is worth consulting but not having much reference to the subject of previous reviews. Educational developments, religion and philosophy, missionary enterprise, race contacts, native races, social life and customs are some of the principal topics considered in the literature listed below. A short section on tariffs appended at the end of this article is intended to supplement the material in "Economic Factors in the Pacific" in the June issue of this journal, and is not a part of the present review.

Missions

It is Christian missionary enterprise which provides us with one of the striking illustrations of the effects of the contact of cultures, for modern missionary work has come to involve much more than the propagation of a religious creed. To understand something of the wide scope of mission work in a country like China it is enough to glance over the topics discussed in the China Christian Year Book, Christian Literature Society, Shanghai. This excellent annual contains a large number of brief articles grouped under the heads of: national life, religious thought, church life and missions, education, social life, medical and health work, and literature. Many of these are of distinct value to the general reader because they concern matters of national and social importance. A useful select and annotated bibliography on Chinese life adds considerably to the value of the volume. As a guide to the modern missionary activities in the field of religion, education and medical work this book is hardly to be excelled. Corresponding to it in Japan is The Christian Movement in Japan, a work published by the Federation of Christian Missions at Tokyo. Though less interesting than the China book it is a valuable collection of information on Christianity in Japan and also usually devotes some space to a review of Buddhism and Shinto.

A second illustration of the far-reaching international significance of foreign missions is to be seen in the account of the international missionary conference held at Jerusalem in 1927. The Complete Report of the Jerusalem Conference is published by the International Mis-

* This is the last of a series of four review bibliographies designed to facilitate preliminary study on Kyoto agenda topics.—Editor.

sionary Council, London, in eight volumes, including some on the subjects of religious education, international missionary cooperation, Christianity and the growth of industrialsm in Asia and elsewhere, and Christian missions in the light of race conflict. For those unable to secure or read these substantial volumes, one may suggest a brilliantly written account of the conference by Mathews: ROADS TO THE CITY OF GOD, Edinburgh House Press, London, 1928. This is only a short vivid sketch which, however, succeeds in giving most of the great issues that came before the gathering. The emphasis that has come to be placed upon "extra-religious" activities in modern missionary enterprise is abundantly evident from the study of these publications. The International Missionary Council also publishes a good periodical entitled *The International Review of Missions* which often contains material of interest for the student of cultural relations. The number for January, 1922, contained a survey of most of the mission areas in the Pacific, under the title of "Missionary Significance of the Last Ten Years." The long-established *Chinese Recorder* is the recognised journal of Protestant missions in China. Its files are an invaluable source for the study of the historical development of Chinese missions and its recent numbers nearly all present some phase of contemporary trends.

The oft-debated relationship between imperialism or annexation and missionary enterprise is treated in brief fashion in Martin: MISSIONARIES AND THE PACIFIC, Oxford University Press, London, 1924. This is by no means a comprehensive study but deals mainly with the cases of New Zealand, Tahiti, Fiji and other Pacific islands. Young: CHRISTIANITY AND CIVILISATION IN THE SOUTH PACIFIC, Oxford University Press, London, 1922, is a similar essay on the influence of missions upon European expansion in the Pacific during the 19th century. It gives special attention to the problems of British New Guinea.

A book which bears quite directly on the problems likely to arise in a discussion on cultural relations is Price: CHRISTIAN MISSIONS AND ORIENTAL CIVILISATIONS, Shanghai, 1924. Described as a study in culture contact, it is a considerable and detailed investigation by a sociologist of "the reactions of non-Christian peoples to Protestant missions from the standpoint of individual and group behaviour." While it deals chiefly with Oriental civilsations, it also makes use of evidence from the missons among the American Indians and among the peoples of the Pacific islands. It is written neither as an appreciation nor as a criticism of missionary enterprise but the contents of the book provide material on which to base criticism. An article that gives some indication of the relation between missions and diplomatic activities in China is to be seen in *Current History* for October, 1925, entitled "Politics of Missionary Work in China." For a study of the hostility that has been expressed against Christian missions in China at times one may consult an article by Ross: "The Anti-Christian Movement in China" in the *Contemporary Review* for August, 1925.

The books mentioned thus far deal for the most part with the religious and missionary work in the Pacific countries from the point of view of Westerners. It is therefore of interest to note that the Missionary Education Movement of New York issued in 1927 a series of small books which aim at giving a representative national view of the social and religious life of several countries, among them Japan and

China. These two, CHINA HER OWN INTERPRETER and JAPAN SPEAKS FOR HERSELF, consist of a number of short essays by various leaders in present-day religious movements and thought, and they both deal in part with certain problems of foreign missions. They are two of the few available books that give an Oriental expression of opinion on foreign missions in the Far East. From the numerous works on the religions of China and Japan only two or three are mentioned here. Soothill: THE THREE RELIGIONS OF CHINA, Oxford University Press, 1923, is a collection of lectures delivered in England on Buddhism, Confucianism and Taoism. It is the work of a noted scholar of Chinese religion and philosophy. An interesting examination of the doctrines of the Chinese Masters is made in a book by Maclagan: CHINESE RELIGIOUS IDEAS, Student Christian Movement, London, 1926, and a similar book by O'Neill: THE QUEST FOR GOD IN CHINA, Allen & Unwin, London, 1925, deals more with present-day influences and trends. For a sympathetic and penetrating study of the relations between Christian and Chinese ideals, Rawlinson: NATURALISATION OF CHRISTIANITY IN CHINA, Presbyterian Mission Press, Shanghai, 1927, will be found valuable. The section on "The Individual, the Family, the People" is especially good for its comparison of Chinese and Western social organisation. Many of the chapters of this work are to be found separately as articles in the *Chinese Recorder*. Stewart: CHINESE CULTURE AND CHRISTIANITY, Revell, New York, 1926, is a similar review from the Christian standpoint of the religions and ethical systems of China.

On Japanese religious and ethical ideals there are at least two books that should be noted in a brief bibliography. Nitobe: BUSHIDO—THE SOUL OF JAPAN, Putnam, New York, 1905, is a classic work that is full of interest for its portrayal of the old feudal chivalry, and Harada: THE FAITH OF JAPAN, Macmillan, New York, 1914, is a standard account of the religious systems of Japan. This same subject is treated in a recent attractive article from the hands of Dr. Nitobe on "The Japanese Sense of Religion," printed in *Pacific Affairs* for February of this year. The standard work on Buddhism in Japan is Reischauer: STUDIES IN JAPANESE BUDDHISM, Macmillan, New York, 1917, and Cary: HISTORY OF CHRISTIANITY IN JAPAN, (2 vols.) Revell, New York, 1909, is still, despite its age, a recognised authority on its subject. Kato: A STUDY OF SHINTO, THE RELIGION OF THE JAPANESE NATION, Meiji Japan Society, Tokyo, 1926, is a recent attempt at a "genetical study of Shinto from a scientific point of view."

EDUCATION

From the discussion of missionary work in the Pacific, it is a natural step to a consideration of the place of education in the cultural relations of the Pacific Countries. In the widest sense of the word, education is perhaps the most fundamental factor to be considered. A convenient approach to the study of education in the Pacific is through a reading of the proceedings of the FIRST PAN-PACIFIC CONFERENCE ON EDUCATION, REHABILITATION, RECLAMATION AND RECREATION, Government Printing Office, Washington, 1927. The division on education in the report contains brief statements of the educational developments and

aims of Australia, Japan, Mexico, New Zealand, Hawaii, Samoa and the United States, and also some study of the international aspects of education. The statements are useful but rather scrappy and for additional facts and figures it is necessary to refer to the Year Books and other official publications of the several countries. Another conference report which is worth some attention is that of the WORLD FEDERATION OF EDUCATION ASSOCIATIONS: Proceedings of the Second Biennial Conference, published by the Federation at Augusta, Maine, in 1927. It is important for the emphasis which is placed throughout on the effort to achieve better means for the furtherance of international understanding and friendship. The problems of education for peace take up a considerable part of it. An excellent study of the needs and possibilities of international intellectual cooperation is Zimmern: LEARNING AND LEADERSHIP, Oxford University Press, London, 1928, the contents of which were submitted to a committee of the League of Nations on international intellectual cooperation.

The educational problems and development of China form the subject of many books or sections of books, some of which are noted elsewhere in this review. Some of the acute problems facing the educational programmes conducted by Christian missions in China are well summarised in a booklet, CHINESE CHRISTIAN EDUCATION, Foreign Missions Conference of North America, New York, 1925. It gives some idea of the criticisms levelled at Christian educational work in China. CHRISTIAN EDUCATION IN CHINA, Commercial Press, Shanghai, 1922, is the report of the China Educational Commission. It is written from the missionary point of view and does not deal at great length with the criticism and hostility that was to develop some years later. Webster: CHRISTIAN EDUCATION AND THE NATIONAL CONSCIOUSNESS IN CHINA, Dutton, New York, 1923, is another recognised work on this same subject.

The question of the modern intellectual renaissance of China is treated at some length in the early parts of Tyau: CHINA AWAKENED, Macmillan, New York, 1922, and in a number of articles such as that by Dr. Hu Shih: "The Renaissance in China" in the *Journal of the Royal Institute of International Affairs* for November, 1926. *Scribner's Magazine* for September, 1925, carries an article by Huntingdon on "The Chinese Renaissance" and a similar one by Chirgwin appeared in the *Contemporary Review* for January, 1924. Porter: CHINA'S CHALLENGE TO CHRISTIANITY, Missionary Education Movement, New York, 1924, has an interesting chapter, "Hsin Ch'iao—The New Tide," on this modern growth of western learning in China. The campaign being waged against illiteracy in the country districts of China is one remarkable outgrowth of this intellectual revolution. It is described by the leader of the now famous mass-education movement, Yen: MASS EDUCATION MOVEMENT IN CHINA, Commercial Press, Shanghai, 1925, and in the short typewritten "Outline of the Mass Education Movement: Its Work and Needs," China Institute of America, New York, 1927. The movement, like the whole literary and intellectual upheaval, was closely connected with the modern youth movement as can be seen by reading Wang: THE YOUTH MOVEMENT IN CHINA, *New Republic,*

New York, 1927, or Gannett: YOUNG CHINA, *The Nation,* New York, 1927. Hume's article in *Foreign Affairs* for April, 1927, on "Young China" and Monroe's in *The Forum* for August, 1926, on "Student Politics in China," ought to be read for additional information on this important movement. A review of the student movement and its relation to Chinese education occurs in an article by Harris: "The Student Movement and Chinese Education" in the *China Weekly Review* for September 29, 1928. For an idea of current developments in the work of the mass education movement it is best to consult American newspapers for reports of addresses by the Director of the movement delivered early in this year. The *San Francisco Chronicle* for February 6 and 10 and the *Christian Science Monitor* for February 15 and 16 contain reports of interviews and addresses from Mr. Yen.

An enquiry into the philosophical principles at the back of Chinese systems of education, as distinct from modern Christian education, is made in a pamphlet by Chiang: A STUDY OF CHINESE PRINCIPLES OF EDUCATION, Commercial Press, Shanghai, 1925. An article by Cheng and Tao: "China's New System of Schools" in the *Annals* for November, 1925, or their pamphlet "Education in China," Commercial Press, Shanghai, 1924, discusses the introduction and extension of modern education into the country. The regulations issued by the National Government for the conduct of private schools in China are incorporated in an appendix to the CHINA CHRISTIAN YEAR BOOK for 1928 already listed above.

The above issue of the *Annals* also carries a useful study by Villamor on "Education in Japan" which will supplement the information given in the Japan Year Book. A brief historical outline of the development of Japan's educational system with special reference to the introduction of foreign languages was contributed to *Pacific Affairs* for January of this year by Dr. Nakaseko: "Highlights in Japan's Educational Development." The introduction of western philosophy into the East has brought to light a number of eminent exponents of modern thought in China and Japan. An account of some of these leaders of modern Chinese and Japanese philosophy is to be found in Tsuchida: CONTEMPORARY THOUGHT OF JAPAN AND CHINA, Knopf, New York, 1927. Several of the lectures in Tsurumi: PRESENT DAY JAPAN, Columbia University Press, New York, 1926, are worthy of note for their interpretation of the working of western ideas upon the traditions and institutions of old Japan. The chapters on "The Challenge of the New Forces," "Intellectual Currents in Japan" and on "Modern Literature," should not be overlooked.

Not least among the changes that have accompanied the contact of western and eastern civilisations is the change in the status of womanhood in China and Japan. Faust: THE NEW JAPANESE WOMANHOOD, Doran, New York, 1926, gives abundant illustration of this, as does an article in *Pacific Affairs* for January, 1929, by Zen: "The Chinese Woman in a Modern World," and another by Idé on "Japan's New Woman," in the number for August, 1928. An account of the position of women under the present Chinese government and of the part women have played in its establishment is to be seen in a section of the special issue of the *China Weekly Review* for October 10, 1928. The education of a large number of Oriental students in American universities

and elsewhere abroad is a fact that bulks large in a study of cultural contacts, so that it is advisable to read such a survey as THE FOREIGN STUDENT IN AMERICA, Association Press, New York, 1925, particularly the sections dealing with Oriental students. While on the subject of Oriental students and studies in the United States it is interesting to note that the American group of the Institute has lately published the results of an enquiry into the extent to which Oriental studies are available to students in American universities. CHINA AND JAPAN IN OUR UNIVERSITY CURRICULA, American Council, Institute of Pacific Relations, New York, 1929, is the title of this book, which is based on the returns from questionnaires sent out to over 500 institutions of higher learning in the United States.

RACE RELATIONS

A study of cultural contacts demands at least an elementary idea of the broad subject of race relations and the various race problems of today. For this purpose such a treatment as is given in Oldham: CHRISTIANITY AND THE RACE PROBLEM, Doran, New York, 1924, or a somewhat fuller work by Speer: RACE AND RACE RELATIONS, Revell, New York, 1924, is well suited for the non-expert reader. The more purely ethnological phases of the problem are expounded in such works as Huntingdon: THE CHARACTER OF RACES, Scribner, New York, 1924, or Dixon: THE RACIAL HISTORY OF MAN, Scribner, 1923.

Two fruitful fields for the observation of racial contacts are Hawaii and the Pacific coast of the United States, and it is from these fields that much material was drawn for discussion of this topic in previous Institute conferences. There are several publications based on these discussions and other investigation by the Institute members, outstanding among them being Mears: RESIDENT ORIENTALS ON THE PACIFIC COAST, Institute of Pacific Relations, New York, 1927. Much of it is concerned with legal and economic questions, but the introduction and the chapters on the occupations and community contacts of Orientals in the Pacific states are of direct interest to this review. The conclusions throughout are well supported with evidence from interviews and other enquiries. Inui: THE UNSOLVED PROBLEM OF THE PACIFIC, Japan Times, Tokyo, 1925, is an earlier study of the international contacts taking place in California together with an examination of the Johnson Report. Book I on "Group Contacts at Frontiers" is the essential part to read. Two recent articles bearing on two separate phases of the race contacts in this area appeared in *Pacific Affairs* for February and April of this year. They are respectively Scharrenburg: "The Philippine Problem," and McClatchy: "The Second Generation Oriental in America." The problems arising out of the intermixture of races in Hawaii have been made the subject of several papers for past Institute conferences, namely Adams: THE PEOPLES OF HAWAII, Institute of Pacific Relations, Honolulu, 1925, and Adams and Kai: THE EDUCATION OF BOYS OF HAWAII AND THEIR ECONOMIC OUTLOOK, University of Hawaii, Honolulu, 1928, and Harada: THE SOCIAL STATUS OF JAPANESE IN HAWAII, Institute of Pacific Relations, Honolulu, 1927. Palmer: THE HUMAN SIDE OF HAWAII, Pilgrim Press, Boston, 1924, also deals with this same question in more descriptive form.

From the books that deal more exclusively with the peoples and

races of the Pacific countries and Pacific islands, one may select Roberts: Population Problems of the Pacific, Routledge, London, 1927, and Brown: Peoples and Problems of the Pacific (2 vols.), Benn, London, 1926, for the study of the Polynesian peoples. The government of the native race in New Guinea is discussed in a chapter on Australian policy in Papua in Studies in Australian Affairs, Macmillan, Melbourne, 1928, and in greater detail in Murray's interesting work Papua of Today, King, London, 1926. Further west in the Malay peninsula and islands is another important field of racial contact. How the Malay people are responding to modern educational and economic developments is well told in Wheeler: The Modern Malay, Allen & Unwin, London, 1928. Education, religion, commercial relations, health and racial progress, the effect of cinemas and sports are all discussed in this attractive volume. A parallel but more academic study of what is occurring among the native races under the administration of the Dutch Government in Malaysia is to be seen in Van Eerde: Ethnologie Coloniale, Le Monde Nouveau, Paris, 1927, while a descriptive and less analytic account of peoples and customs of Indo-China is made in Collard: Cambodge et Cambodgiens, Societe d'Editions Geographiques et Coloniales, Paris, 1925.

Pacific Affairs for February, 1929, also contains a short article on the revival of native arts and crafts in Indo-China, Handy: "Renaissance in Indo-China." The March number of this journal carries a good article of the "native" problem of the United States by Collier: "Amerindians," which includes some suggestions for additional reading on the subject of the American Indian. The problems of the Maoris in New Zealand are discussed in an article by Keesing: "The Maoris of New Zealand" in the issue for October, 1928. It is also advisable to read this author's book, The Changing Maori, Maori Ethnological Board, Wellington, 1928, and an article by one of New Zealand's Maori leaders Ngata: "Anthropology and Native Races" in the *Australasian Journal of Philosophy Vol. 6, No.* 1. The education and care of the native race in Australia is briefly commented on in a note by Taylor: "White and Black Races in Australia" in the July, 1928, issue of *Pacific Affairs*. On the problems of Samoa both American and mandated one may suggest Chappell: Samoa, Wilson & Horton, Auckland, 1928, and the recent enquiry made by Mead: Coming of Age in Samoa, Morrow, New York, 1928.

General

The books cited below in this section are simply of general interest for their interpretation of social and national characteristics. They should supplement a number of similar books mentioned in previous bibliographies, as for example: Tyau: China Awakened; Russell: The Problem of China; Monroe: China, a Nation in Evolution; Hodgkin: China in the Family of Nations; Wilhelm: The Soul of China; Allen: Modern Japan and Its Problems; Siegfried: America Comes of Age; Beard: The Rise of American Civilisation.

Beginning with Japan one may mention a recent book by Brown: Japan in the World Today, Revell, New York, 1928. A great part of this is concerned with political and economic developments but there

are sections on education and social organisation. A more descriptive account that makes some attempt at an interpretation of Japanese life is Hershey: Modern Japan, Bobbs-Merrill, Indianapolis, 1919. Besides these there is the effort made by Hearn: Japan—an Interpretation, Macmillan, New York, 1924, to present a faithful picture of Japanese character and institutions. It is an attractive work too well-known to require further comment. A new translation of an older book which comes from the pen of a Japanese, is Hibino: Nippon Shindo Ron (The National Ideals of the Japanese People), Cambridge University Press, London, 1928. The title indicates its nature and for a somewhat damaging commentary upon its contents and quality (by a Japanese scholar) the reader is referred to a review of it in the March, 1929, issue of *Pacific Affairs*. It should be noted that Dr. Nitobé, the author of Bushido, has written a much older book: The Japanese Nation, Putnam, New York, 1912, and has more recently produced a first-rate study of cultural influences in his Japanese Traits and Foreign Influences, Paul, Trench, Trubner, London, 1927. Four informative lectures go to make up a book by Anesaki: Religious and Social Problems of the Orient, Macmillan, New York, 1923. Saunders: Gospel for Asia, Macmillan, New York, 1928, is an excellent critical comparison of Indian, Chinese and Japanese Buddhism with Christian teachings.

For Western civilisation one may add the fine collection of essays that make up Whither Mankind (Ed. Beard), Longmans, New York, 1928. Particularly noteworthy are the chapters on "Race and Civilisation" and "Civilisations of East and West," the latter being the work of Dr. Hu Shih, who wrote "Two Wings of One Bird" for *Pacific Affairs* of May, 1928. A more pessimistic view of Western civilisation is set forth in such books as Bertrand and Dora Russell: Prospects of Industrial Civilisation, Century Co., London, 1923, or the formidable volume by Spengler: The Decline of the West, Alfred Knopf, New York, 1929.

A few additional books on China need to be mentioned. Foster: Chinese Realities, Edinburg House Press, London, 1928, is a small book interesting for its account of social and religious factors. The general attack on things Chinese made by Gilbert in What's Wrong With China, Murray, London, 1926, is of doubtful value for the serious reader. If it is read at all, it may well be taken in conjunction with the reply to it by Rasmussen: What's Right With China, but a much more balanced view is given in Goodnow: China—An Analysis, Johns Hopkins Press, Baltimore, 1926. A new translation of a French book is Legendre: Modern Chinese Civilisation, Cape, London, 1929. It cannot be called a scientific work and at least one chapter on the Chinese character contains a quantity of astonishing generalisations, but otherwise it has some interesting descriptive material. The general tone is unfavourable to the Chinese people. Andersson: The Dragon and the Foreign Devils, Little Brown & Co., Boston, 1928, a translation from the Swedish, is one of the best available foreign interpretations of Chinese life, by a scientist long in service in China. An article by Rose on "The Mind of China" appears

in the JOURNAL of the Royal Institute of International Affairs for March, 1925.

Two interesting books on Chinese village life are Tao and Leong: VILLAGE AND TOWN LIFE IN CHINA, Allen & Unwin, London, 1915, and Kulp: CONTEMPORARY LIFE IN SOUTH CHINA; THE SOCIOLOGY OF FAMILISM, Columbia University Teachers' College, New York, 1925.

TARIFFS

(Addenda to the Economic Bibliography, June Issue)

It has been thought desirable to put together here some information on tariffs supplementary to the references that have been made already in previous bibliographies. Tariffs in the Pacific will provide an important topic for discussion at Kyoto and it is probable that most of the countries represented there will present papers on their national tariff systems. On some of these countries a certain amount of material is already available and some of it has already been noted. On the general and theoretical question of tariffs, a standard work is Gregory: TARIFFS—A STUDY IN METHOD, Lippincott, Philadelphia, 1921, which draws material from a wide range of countries and deals thoroughly with the technical and economic aspects of tariff policies and tariff machinery. For present day international tariff problems the papers prepared for the various international economic conferences of the League of Nations provide a fund of invaluable material. Some of the more important of these papers which are all obtainable quite easily, are given below.

Brunet: STABILITY OF CUSTOMS TARIFFS. C.E.C.P. 71, 1927.

Page: MEMORANDUM ON EUROPEAN BARGAINING TARIFFS. C.E.C.P. 97, 1927.

Page: MEMORANDUM ON DISCRIMINATORY TARIFF CLASSIFICATIONS. C.E.C.P. 96, 1927.

Viner: MEMORANDUM ON DUMPING. C.E.C.P. 36, 1926.

Trendelenburg: MEMORANDUM ON LEGISLATION FOR THE PREVENTION OF DUMPING. C.E.I. 7, 1926.

Trendelenburg: CUSTOMS NOMENCLATURE AND CUSTOMS CLASSIFICATION. C.E.I. 32, 1927.

Serruys: COMMERCIAL TREATIES, TARIFF SYSTEMS AND CONTRACTUAL METHODS. C.E.I. 31, 1927.

EXPORT DUTIES. C.E.I. 23, 1927.

ABOLITION OF IMPORT AND EXPORT RESTRICTIONS AND PROHIBITIONS. C.E.I. 22, 1927.

TARIFF LEVEL INDICES. C.E.I. 37, 1927.

WORLD ECONOMIC CONFERENCE. FINAL REPORT. C.E.I. 44, 1927.

APPLICATION OF THE RECOMMENDATIONS. C.C.E. 7, 1928.

All these documents are published by the League of Nations and can be obtained from there or from the various branch agencies in different countries. An excellent review of the work of the economic

conference is made in a pamphlet by Young and Fay: THE INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC CONFERENCE, World Peace Foundation, Vol. X No. 4, 1927.

Some mention of the Australian tariff is made in a chapter in STUDIES IN AUSTRALIAN AFFAIRS, but this should be supplemented by reading a series of articles that ran through several numbers of the *Economic Record* as a controversy between two Australian economists, Professors Benham and Brigden on the subject of "The Australian Tariff and the Standard of Living." This can be seen in the numbers of November, 1925; May, 1926; May, 1927; and November, 1927. Mills' article on "The Tariff Board of Australia" should also be read in the issue for May, 1927. There are no important studies of this problem as far as it affects New Zealand but a study is in preparation for the Conference. The same is true of Japan, for which country the section in the present number of the JAPAN YEAR BOOK on foreign trade and commerce gives a useful summary of the tariff schedules now in force. The new Chinese tariffs have already been mentioned in the bibliography on "Political China Today" in the May, 1929, issue of this journal. Probably the best account of present day developments in the tariff policies of the United States is that given in the series of articles that make up the January, 1929, number of the *Annals*. But there is no dearth of information on this topic which is creating so much international interest at the present time. Nearly all the recent issues of periodicals and papers in the United States have dealt with the matter. There are several publications of the Institute of Economics that bear on this problem. TARIFF MAKING IN THE UNITED STATES, McGraw-Hill, New York, 1924; SUGAR IN RELATION TO THE TARIFF, McGraw-Hill, New York, 1924: THE TARIFF ON WOOL, Macmillan, New York, 1926; THE CATTLE INDUSTRY AND THE TARIFF, Macmillan, New York, 1926, are the main ones. Taussig: FREE TRADE, THE TARIFF AND RECIPROCITY, Macmillan, New York, 1920, is a standard work on the whole topic. It only remains to add the invaluable publication of the United States Tariff Commission on COLONIAL TARIFF POLICIES, Government Printing Office, Washington, 1922.

Pacific Items

The Chinese Extraterritoriality Issue

On April 23 the Chinese Government issued identic notes setting forth the claims of China with regard to the renunciation of extraterritorial privileges on the part of foreign powers. These notes were handed to the British, American and French ministers in China and were transmitted by them to their respective governments. The text of this identic note is given elsewhere in this issue of *Pacific Affairs,* under the summary of British Interests in the Pacific. On the same date similar notes were sent by the Chinese Foreign Minister to the governments of Holland, Norway and Brazil. This action on the part of the Nanking Government followed a series of informal discussions which China's ministers to foreign lands had been carrying on for some months in the respective capitals. In line with these conversations an earlier suggestion had been made by Japan (unofficially) to the effect that President Hoover of the United States call a general conference to discuss the question of extraterritorial rights in China. This proposal was never followed up on either side. No note on the subject was addressed to the Japanese Government, with whom the Chinese Foreign Office was at that time engaged in a series of parleys relating to the whole subject of treaty revision between China and Japan.

It is understood that foreign commercial organizations in China offered strong resistance to the idea of the relinquishment of extraterritoriality at this time, and that their joint statements in the matter were sent as vigorous protest to each national government concerned. On May 11 the State Department at Washington, reported to have been in communication on the subject with the Foreign Offices of the several China treaty powers, issued a statement to the effect that these several powers had indicated that they were not prepared to accede to the Chinese request for extraterritorial relinquishment. The British Government on May 13 issued a formal reply to the Chinese Government's notes, couched in sympathetic but guarded terms. The principle of China's desire for national autonomy in all matters relating to her judicial system was applauded but it was made clear that the British Government did not look upon the present time as ripe for the practical changes involved in any change from consular to Chinese jurisdiction over foreigners. On June 3 it was announced at Washington that a note, similar in content to the British note, was being prepared in the State Department. This note was expected to continue the policy with regard to extraterritoriality maintained by Secretary of State Kellogg under President Coolidge's administration—that being in the main a demand for sufficient guarantee of the National Government's ability to protect foreign lives and property through her domestic court system. On June 22 it was announced from Washington that the above-mentioned note was not yet drafted and that a considerable period was expected to elapse before its completion and transmission to the Chinese Government. It was said that President Hoover was giving an extraordinary amount of attention to the policy involved in this question. The discussion of extraterritoriality, its history, implications, and the practical steps necessary or suggested for its abolition has been the subject

of widespread newspaper comment during the two months which have elapsed since the transmission of the original Chinese note. Excerpts from various editorial opinions on this subject are appearing in another section of this issue of *Pacific Affairs*.

Japan Recognizes Nanking

Full recognition of the Nanking Government by Japan was made on June 3 last upon the formal presentation by K. Yoshizawa, Japan's Minister to China, of his credentials. These credentials were handed in person to General Chiang Kai-shek, President of the National Government. This constituted the final *de jure* recognition, *de facto* recognition having been implied in the recent series of diplomatic negotiations which took place between Minister Yoshizawa and Dr. C. T. Wang, relating to outstanding matters of disagreement between the two nations. The press of China and Japan, following this incident, took occasion to express hope for the progressive betterment of Sino-Japanese relations from this point onward. The complete evacuation of Shantung by the long established Japanese force of occupation there (May 20) contributed greatly toward the possibility of a growing friendliness. Another favorable happening was the reduction of the Japanese marine forces on duty in the Shanghai area, June 12. With this last recall of troops it was stated from Tokyo that the number to be maintained in the Shanghai area henceforth will be limited to 600. The continuing military successes of the Nanking Government in recent months have done much to increase the Japanese Government's feeling of confidence with regard to her nationals within Chinese territory.

British Elections

The press of the Pacific area has watched with interest the outcome of the British elections, which was announced on May 30. The victory of the Labour Party in Parliament, the retirement of Stanley Baldwin's Conservative government and the formation of a Labour Cabinet under the leadership of Ramsay MacDonald were regarded as extremely significant for Britain's foreign policy in the Far East and for pacific international relations in general. Arthur Henderson was named Foreign Secretary by Prime Minister MacDonald and Sidney Webb was named Secretary for the Colonies. On June 18 reports were confirmed by Premier MacDonald to the effect that he intends to visit the United States at an early period for the purpose of making personal contacts with American leaders, looking toward the settlement of outstanding disarmament questions as they affect Britain and America.

Sino-Russian Relations

The relationship between the Chinese and Soviet governments became strained during the month of June, following a raid upon the Soviet Consulate at Harbin conducted by Chinese officials who acted on the announced assumption that a Russian plot to aid Feng Yu-hsiang in his revolt against the Nanking Government was being instigated there. On that occasion (May 29) the Russian Consul and his staff were seized and held during the search for alleged documents implicating the Moscow government in anti-Nationalist activities. On June 1 the Department of Foreign Affairs at Moscow handed the Chinese charge

d'affaires there a strong protest warning China "to avoid further tests of Soviet patience by provocative acts and violations of agreements." China was warned that the embassy and various consulates within the Russian territory would be deprived of their normal diplomatic immunity as a result of the challenging action at Harbin. Associated Press dispatches thereupon announced that Chinese diplomatic representatives and consular officials had been recalled from Russia. There were further reports of wholesale Chinese departures from Russian territory following this move. Great anxiety was felt throughout the Far East over the probable rupture of diplomatic relations between the two countries. These several happenings, together with a later suspension of a Soviet Russian publication in Harbin, under orders of the Chinese government, are regarded as indicative of Nanking's official attitude toward Russia and the probable trend of her policy in that direction.

Mexican Religious Peace

The long-standing state of warfare between the Catholic Church in Mexico and the new civil authorities was settled on June 21 by means of an accord acceptable to both sides in the controversy, a United Press dispatch from Mexico City, dated June 21, announced. A joint statement signed by President Emilio Portez Gil and Archbishop Ruiz y Flores, provided for a promise on the part of the government for Catholic Church freedom within the law of the land. Religious instruction will be permitted within the churches. For the first time since July, 1926, when the breach between the government and the state came to a climax, the Catholic clergy of Mexico has resumed services on a basis of freedom and toleration by the government. It is expected that this compromise will lead to a reanimated spirit of goodwill and patriotism within Mexico and that it will do much to minimize the possibilities of further political revolts.

Philippines Governor

On June 4 the newly appointed governor-general for the Philippines, Dwight F. Davis, was sworn into office in Washington before members of the Philippines delegation. He sailed for his new post on June 15. Mr. Davis succeeds Henry L. Stimson, highly popular amongst the Filipinos up to the time of his recall to Washington as the new incumbent of the office of Secretary of State.

Australian Prosperity

Dispatches from Sydney, New South Wales, tell of the continuing wave of prosperity in the pastoral and farming industries of that section. Authoritative forecasts give basis for a belief that the next wool clip and lambing will be above the average. The sheep holdings in New South Wales for the past year have increased by 4,000,000 heads, and conservative estimates now place the number in that area at 53,000,000.

New Zealand Immigration

Some criticism of the machinery lately put in motion for bringing in boys, who have just finished their schooling, to farm positions in New Zealand, has been growing up in the latter country, according to a recent dispatch from Auckland. It is stated that New Zealand boys leaving school are finding it increasingly difficult to find jobs, a difficulty greater

than has existed anywhere within the last 30 or 40 years. The Department of Labour for the Dominion is working out a plan for placing New Zealand boys on farms, not only with the idea of giving immediate employment, but of helping to let them become farmers on their own account. The criticism of the British boy-immigration has arisen from the fact that hitherto there has been no similar machinery for assisting native-born New Zealand boys to similar occupations when their schooling had ended. It is also being proposed to establish farm schools, and furthermore to experiment with the group system of settlement, putting a number of boys on one block of land under an experienced supervisor. In these several ways it is hoped that both the land problem and the urban unemployment problem will be assisted toward settlement.

China Political Situation

Following the consummation of the long planned-for funeral ceremony for Dr. Sun Yat-sen in Nanking on June 1, the smoldering military and political animosity which had been put to one side during the period of mourning for the late Kuomintang leader, again burst into flame. During this time the chief uncertainty, speaking in a military sense, with which the Nanking Government had to cope, was the disaffection of General Feng Yu-hsiang, one of the several military leaders who had helped to unify the National Government over a year ago. General Feng, entrenched in Honan, the province directly under his command, had defied the National Government in a circular telegram charging extravagance and various venalities. Apparently loath to bring matters to a crisis the State Council at Nanking had long delayed any official move against General Feng. But early in June a formal declaration of war against and an order for the arrest of General Feng were made public. The following weeks continued to be uncertain in their developments, with several attempts at compromise on both sides. During this time, however, overt military activities were not lacking. Railway communications were broken and strategic military movements of men and supplies were made on the part of Nationalist forces and the rebellious general. There were rumors of defections from both forces. At one time the Honan marshal was reported to have abandoned his militaristic plans in favor of a trip abroad. Shortly after this the interruption of Peking-Hankow railway traffic belied his pacific intentions. On June 17 a United Press dispatch from Shanghai reported civil war as inevitable and the movement of government troops toward Feng Yu-hsiang's stronghold accentuated this view of the situation. Intervention on the part of Governor Yen Hsi-san of Shansi Province was said to have again stayed General Feng's activities and to have inclined him toward a compromise. The Kuomintang News Service held out the hope that the rebel general might agree to abandon his plans and turn his army over to the Central Disbandment Committee. This hope continued to seem very ephemeral until June 22, when it was reported that General Feng had definitely stated his intention to step out of the political and military arena in China on condition that the government undertake the expense of maintaining his army which was to be put under the control of General Yen Hsi-san. On June 26 it was officially stated in Nanking that Feng Yu-hsiang had resigned his command and Yen Hsi-san had been appointed by the Central Executive Committee to succeed him as administrator of the Northwest.

Reflections

Editorial Opinion on the Pacific

These reprints are chosen as reflecting diverse points of view in and around the Pacific upon problems uppermost in the news of the area. They are not selected, in any instance, as indicative of the editorial attitude of Pacific Affairs.

EXTRATERRITORIALITY IN CHINA

Since the subject of extraterritorial abolition has been uppermost in the world's news concerning China during the past two months it may be interesting to see what has been the varied attitude of the foreign press, both in and out of China, toward this latest proposal of the National Government at Nanking. The editorial comment here quoted from is fairly representative rather than comprehensive, and is confined in point of time to the period before official government replies to Foreign-Minister Wang's identic note had been made public.—*Editor Pacific Affairs.*

SOLUTION NEEDED

From the *Week in China* (American), Peking, May 11, 1929

If an essentially fair and workable solution could be found for the many and complicated problems which center around the existence of foreign extraterritorial jurisdiction in China, one of the chief causes of misunderstanding and friction in the relations between Chinese and foreigners would be removed. Such a solution, too, would be welcomed with a deep sigh of relief by all those, whether Chinese or foreign, who are concerned diplomatically, commercially, culturally or otherwise in those relations. . . .

That some solution is needed, and needed soon, few will deny. As Foreign Minister Wang remarks in his note of April 27 to the American, British and French ministers: "Extraterritoriality in China is a legacy of the old regime." Conditions have changed very materially since the main outlines of the system were laid down three-quarters of a century ago—and a change in the system to meet these changes in conditions is quite in order. . . .

With both sides in this (friendly) frame of mind—and Dr. Wang's latest note is on the whole a reasonably restrained statement of the Chinese side of the case—there should be no insurmountable difficulty in working out a solution of this extraterritoriality problem, even though the negotiations almost inevitably will take some time just because of the complicated nature of the problem and the variety of interests involved.

A COMPLEXITY OF QUESTIONS

From the *North-China Herald* (British), Shanghai, May 11, 1929

It is beside the point to argue that extraterritoriality, when acquired by foreigners, was not considered by the Chinese as any disgrace to themselves; that, on the contrary, if there was question of a stigma, it would have been held rather to fall on the foreigner as implying that he was not worthy to be judged by Chinese law. That is not the Chinese view now. . . .

It (The Extraterritorial Commission) found that judges were still too much under the thumb of local military commanders. In a different form this is still the crux. Dr. Wang will no doubt reply that this was in the bad old days of the militarists. But are the politicians more scrupulous? Have they been able to divest themselves of the idea that Governments have a right to use law courts for their own purposes? The example of the Provisional Court does not inspire confidence that they have. . . . The further argument that consular jurisdiction has become "so detrimental to the smooth working of the judicial and administrative machinery of China that her progress as a member of the family of nations has been unnecessarily retarded," calls for facts in its support. If it could be shown that any Chinese city were better administered than, say, Shanghai, with better policing, better financial management, greater protection for the indi-

vidual, swifter detection and arrest of criminals, Dr. Wang's argument would have a solid basis. But this cannot be shown.

It is noticeable that Dr. Wang does not ask the Powers to fix a date for the abolition of extraterritoriality but merely to agree to discuss it. The plain fact is, of course, that extraterritorial rights cannot be wiped out by a stroke of the pen. . . . In short, Dr. Wang's note to Great Britain, France and America opens up an infinite vista of questions, no one of which could fairly be considered apart from the rest. It is to be hoped that this will duly be emphasized by the Powers in their reply.

"GOD HELP THE FOREIGNER"

"Observer," in the *North-China Daily News,* March 15, 1929

Sir,—Don't you think it is time that "the Powers" called Dr. A. C. T. Wong's bluff about "extrality?" One can hardly imagine that Japan, France and Great Britain can be deceived by this kind of specious propaganda, but it would appear that Dr. Wong and his fellow propagandists are hoping to get America to help them to get "extrality" abolished soon.

It will be God help any foreigner who has to submit solely to Chinese justice and fairness, twenty years from now, never mind one, and it is time China was told frankly, that there is going to be no change until the Chinese attitude of hatred towards all foreigners changes, at least to that of respect. Your correspondent is of the opinion that it is the firm attitude of Japan which is saving other foreigners from further humiliation and loss. The Chinese think they can fool the white man, and they do so to a remarkable degree, but they know they cannot fool the Japanese, hence the extreme hatred towards that country shown in the so-called "boycott." One marvels at the patience of the Japanese and wonders how long it will be before Japan teaches China the lesson she needs. It will be a sad day for China when Japanese patience comes to an end, and the pity will be that so many innocent people will suffer, while those who have caused the trouble will most likely get off scott free.

SHANGHAI AND EXTRATERRITORIALITY

From the *China Weekly Review* (American), Shanghai, May 18, 1929

According to an article which appeared in the *Sin Wan Pao,* one of the leading Chinese newspapers in Shanghai, on Sunday, May 12, the leading foreign chambers of commerce in this city held a meeting last week at which resolutions were adopted in opposition to the Chinese Government's intention to negotiate new treaties with the various Powers providing for a relinquishment of extraterritoriality. It is understood that the resolutions adopted are to be considered by the various foreign chambers separately, following which cables will be dispatched to the various foreign governments expressing the general opinion that "present conditions in China do not warrant an early relinquishment of extraterritoriality," or in other words it is considered premature for a withdrawal of the Consular Courts.

"FACTS VS. THEORIES"

From the *China Weekly Review,* Shanghai, May 25, 1929

There can be no mistaking China's intentions to abolish extraterritoriality, and while China's methods in the accomplishment of her intentions may depend upon circumstances and vary in accordance with the ideas of different individuals who may be in power in Nanking, the ultimate result will be the same. Any resistence to these demands on the part of foreign interests will be met by resistence and retaliation on the Chinese side, the Chinese retaliation being in direct proportion to the foreign resistence. Therefore, . . . the foreigners would be on much safer ground if, instead of blindly resisting something which their better judgment should tell them is inevitable, they would devote their attention to the devising of some plan that would minimize the ill effects that are likely to follow a revision of the treaties on this question.

A PRACTICAL SPIRIT

From the *Trans-Pacific* (American), Tokyo, May 16, 1929

. . . The next question inevitably is extraterritoriality. There are two favorable factors: (1) the foreign Powers recognize that arrangements dating from about eighty years ago are out of harmony with the feelings of today and are anxious to eliminate causes of friction in their relations with modern China; (2) the statesmen of the Nanking Government have shown themselves to be moderate and practical and are probably more capable of making a satisfactory agreement than any alternative group. But they have nothing to gain by ignoring the obstacles which only China herself can surmount by patiently modernizing her laws and—a far harder task—bringing justice and efficiency into their administration. . . .

Japan got rid of her "unequal treaties" by proving that foreign life and property could dispense with exceptional safeguards. China is not yet within sight of such a state of affairs. In fairness to the Nationalist Government, however, it must be added that at the Washington Conference Dr. C. T. Wang did not ask for the immediate abolition of extraterritoriality but invited the Powers to take "initial steps towards improving and eventually abolishing the existing system." . . . Schemes have been designed to meet Dr. Wang's suggestion of gradual abolition. Their central feature was the employment of foreign judges to sit with Chinese judges administering Chinese law in cases involving foreigners. Since those suggestions were made Nationalist feeling has become more intransigent; Nanking has to reckon with its left wing, and however ill-advised that left wing's activities may be, it is a factor in the case. A precedent to which even the left wing could hardly object may be found in the settlement Turkey made when she abolished the capitulations which were analogous to extraterritorial jurisdiction in China. Briefly, Turkey agreed to appoint foreign legal counsellors, chosen from a list furnished by the League of Nations, to assist in the administration of justice.

The whole point is that until foreigners have gained confidence and the Chinese experience in the administration of the new codes, some such intermediate expedient must be adopted. If the Chinese are willing to approach the question practically there is no doubt whatever that the foreign Powers will meet them in the same spirit.

FOREIGN RIGHTS IN CHINA

From the *London Times*, May 14, 1929

The news which has been reaching us since the Nanking Government presented their Identic Notes is an instructive commentary upon the claim which they made, and upon some of the most material grounds on which they advanced it. The Notes claim from the Powers the early renunciation of their extraterritorial treaty rights, and the submission of their nationals to Chinese jurisdiction. This claim is made both on grounds of principle and on grounds of fact. It may be said at once that on those of principle there is no controversy between this country and China. . . .

There remain the questions of fact. Two main questions of this order arise on the Notes—first, the present power of the Nanking Government to afford British subjects adequate security; and, secondly, the sufficiency of the legal and administrative reforms which they say would provide it. The Notes themselves recognize that the possession of this power by a Chinese Government and the establishment of these reforms are preliminaries indispensable to the renunciation of extraterritorial rights. They allege that the Nanking Government in fact possesses the power and that the needful reforms are in fact in operation. . . . While hostile armies are in actual conflict with the Central Government, and while it cannot collect the taxes over wide regions, assertions that it is firmly established and strong, and that China is unified under its sway, are, to say the last, premature. Nanking may be successful in the renewed struggle, as it was in that just over, but unless and until it crushes armed rebellion, a condition precedent of the Mackay Treaty is not fulfilled.

A COURTEOUS REQUEST

From the *Nation and Athenaeum*, London, May 18, 1929

The Chinese Government's identic Note on extraterritoriality has now been published, and proves, as anticipated, to be simply a general invitation, couched in moderate and courteous terms, to open up discussion of the question. A great responsibility will rest on any Government that refuses the invitation, even though it may not be possible at once to accede to the full Chinese demands. It is significant that the Note has not been sent to Tokyo; the Nanking authorities evidently consider that the issues between them and Japan must be settled separately, and the discussion of a treaty for a general settlement of outstanding questions is actually taking place. Owing to the Manchurian complication, a Chino-Japanese settlement will necessarily be more complex and comprehensive than a settlement with any European Power; but the other Governments concerned cannot encourage any tendency to separate Japan from the ordinary treaty Powers, and the Anglo-Japanese understanding as to exchange of views on Chinese problems may serve a useful purpose in making Japan a party to the diplomatic discussion of questions of common interest.

BRITISH RIGHTS IN CHINA

From the *Morning Post*, London, May 3, 1929

We have never been able to sympathise with the tendency to give away British rights in any part of the world, and notably in China. These extra-territorial immunities are not wanton trespass upon the independence of another nation, but the fruits of experience and trial. They have been created through generations of commercial intercourse, as the conditions necessary to the safety of Europeans trading in China. Similar rights were abandoned in Japan when that great nation proved its ability to deal justly by the foreigner; and they should not be abandoned in China before similar conditions are firmly established. We are fortified in that opinion by an admirable work on the subject, Mr. G. W. Keeton's "Development of Extra-Territoriality in China." Mr. Keeton traces the history of such rights in China and elsewhere; they spring from the contact of two systems of law so utterly different, that justice in one is often injustice in another, as, for example, the Chinese demand that one of our gunners should be delivered up for execution because of a fatal accident in firing a salute.

But they spring also from a cause even more difficult to remove—the corruption, and nowadays the chaos, of Chinese administration. Mr. Keeton maintains as the result of his deep and careful historical study that extra-territoriality is an inevitable condition which "must remain until a single Government, whose authority is recognised in every Chinese province, is established." And we should venture to add, until such Government proves itself impartial, and honest in its justice and administration. At present China is still far from that ideal. While the fundamental condition of peace has not yet been established, and while so many complaints are made of the present system of government, it seems to us a time rather to strengthen than to relax the safeguards of the British subject and British trade in China.

CHINA'S NEW APPEAL

From the *Christian Science Monitor*, May 7, 1929

The present formal appeal to the United States reopens the subject (of Extraterritoriality) in a way that will compel serious attention. The Chinese have long claimed that much of the disorder and internal strife in their country was due to the fact of this freedom of alien residents from the authority of the Chinese courts and law-enforcing agencies. The claim probably exaggerates the evil, but it is of course true that no nation with a stable government, desiring to

be recognized as among the civilized powers of the world, will willingly submit to the exercise of extraterritorial rights within its borders. China is proud enough to protest, but not strong enough to enforce the protest. Unquestionably the Government of the United States, officially friendly as it is to the new state of China, and representing a public opinion which has always been friendly to that state, will take such steps as may properly be undertaken for the discovery of the righteous course in this perplexing matter. The mere fact that a most comprehensive investigation was made in 1926 and 1927 does not prove that the findings of the commission then operating are accurate today. China has advanced much in the time that has since elapsed, and it may be that its representatives would welcome a single power inquiry to be made by the United States Government which should supplement and bring down to date the views of the International Commission of 1926.

EVIDENCE WANTED

From the *New Republic,* New York, May 22, 1929

Psychologically, the Nationalist government could hardly have chosen a worse moment to renew its plea to the United States for the abolition of extra-territoriality. As our readers are aware, a good case can be made logically for the renunciation of these special privileges. Russia, Germany, Austria and Hungary lost theirs during the War, and they have been voluntarily relinquished by Belgium, Italy, Denmark, Portugal and Spain in new treaties which will take effect in a few months' time. The citizens of the four first-named countries have not found that being subject to Chinese law has imposed any intolerable burden upon them. But in view of the conditions . . . it is not surprising that the American government should stand by its position, expressed in 1926, that extra-territoriality will be surrendered only when China has given evidence that she is prepared to give adequate safeguard to foreign rights and property, and that this has not yet been done.

ENGLAND AND JAPAN

From the *Tokyo Asahi,* Translated in the *Japan Times,* June 4, 1929

In the Municipal Assembly of Osaka, the largest city in Japan, 13 proletariat members have been elected. That is a signal development, although it cannot be compared with the condition in England which has made Labor the first party of the country.

When the Labor cabinet was formed in England last, in Japan, the Kiyoura cabinet fell because of the Constitutional movement, and a coalition cabinet was formed. Then general manhood suffrage was given, and the labor movement has gradually changed its direction. It was about that time that the City of Yawata elected a proletariat member to the city assembly.

At the recent election more than five hundred proletariat members were elected in town and village assemblies. When tenant farmers and others who were elected are added to this number, the total will reach a large figure.

The formation of the Labor cabinet in England is not a matter for England alone, but of the whole world. A changed British attitude to China and Soviet Russia also will affect our country. Especially the fact that 38,000,000 voters of England have made Labor the first party, is a direct call of encouragement to those who have been oppressed under reactionary politics.

PROLETARIANS RISE IN OSAKA

From the *Osaka Mainichi,* June 6, 1929

One of the striking features of the municipal election in Osaka on June 1, as shown by the result known on June 2, is the rise of the Proletarians as a group into a prominent position in the party alignment. Out of 88 new Assembly members elected, the Minseito is the first party with 35, the Independents coming second with 33, while the Proletarians are third with 13, followed by 5 Seiyukai and 2 Shinto Club members. The Independents cannot be regarded as a group. Therefore the Proletarians should be considered as the second group in power.

Hitherto, the Minseito has held overwhelming sway in the municipal Assembly, with the Seiyukai as the second party. Now the position of the Seiyukai is replaced by the Proletarians, a new group in the scheme of things in the municipal politics. The result of the election may be regarded as a stalemate condition of municipal politics, none of the parties gaining an absolute majority. In this condi-

tion, the people of Osaka may find a cause for breathing a sigh of relief, as they will now be able to have the system of checks and balances at work to prevent any possible tyranny of a majority. Moreover, one may say that the infusion of the new blood into the municipal politics by the Proletarians will add a great deal toward improving the municipal administration.

Together with these Proletarians, the new men in other groups will help much in freshening the municipal politics, for there are 64 new men of all groups against 24 old members elected, to make up the total of 88 members. It is now up to these new men to prove their worth by showing what they can do in place of their elderly predecessors.

S. M. R. MANAGEMENT

From the *Chugai Shogyo,* June 4, 1929
As translated in the *Japan Times*

Since his appointment as President of the South Manchuria Railway Company, Mr. Jotaro Yamamoto has carried out various reforms. It has been his plan to separate various other enterprises from the railway company and make it simply a business organization to undertake the railway, mining, and harbor enterprises.

All these are very good, but if he asserts too much about the positive policy of the railway company, it might be misunderstood by other people and they might think that Japan is planning positive activities in Manchuria.

If our policy in Manchuria is purely economic, we believe that the railway company also should be operated as a purely economic organization. But too loud declarations about positive activities may only cause suspicion.

Also, in considering the future management of the railway company, the present political and other situations in China have to be considered.

THE PHILIPPINES NOT NEEDED?

Conrado Benitez in the *Philippines Magazine,* Manila, May, 1929

Contrary to former assumptions, it is becoming more and more apparent that the United States does not need the Philippines in order to secure the raw materials for her important industries.

With so many American states devoting more capital and land to sugar production, the demand for tariff protection against sugar importation from the Philippines will inevitably grow in intensity.

The same thing may be said of the other staple crops of the Philippines—they can be produced in the United States. Those that are now produced in quantities will naturally seek protection from outside competition.

And the Philippines, being peopled by a different race, will always be regarded as representing outside interest, not American.

Continental United States is so extensive in area, and it covers such varied climatic conditions that, unlike other nations, it does not have to depend on the products of insular dependencies for its raw materials. Hence, it can well afford to adopt a different policy—more altruistic, more in line with her own political ideal of self-determination, and the open door, and equal opportunity to all.

The assumption that the Philippines is needed by America in her trade expansion in the Orient can not bear close analysis. American trade with China is the main feature of that Oriental trade. It is evident that in order to trade with China it is unnecessary to stop at the Philippines.

The same may be said of the trade with Japan. There is no need of stopping in the Philippines to get to Japan.

Strategically, also, the United States does not need this country. In fact, the retention of the Philippines is more a source of weakness than strength. Besides, Philippine independence is compatible with a naval base on Philippine waters.

And lastly, there is the increasing American demand for Filipino exclusion. American labor—which is most powerful in American politics—can no longer tolerate the entrance of Filipino laborers.

Verily, economic influences are fast helping the attainment of Filipino independence—the only final solution to our problem.

THE INTERNATIONAL NARCOTIC PROBLEM

From the *China Critic,* Shanghai, May 23, 1929

The statement made by Dr. Alfred Sze, Chinese Minister to England, at the reception given in his honor by the National Anti-Opium Association, may be taken as an indication of the stand China is going to assume in the forthcoming International Opium Conference. . . . It is the only stand China takes—that the opium problem in this country can never be satisfactorily solved unless the Powers adopt effective and energetic measures to limit the manufacture of narcotic drugs. . . . "The drugs are in many provinces taking the place of opium and, as they are much easier to smuggle and to consume, they constitute a great impediment to our anti-opium campaign. These drugs come entirely from abroad."

FINDERS KEEPERS?

From the *San Francisco Chronicle,* April 27, 1929

Day by day the business of digging relics of past ages is getting tougher. The digging is still good, but all over the world nations are getting more particular about who owns the objects dug up.

Long ago Italy and Greece put embargoes on taking ancient objects of art out of their territory. Egypt now insists on a division of antique Pharaohs and their jewelry unearthed by rich Americans. The new Arabic kingdom of Irak takes the same line. When Leonard C. Woolley digs out of the subsoil of Ur the golden hoard of a pre-Abrahamic queen a government official takes his pick for Irak.

And now China tells Roy Chapman Andrews he can mine for dinosaur eggs if he likes but China will keep them. Even China, which long believed fossils to be dragons' bones and ground them up for medicine, is applying self-determination to her underground relics. Lord Elgin's day, in which he snitched the sculptured frieze of the Parthenon and shipped the marbles to England, is now definitely over.

CHINA'S AIR PLANS

From the *South China Monthly Review,* Canton, April, 1929

The tremendous impetus given aviation by the recent successful long-distance flight of the Cantonese aviators from Canton to Mukden via Hankow, Nanking and Peiping, coupled with the progress made in commercial flying in Europe and America, have really done much to remove any past prejudices against air travel and transport in China. . . .

Aviation in China is still in its infancy. However, it is gratifying to know that China has at least awakened to the possibility of starting a new gigantic aerial scheme in the development of commercial and air mails throughout the length and breadth of the whole country. The lack of communication facilities in China has played a major role in the misunderstandings among the various provinces that have arisen in the past, and today we still see turmoil and chaos prevailing in the country. Commercial aviation in China is, therefore, a necessity as it will enable those living hundreds of miles away to better understand each other; and when this enterprise is properly developed, other enterprises such as industry, agriculture and mining will eventually propser.

WAYS TO THE HEART

From the *New Republic,* New York, May 22, 1929

. . . It is desired to enter an era of better feeling with Latin America; we begin by cutting down Cuba's chief market for her chief product, and offending the largest South American republic—Argentina. It is desired to improve our relations with Great Britain and with Europe; we insist on collecting war debts while striving to prevent Great Britain and Europe from selling us anything with which to pay them—even the things they can make better and more cheaply than we. We want to live on good terms with Canada as our largest customer and the most fruitful outlet for our foreign investments; yet we attempt to prevent her from sending anything to us. . . .

Books of the Pacific

THE RISE OF AMERICAN CIVILIZATION (Two Volumes)
By Charles A. and Mary R. Beard
The Macmillan Company, New York, 1928. G$12.50 the set

The literary historians, who could survey the sweep of human progress in a single great work, belonged to a simpler age than our own. The Gibbons, Grotes and Greens worked on less complex material than that which confronts the modern historian. The latter, moreover, working in periods close to living memory, cannot abstract or generalise and yet remain convincing. The objects he views are too near for telescopic treatment. This means also that the common concerns of everyday life obtrude themselves more obviously into the doings of great soldiers and statesmen and must be given greater weight. For such reasons the economic historian, dealing with "the actions of men in the ordinary business of life," tends to take the place of the literary historian of the past. His power to do so rests in part upon the fact that the historical economists have generally escaped the narrowing tendencies of their science in recent years. For them political economy rather than economics remains the better title of their subject. Within that subject they are able to take account of the imponderables. In such a book as the Beards', the whole pageant of American life passes under review. Artistic appreciation and creative activity, letters, education, amusement enter into the story along with currency movements, political struggles and business expansion.

Marx has so far conquered, however, that the modern historian falls naturally into the habit of finding the unity of history in economic factors and of proceeding in the fashion of dialectic from thesis to antithesis and so to further synthesis. So the Beards trace American development in periods and movements based primarily upon economic forces. This theme is noticeable and convincing through their two volumes till it leads them to their final chapter dealing with the machine age.

In their sweep from the first beginnings of British colonisation to the complexity of modern imperialism many cherished myths give way to realistic analysis. The periods live again, not in idealised, superficial legends woven about heroes or causes, but in convincing summaries of conflicting forces supplemented by illuminating detail which lays bare the factors of emergent evolution. Their patient mastery of sources, the balanced judgments and judicial presentation of controversial issues displayed throughout, will command the admiration of everyone who has attempted to work in a corner of the historical field.

There is a certain subtlety of style that is quietly borne in upon the reader as he grasps the conception of the work as a whole. Manifest Destiny, capitalised throughout, comes to have a flavour of irony which is heightened by dry, penetrating analyses of recent American tendencies. The authors make no effort to avoid such phrases as "Agricultural Imperialism," "Imperial America" and "The Advance on the Caribbean." Manifest Destiny in their view is mainly an economic urge for "More Worlds to Conquer." Nor are they any more careful of American sensibilities in dealing with domestic issues.

This is most clearly shown perhaps in the illuminating sections which treat the Civil War Period as a second revolution comparable with the first which threw off the yoke of British merchants. King Cotton was dethroned by the insurgency of the farmers of the west and the manufacturers of the north and the war was continued into the peace period until the dominance of the manufacturing interest was assured. Slavery, states' rights, even the sacredness of the Union, are treated as incidental complications of the struggle.

Almost of necessity the authors sometimes are forced into summary description and compact analysis which leave the reader uneasy. This is particularly true, one feels, of the rather sketchy treatment of American economic, financial and political activity in the Far East since the days of Seward's rather magniloquent prophecies. It is not so much that the reader is conscious of inaccuracies; but rather that the general impression given is inadequate and the inferences rather sweeping.

On the other hand there are periods, particularly that of the early colonial experiments, where the description throws new light upon rather hazily understood movements and presents an obviously realistic picture of events that are only too often the subject of over-simplified legends.

The least happy part of the book is its title. The story is really that of American economic development. By a loose use of words it may perhaps be permissible to use civilisation in a colourless sense, as meaning merely the type of organisation in a country at a given time. The word civilisation has, however, a real if vague connotation, just as real as that of the kindred word, culture. A Canadian writer has recently urged that "Culture or Civilization, if the terms be rightly used, is a thing which a race acquires, or rather earns for itself, over centuries of outward rest and equilibrium (whether it is engaged in war or not) and of inward striving and discontent, during which centuries it is not at any time completely overflowed by alien thought. Civilisation means stability, self-development, orderly growth."

The Beards do not attempt to show the rise of an American civilisation of this type. It is perhaps too early to discern the signs. The many recent books, such as Siegfried's, whose titles contain phrases of adolescence, point to the same conclusion. Strivings for self-conscious culture, mostly imitative, are recorded fully, striking material progress is self-evident; but its embodiment in the realm of ideas has yet few examples, the development of American city architecture being perhaps the chief.

The spirit of scholarly self-criticism and scepticism is, however, one of the clearest evidences of the beginnings of real culture and while the materials contained in the Beards' work will not please the hundred-percenters, the spirit of their work will give encouragement to those who admire the fine character of many Americans while admitting disquietude at the trend of American life and policy. —J. B. C.

NEW ZEALAND AND THE MANDATE FOR WESTERN SAMOA
Extracts from the Report of the Commission on Investigation Released by the New Zealand Government, Wellington, Feb., 1929

The New Zealand Government have released for publication a report written by a Commission of three senior civil servants of the New Zealand Government, who were sent to Samoa to investigate the

Public Service of Western Samoa, including the Reparation Estates. The Reparation Estates refer to all those properties in Samoa, principally plantations and dwellings, which were assumed by the New Zealand Government as part of Reparation payments due from Germany. This Commission limited itself almost entirely to a criticism of the Services referred to, and made few essays into the realm of Public policy.

It is to be recalled that in 1927 a Royal Commission proceeded to Samoa to inquire into the complaints of certain Samoans, and residents other than Samoan, as to the administrative methods adopted in the course of government under the Mandate. The Royal Commission found that the important complaints were baseless and that existing conditions were due to the influence of ambitious or disgruntled persons and groups.

The Permanent Mandates Commission of the League of Nations reviewed all the evidence collected by the Royal Commission, and heard representatives of the New Zealand Government—but, under a ruling of the Council of the League, they refused audience to a representative of the majority of the Samoan people who presented himself. The Mandates Commission agreed, in general, with the findings of the Royal Commission, and, referring to one who has taken a most prominent part in opposition to the Samoan Government, recorded the following resolution:

> The Commission cannot too strongly condemn the action of Mr. Nelson and those associated with him who seem to have been inspired less by a desire for the public welfare than by personal ambition and interests. By unworthy means they have worked upon the minds of an impressionable people, who, prior to their propaganda, showed no disquieting signs of discontent.

However, these findings and resolutions apart, the unrest and defiance of the Samoan Government still continues, and the *Mau*, the Samoan organization opposing the Government, comprising the great majority of Samoans, seems as intractable and has as much solidarity as ever.

The New Zealand public smarts under a disagreeable publicity and a criticism that is new to their experience. There is a tone of incredibility appearing in New Zealand papers as it cannot be seen how New Zealand, with such honorable intentions, can have fallen so far short in Samoa as to give cause for all the prevailing unrest. So the report of the latest commission finding that the Samoan public service is inefficient and should be almost entirely replaced, will be accepted in New Zealand as placing some of the blame for conditions. A few heads have to fall—*pour encourager les autres*. Three Administrators in succession have left Samoa under displeasure and successions of other officials likewise. It may be that injustice is being done to these officials and that the searchlight should be thrown somewhere else.

New Zealand has many achievements in the development of democratic government. Its people are homogeneous, respect and support political leaders and government enterprises. Under such conditions it has been possible to advance far in the direction of a state socialism and the development of cooperative enterprises of various kinds in which the Government has been a leading partner. The comparative isolation of New Zealand has made it easier for these experiments in government to develop. The favorable comments passed by other countries on New Zealand Governmental institutions, the frequent

visits of Commissions to study these institutions have caused New Zealanders to be proud of their achievements. Also they have succeeded with the Maori race—kin to the Samoans.

It did not seem a difficult matter to apply to Samoa this principle of state fatherhood. Constant plans and reforms were introduced by the Samoan Government with the urge behind it of New Zealand desires, and an attempt made to obtain the cooperation of the Samoan by exhortation and encouragement. The principal reforms thus attempted were:

The introduction of Prohibition in 1920:

Undoubtedly estranging from the Government the non-Samoan population, and bringing in its wake many difficulties of law enforcement and considerable friction.

The elimination of introduced labor:

Partly in deference to opinion in New Zealand where introduced labor and low standards of pay are an anathema; also with a genuine desire to keep Samoa for the Samoans, imported labor has been reduced to a mere fraction of its number under the previous German rule, and every influence has been used to obtain the very unreliable Samoan labor. This has largely destroyed any possibility of commercial development for Samoa and certainly disposes of any suggestion that New Zealand was exploiting Samoa for its own ends. This policy again tended to estrange the non-Samoan population.

Educational policy:

Samoa was to be broken up into school districts and an extensive educational program was to be developed, successful students were to be given scholarships in New Zealand schools.

Health programme:

The whole of Western Samoa was mapped out for an intensive campaign for the elimination and prevention of disease. Hospitals and dispensaries were established in various places and a considerable staff of doctors and assistants maintained.

Other schemes were undertaken to encourage the Samoans to develop the considerable wealth at hand in their fertile lands and cocoanut groves.

The attenuated revenues of Samoa were insufficient to carry these schemes; but the New Zealand Government made generous appropriations to the Samoan Treasury, and in addition provided many services to Samoa at their own cost. All of these were gifts with the exception of one loan for a public works construction programme.

That all this wealth of good purpose and actual cost to the New Zealand taxpayer should have led to the present impasse is hardly explicable to him.

But in all this reforming zeal there can be detected the seeds of its own frustration. The Samoan still lives in that unhurrying age that seems a part of the distant epoch when he wandered out of Asia. His soul is still knit into a social system with roots deep in this ancient past. He appears eager to embrace the ways of modern civilization, but apparently he should be allowed to take his own good time. It is a lesson that the Anglo-Saxon finds it hard to learn—that other races do not appreciate being reformed and made over, whatever lip service to modernity they may give.

The Samoan Services have had to respond to this urge from New Zealand, and doubtless have added some of their own. Two years of frustration and of anxiety have followed: doubtless this has caused the Services to become somewhat demoralized, and changes would assist in a new orientation of policy; but a note of gratitude for long and loyal service under trying conditions would seem more fitting than the unremitting tone of censure running through the report.

These officials are to be replaced by civil servants seconded from the New Zealand Government Service for a period of two years and the Samoan Service thus brought very closely under the control of the New Zealand Government.

The financial assistance given by the New Zealand Government to the Samoan Treasury is to be withdrawn. As, for various reasons, the internal revenues of Samoa are in a languishing condition. This means the drastic curtailment of Services, such as Public Health Education so feverishly promoted in the past.

The report deals almost entirely with questions of internal administration, and is necessarily limited in its scope. It cannot therefore be considered as contributing much to the main problem in Samoa, which is political and social. —HUGH TENNENT

THE PACIFIC AREA
Edited by Charles E. Martin and K. C. Leebrick
University of Washington Press, Seattle, 1929

This volume is a collection of addresses, conference papers and round table reports of the Northwest Session of the Institute of International Relations held at Seattle during July of last year. Readers who are interested in the conference organisation and technique of the Institute of Pacific Relations will find it interesting to make a comparison of the conference procedure of this kindred body in the United States. The similarities and differences between the two are brought out in a five-page preface which gives the membership, financing and scheme of organisation and administration of the session.

The report is compiled in ten divisions of topics, namely China; Japan; the British Empire; international education; international law, policy and organisation; international commerce and finance; Latin America; disarmament and national defense; international social, ethical and racial relations; international research and information. Each division contains four or five addresses and abstracts of discussions. While it is difficult to choose from so many and varied topics, it may be permitted to single out one or two sections which are likely to be of considerable interest to readers of this journal. In the "Japan" division there are two excellent papers by Motosada Zumoto on "Japan and Manchuria" and "Japan and the United States." The former of these has also been printed separately in pamphlet form. In the third division on the British Empire are three papers on "The British Commonwealth of Nations" by J. T. Thorson, "The Three British Empires" by W. N. Sage, and "An American View of the British Commonwealth of Nations" by J. S. Reeves. These give a fair idea of the development and present inter-relations of the member states of the British Commonwealth. The sixth division on international commerce and finance opens with a survey of "American Trade Developments in the Orient." The title is hardly comprehensive enough, for the paper treats of Amer-

ica's trade with Australia and New Zealand as well. America buys about two billion dollars worth annually from the trans-Pacific countries and sells to them about 744 million dollars worth of goods, or about 16 per cent of her total exports. —W. L. H.

THE DRAGON AND THE FOREIGN DEVILS
By Johan Gunnar Andersson
Translated from the Swedish by Charles Wharton Stork
Little Brown & Company, 1928. G$4.00

This is not just "another book about China." It is not one of those myriads which, having gotten themselves hastily pounded out on the typewriter, have gone the weary rounds in search of a printer. This one has the distinction of having been "requested" in advance by a publisher from a man who had something to say as well as the ability to say it himself. It is no "ghost-writer" story.

Dr. Andersson is a Swedish geologist of note who has rendered valuable service in research over wide fields. From 1915 to 1925 he worked with Dr. V. K. Ting, head of the Chinese Geological Survey, in organizing that important scientific department and in carrying on geological research activities over China. This long experence brought him into intimate contact with the real China of the interior and led to his sympathetic understanding of Chinese life and culture. Thus, though he knows and does not hesitate to point out China's weaknesses, he is quite as free in his exposition of her fine qualities, of the fundamental value of her old civilization and its promise for the future.

His discussion of the history of relations between China and the West is clear and concise. While his sympathetic understanding of the Chinese is not allowed to colour his account of early happenings and their results, he nevertheless frankly estimates, from the Chinese viewpoint, what he calls the white peril.

There are many pithy and quotable passages which help to make clear to the reader the problem which is China. As, on page 10:

> This comparative isolation of China has given rise to the conception, which has till very recently obsessed the Chinese spirit; viz., that China was the one civilized nation, a universal kingdom exalted above all the barbarian realms. It is of greatest importance to keep this fact in mind, for only by the knowledge of this can one understand the confusion and far-reaching anxiety which fell upon the statesmen of China when in the latter part of the preceding century they made acquaintance in grim earnest with the terrible force which I have later called the white peril, the unconquerable machinery culture of the Europeans.

And again on page 252:

> It is remarkable that the peoples of the Far East, Japan by her quick and successful transformation, and China by her astonishing power of passive resistance, have best of all the "colored" races withstood the white onset. Despite the civil wars and incredible chaos which now prevails in China, no foreign power any longer thinks of dividing the land. In the midst of his impotence the Chinese giant can be seen winning back his independence step by step.

The author took deep interest in Chinese farming with which his travels brought him into close touch, and he brings to light some startling facts. He says on page 37:

> Often we venture to think he (the Chinese farmer) performs much unnecessary labor, but later find that we did not understand his reasons for it. *Live simply, give work to many hands, food to many mouths,* I would place

as the motto above the Chinaman's way of ordering his life, and this is, all things considered, no bad rule of life.

Of the Revolution he says (pp. 129-30):

> The Revolution was on one side a light step forward on the toilsome way of reconstruction, but it meant at the same time the destruction of much that had aesthetic value. Everything that symbolized the imperial power was swept away without reference to its artistic superiority.
>
> The decline of taste, the disappearance of the old sure feeling for style in favor of the trumpery stuff that now fills the shops and house facades, seems to me almost worse than civil war and lack of government.
>
> But in art, architecture and handicrafts there will no doubt come a renascence with the watchword: Return to the great national traditions.

In a chapter added in 1928 for the translated edition, he begins a summing up of the more recent phases of the Chinese Revolution by saying, "For more than five hundred years the Swedish people strove against foreign invasion under conditions which strikingly recall the present struggle of the Chinese to get rid of the foreigners," and proceeds to detail the comparison.

Speaking of religions he says:

> It is hardly an accident that the foreign religion which has penetrated most deeply into the folk-soul of the Chinese, remodeling the whole of Chinese art, is that which is never diluted with political motives, the transcendental teaching of the Indian lord, Gautama Buddha.

He goes on to recount and evaluate the various factors in China's modern spiritual progress—the undertaking to bring new life into the teaching of Confucius, the sifting of the constructive and the valuable from the outworn and inapplicable; neo-Buddhism, under the able leadership of Tai Hsû, with its new emphasis on service in place of contemplation and self-culture; the Tao Yuan movement in Taoistic circles—a combination of Confucianism, Buddhism, Taoism, Islam and Christianity. Among the definite forces in the shaping of modern trends in China he tells of the work of outstanding foreigners—Professor John Dewey, Bertrand Russell, Hans Driesch, the German psychologist, and Rabindranath Tagore, whose "pan-Asiatic message roused the enthusiasm of the students." He explains the student movement in its rise and progress, its relation to the various political and educational developments, with clearness and understanding, summing up on page 212:

> But when I see our modern Swedish students, a new generation in elegant clothes who seldom have occasion to think of their country's weal and woe, but who securely divide their time between jazz and examinations, my thoughts go back to the insignificant-looking little Chinese students. And it is then brought home to me that the latter are more spiritually rich, for they live in a time of storm and stress, when chaff is driven before the wind, when the shallow-rooted tree falls and only the strong birds dare to try their wings.

—B. G.

THE BUILDING OF CULTURES
By Roland B. Dixon
Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1928. G$4.00

Searching into the factors which enter into the building civilizations, Dixon finds it necessary first to clear the field of various vigorously championed theories of the origin and spread of culture which to him effectively obscure even the known facts of this elusive problem. Equipped with a boundless store of knowledge and years of experience in anthropological research, he proceeds to his task in a masterly fashion.

Ellsworth Huntington and the extreme environmentalists are

dealt with through a sound examination of the question of just how far the admittedly important influence of physical environment is determinant. Buttressing his statements with able logic and solid evidence, Dixon writes of the view that environment is the basic and all-powerful determinator of both culture and race: "It denies any part in the building of culture, either to inheritance or diffusion, and relegates to the scrap-heap most of the fundamental assumptions and generally accepted conclusions of physical anthropology. It achieves its results only by ignoring a large proportion of the facts of history."

With special reference to Wissler's "Relation of Man to Nature in Aboriginal America," Dixon investigates the manner in which inventions, discoveries and specialized developments spread from a focal center. The results are a drastic modification of Dr. Wissler's analysis of this phenomenon and a reversal of a number of Wissler's conclusions regarding American pre-history which were grounded in an implicit faith in the accuracy of a scheme of culture strata based wholly on geographical distribution.

In further pursuance of a conviction that anthropology should be kept within the bounds of the demonstrable, Dixon points out the chasms in Graebner's theory of culture strata which attempts to explain the cultures of all the world's peoples as a result of seven or eight successive and world-wide migrations, setting out from somewhere in southeastern Asia and the adjacent parts of Oceania. He also takes apart the hypothesis known as the heliolithic theory, founded by Elliot Smith and espoused by W. J. Perry, which on the other hand endeavors to prove that practically all cultures in the world, above the level of the mere food-gatherers, are derived from a single source—Egypt. The fragments resulting from Dixon's analysis are then reassembled into a commonsense belief in the independent invention of simple parallel elements of cultures found in widely separated parts of the world; and there follows a remarkable demonstration of the possibility of convergent evolution to a point of apparent if not complete similarity, of complex traits found in remotely distant areas where diffusion from the same center could not be traced.

On reading the final general summary, the student of the dynamics of contacts between cultures and races will find that even though somewhat withdrawn from the enticing realm of speculation, the anthropologist's picture of the growth of civilizations is yet fascinating and compelling. In discussing the phenomenon of the spread of modern civilizaton, he points out that for the first time in history, the whole world has been brought within the range of one radial focus. In the past, civilizations have grown up on the great highways and crossroads of communication, and specializations have most often developed in areas of abundant conflicting currents. What will become of an all-encompassing civilization which deprives itself of the very means of development, the stimulus of contact with the exotic? What is the price of progress? There are many questions, but Dixon believes that the circuit which has been completed will serve as a firm base for a higher structure. It is that of the spiral, not the circle, for we live in a three-dimensional world. "Culture is now again, so to speak, above its starting-point, but on a higher plane; it has entered upon its second round."

—L. P. K.

WORLDS WITHIN WORLDS
By Stella Benson
Macmillan & Company, Limited, London, 1928. 8s 6d

The sort of thing that Miss Benson's novels and other writings have not very well prepared one for. A collection of—not stories, not essays, but rather impressions and observations, each complete, yet all strung on a thread of obviously authentic experience, with the essential continuity of reality if not of time. The fact that they represent bits of life as lived in interior provincial China, in north Manchuria's winter fastnesses, in Korean and exiled-Russian and Japanese communities—bits of life undecorated and real, amusingly and sometimes appallingly real—makes them of special interest to Pacific readers.

Furthermore, they are clever; admirably clever without being too hard or uncomfortably scintillant. And they are not merely clever, for underneath the amusement and the irony there is feeling, penetration, occasional poignancy. "The Sugar-Box" is a small masterpiece of the difficult art of seeing familiar things (including oneself) through alien eyes, and is at the same time a slightly satirical and, one imagines, rather disconcerting exposé of how a foreigner's benignant and complacent efforts may appear to the intended recipient. For sheer artistry it is perhaps the best in the book, although others give one admirable insight into conditions of life, delightful sketches of racial character and glimpses of countryside. Some of the author's observations on cultural contacts and racial awareness are of interest; as when she is moved by certain conglomerate surroundings to speculate: "This exchange of eastern and western ideals of Culture suggested to me that just as we of the more Cultured British Bourgeoisie are learning to surround ourselves with lacquer biscuit-boxes, fancy goldfish, scroll pictures, braziers, rice-bowls and china pillows, so, perhaps, are the refined Japanese mezzo-brows beginning to live reverently among woolmats, aspidistras, cocktail shakers artistically mounted on gilt brackets, jazz cushions and pigs with plush pincushion saddles. And, in the same way, our cheaper platitudes are becoming their philosophy and their penny oracles are bound in vellum for us." —E. G.

LABOR AND INTERNATIONALISM
By Lewis L. Lorwin
The Macmillan Company, New York, 1929. G$3.00

This is a Brookings Institute publication, the work of a student of labor, history and theory who is also a member of the Advisory Council of that Institute. There is a preface by the Director of the Institute of Economics, Harold G. Moulton. This study, according to the latter, is "primarily concerned with the analysis of the capacity and validity of what is called 'workers' internationalism.' The historical sections of the book bring out clearly the difficulties which labor has faced in its efforts to build up an internationalism of mind and interests, and the limitations which political and economic facts impose upon all international ideals."

Mr. Lorwin has produced a first consistent account of the origins, development and intricate inter-relations and antagonisms of the first, second and third Internationals, the International Federation of Trade Unions ("Amsterdam"), the Red International of Labor Unions, Christian Trade Unionism, and the International Working Men's Association,

more recently organized as a world confederation of syndicalist trade unions.

On the basis of his wide investigations and study, Mr. Lorwin presents the historical continuity of the world's efforts toward international labor solidarity, and analyzes and evaluates those efforts in the light of the profound forces, economic and political, ever driving toward disunity.

NATIONAL GOVERNMENTS AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
By Frank Abbott Magruder
Allyn and Bacon, New York, 1929

A textbook in comparative government for undergraduate students, written in the hope, says the author, of bringing "the international news sections of periodicals into closer competition with the sports sections." In presenting facts as to how the United States and various other nations, ad seriatim, conduct their foreign relations, Professor Magruder expresses his inspiration as "the desire to spread knowledge of international problems to a wider circle and the belief that such knowledge will discourage another conflict which would hang another hundred billion dollar debt around the necks of our children." His chapters on government deal also with recent political events and changes in the countries discussed.

PETROLEUM AND COAL: The Keys to the Future
By W. T. Thom
Princeton University Press, Princeton, N. J., 1929. G$2.50

The author of this book, now Associate Professor of Geology at Princeton University, was formerly in charge of the work on coal and oil for the United States Geological Surevy. He believes that the economic needs of the world, as focussed upon the modern importance of coal and petroleum in furnishing power, will determine all future international relations as well as developments within nations. The search for and the struggle to command these two potent forces will, in his estimation, make and unmake alliances, empires, and the very form and mould of future civilizations. His book discusses the present and probable uses of coal, surveys the coal fields of the world and the degree of their exploitation, and then considers oil and oil sources in the same fashion. The last chapter is a consideration of the known reserves and a speculation upon future trends in industrial development in the light of the possible adequacy or inadequacy of the world's energy resources.

TWENTY YEARS OF EDUCATION FOR JOURNALISM
By Sara Lockwood Williams
E. W. Stephens Publishing Co., Columbia, Mo., 1929. G$2.50

A voluminous history of the School of Journalism at the University of Missouri and some of its outgrowths. This college department is the pioneer of its kind in the world of education, and was established in 1908 by Dean Walter Williams. Its alumni are scattered over the world, particularly, it is interesting to note, around the Pacific rim, where newspaper editors and publishers in many of the leading coastal cities of Orient and Occident acknowledge "the Dean" as their *alma pater,* if such phrase be permissible. The School has numbered many Japanese and Chinese among its graduates. In his "Journalist's Creed" Dean Williams is quoted as believing that journalism should be "profoundly patriotic while sincerely promoting international good will and cementing world-comradeship; a journalism of humanity, of and for today's world."

THE FREEDOM OF THE SEAS IN HISTORY, LAW, AND POLITICS
By Pitman B. Potter
Longmans, Green & Company, New York, 1924. G$2.50

A history of the development of the concept of *Mare Liberum* from ancient times to the present. Part II goes more specifically into the development of maritime law as it deals with jurisdiction over territorial waters, rules of war and neutrality, piracy and slave trade, etc. Part III is a discussion of the political aspects of "the freedom of the seas." The author is Associate Professor of Political Science, University of Wisconsin.

THE CHINESE LABOR YEARBOOK
Published by the Social Research Department
The China Foundation, Peiping, December, 1928

Over 1,400 pages, this yearbook, published in Chinese, deals with labor conditions, labor movements and labor and social policies. It comprises all the data relating to Chinese labor, both statistical and descriptive, up to December, 1927, which have been collected by the Social Research Department from various sources. The Foundation soon expects to issue in English this and additional up-to-date material, in a book entitled "Labor Conditions in China."

SOME CHINESE TALES
By Tseu Yih Zan
The Commercial Press, Limited, 1928. $ .70 Mex

One would be led to expect of these tales, translated by a Chinese thoroughly steeped in their atmosphere, a charm that is in reality wholly lacking. They are brief, starkly circumstantial reportings of adventures reputed to have befallen this or another noble-hearted beggar, loose monk, dying poet or erring maid. There is no poetry in the telling, no background, no atmosphere through which the reader may even attempt to put himself inside the Chinese consciousness. They are, thus shorn of all the proper accoutrements of folk tales (in which the unwritten literature of China is so rich), not so much tales as anecdotes, for the most part tiresome and unconvincing. There is a big need, in the field of cultural communication between races, for the thing that this book does not give.

PAMPHLETS

HUMAN WELFARE AND THE LEAGUE
By L. P. Mair
League of Nations Union, London, April, 1929 (No. 155)

Contents: The Traffic in Women and Children; The Traffic in Opium; The Health of the World; Slavery; The League and the Worker; Prisoners of War; The Relief of Refugees; The Rescue of Deported Women and Children.

RECENT PROGRESS AND REFORMS IN KWANGSI
By Hin Wong
Published by Office of Foreign Secretary Kwangsi Exposition
Liuchow, Kwangsi, April, 1929

A pamphlet published by the Kwangsi Exposition (to be opened in June, 1930), stating the immense progress made in Kwangsi in industries, education, communications, and in all departments of her government.

THE COOLIE-CONTRACT IN NON-DUTCH COLONIES
By Dr. H. Cohen De Boer
Offprint, translated from the Economic-Statistic Information Review of February 13th, 20th and 27th, 1929

"The impression has been created . . . intentionally by those who, from moral or political considerations, are against our system, and make it appear as if the Dutch East Indian labour legislation were indeed extraordinarily behind the times. . . . The tendency of this essay is to remove this misconception wherever entertained."

WORLD DISARMAMENT
By The Honorable Henry Bournes Higgins, M. A., LL.B.
Melbourne, November, 1928

The last public speech made by Mr. Justice Higgins, of the High Court of Australia, published by the World Disarmament Movement to honour the memory of its late President and in order that his message may reach a wider public.

AN AMERICAN PIONEER IN JAPAN
By Herbert H. Gowen
Reprint from the Washington Historical Quarterly, Seattle, 1929

An interesting account of the life of Edward Mason Shelton, and his impressions of the Japan of sixty years ago.

LABOUR MOBILITY IN AUSTRALIAN INDUSTRY
By F. R. E. Mauldon
Reprint from "The Economic Record," Vol. IV, No. 6, Melbourne, May, 1929

Contents: Labour Mobility and Labour Turnover; The Technique of Measurement; Labour Mobility in Australian Industries; Cyclical Fluctuation and Business Disturbance; Influences of Seasonal Fluctuation; Types of Industry and Occupation; Relation to Degree of Skill; Relation to Sex and Age; Relation to Length of Service; Conclusion.

THE PROBLEM OF AUSTRALIAN COAL
By F. R. E. Mauldon, B. A., M. Ec.
Reprint from "The Economic Record," Vol. IV, No. 7, Melbourne, 1928

Contents: The World-chain of Coal Crises; the Situation in Australia; Influences Modifying the Demand for Coal in Australia; Influences Modifying the Demand for Coal Overseas; The Relative Inelasticity of Demand for Coal; The Irregular Development of Coal Resources; The Nemesis of Over Capacity; The Overload of Costs; The Present Proposals for Stabilisation through Price.

ECONOMIC STATISTICS OF JAPAN
Published by the Bank of Japan (Japanese), 1928

This report is given in both the Japanese and English language.

AMERICAN-RUSSIAN CHAMBER OF COMMERCE BULLETINS
Published by the American-Russian Chamber of Commerce
New York, 1929

These monthly bulletins deal with the following general subjects: Foreign Trade; Banking and Finance; Industry; Transportation; and Crops and Foodstuffs. The lead article of the January issue deals with "The Foreign Trade of the U. S. S. R. in 1927-1928." The February, March and April issues all contain statistical articles of interest.

THE INTERNATIONAL CONVENTION FOR THE ABOLITION OF IMPORT AND EXPORT PROHIBITIONS AND RESTRICTIONS
Foreign Commerce Department, Chamber of Commerce of the United States, Washington, 1928

"The World Economic Conference, held in Geneva in May, 1927, directed attention to the necessity for removing import and export prohibitions and restrictions. . . . 'The experience of the years since the war proves that import and export prohibitions, and the arbitrary practices and disguised discriminations which result therefrom . . . have had deplorable results by hampering the normal play of competition. . . .'"

In the Magazines

Note: All the following references to magazines published in the Orient are for English language publications. National ownership of such publications is indicated.

BRITISH EMPIRE

AUSTRALIAN POLITICS; by F. W. Eggleston; *Stead's Review,* Melbourne, May 1, 1929.

BRITISH ELECTIONS, THE; by Lewis Webster Jones; *Information Service,* Foreign Policy Association, New York, May 15, 1929.

BRITISH ELECTIONS, THE; by S. Washio; the *Trans-Pacific* (American), Tokyo, May 16, 1929.

"The British election will be observed by Japanese with keen interest for two reasons. The one is how three-party system is going to work in Britain. The existence of Mr. Tokonami's party in this country and the inability of either of the two major parties to have an absolute majority makes our political situation analogous to the British prospect. . . ."

WHEAT POOL, THE; by W. A. Irwin; *Maclean's,* Toronto, June 1, 1929.

"The pool is the world's largest farm, the world's largest shipper of wheat, the biggest Big Business in Canada—and it was built by the Man Behind the Plow."

CHINA—GENERAL

CONTEMPORARY CHINA; by G. Douglas Gray; the *Nineteenth Century,* London, May, 1929.

A broad and interesting picture of China today by a man who has spent twenty-five years in China as medical officer of the British Legation at Peking. Preparatory to the modern scene, the writer gives a very brief sketch of the history of China.

KWANGSI'S CONSTRUCTIVE PROGRAMME FOR 1929—Economic Activities Outlined; by Hin Wong; the *South China Monthly Review* (Chinese), Canton, April, 1929.

SHANGHAI PROVISIONAL COURT, THE; by C. Y. W. Meng; the *China Weekly Review* (American), Shanghai, May 11, 1929.

SUN YAT-SEN; by Henry B. Restarick; the *Honolulu Mercury,* Honolulu, June, 1929.

The first two chapters of a life of Sun Yat-sen are printed in this issue. The writer devotes the first chapter mainly in clearing up many popular misunderstandings concerning the birth of the great Nationalist leader. The second chapter is devoted to Sun Yat-sen's school days at the British school "Iolani," in Hawaii. In 1896 Bishop Willis wrote: "As far as can be remembered, Tai Cheong's school days gave no indication of his future career. He has left no tradition of hatching plots against magisterial authority. Nor will any one suppose that he was indoctrinated at Iolani with the love of a republican form of government. . . ."

COMMUNICATIONS

AIRPLANE FREES A COUNTRY, THE; by John W. Jackson; *Nation's Business,* Washington, June, 1929.

"The Mexican Airways, Inc., known as the Mexican Aviation Company, organized under the laws of Mexico, is one of several aerial concerns that is developing a complete aerial system in Mexico, where, despite uncertain political conditions, present and proposed routes will soon cover every important region. Mexico offers an example of aerial progress. It is estimated that in 1928 planes flew 620,000 miles over 2,633 miles of routes with 97 to 99 per cent efficiency and no loss of life." This article gives in some detail (with maps) the aerial progress of South America, showing how they have overcome the lack of railroads in their transportation problem.

CHINA'S TRANSPORT PROBLEM; Transportation number of the *China Journal* (British), Shanghai, May, 1929.

An enlarged number of the journal devoted to an interesting collection of articles on this extremely perplexing one of China's internal problems. Fol-

lowing are the specific angles discussed: Water Transport in China, by H. Chatley; Economics of Transportation for China, by J. A. L. Waddell; Transportation in Early China, by J. C. Ferguson; China's Transport Workers, Men and Beasts, by Arthur de C. Sowerby; Transportation on the Yangtze Kiang, by H. Foote Carey; The Railway in China, unsigned; Motor Transport in China, unsigned; Aviation in China, by Captain V. J. B. Holland; and China's Overseas, Coastal and Riverine Shipping. Three of the articles are accompanied by veritable pictorial histories, very valuable and interesting.

JAPAN'SE LACQUER: ANCIENT AND MODERN; unsigned; the *Japan Magazine* (Japanese), Tokyo, June 1929.

A statistical article.

JAPANESE LACQUERS: ANCIENT AND MODERN; unsignd; the *Japanese Magazine* (Japanese), Tokyo, June, 1929.

IMPORTINCE OF TUNG OIL IN INDUSTRY, THE; by E. C. Wood; *Commerce Reports*, United States Department of Commerce, Washington, D. C., June 3, 1929.

AUSTRALIAN IMMIGRATION PROBLEM AND THE WORKING CLASS, THE; by S. Carpenter; the *Pan-Pacific Worker*, Sydney, May 1, 1929.

In this and in the next issues of the "Pan-Pacific Worker," S. Carpenter deals with the subject of Australian Immigration from an internationalist working-class point of view. The writer deals with the two major aspects of this problem: (a) Asiatic immigration and the "White Australia" policy, and (b) Non-Asiatic—chiefly British immigration and the State-aided Mass Migration schemes.

TURKESTAN-SIBERIA RAILWAY; by H. Toepfer; *Geo-Politik*, Berlin, May, 1929.

CULTURES

AMERICAN CIVILIZATION; by Dr. S. Washio; the *Trans-Pacific* (American), Tokyo, May 16, 1929.

"The American is easier to understand than any other people, as a typewritten copy is easier to read than any manuscript. There is no calligraphy in the American character, no redundancy, superfluity and irrelevancy. Everything is straight to the practical purpose, no more and no less. We see it in the American illustrative pictorial art. Its lines and shadings are mechanically precise. There is neither refinement nor grotesqueness. Individuality of touch is conspicuously absent. Even the comic section of the Sunday paper is too mechanically precise to be funny."

JAPANESE PRESS AND ITS INFLUENCE, THE; by M. D. Kennedy; the *Nineteenth Century*, London, May, 1929.

"Whatever its faults and follies may be—and God knows it has both in full measure—the vernacular Press of Japan can never be accused of lacking either in initiative or 'push.' In organization, in equipment, in circulation, in general management, it has little to learn either from England or America."

A vitally interesting article showing the tremendous influence the Japanese press has had in educating its people in the field of sports and music and the modern trends, as well as awakening them to a political consciousness.

NEGRO CONTRIBUTIONS TO AMERICA; by Alain Locke; the *World Tomorow*, New York, June, 1929.

"The trained Negro musician, the literary Negro poet, the legitimate Negro actor, and the skilled Negro artist are becoming more and more figures in the foreground of American culture. This revival of artistic creativeness after a fallow period in the transition from slavery to freedom is the well known 'Negro Renaissance.' . . . The Negro's position in America makes him the acid test both of practical democracy and of the practical application of Christianity to the social order."

RACIAL RELATIONSHIPS AND INTERNATIONAL HARMONY; by Frank H. Hankins, *World Unity*, New York, May, 1929.

This is the third article by Mr. Hankins. "The Question of Racial Equality" is the heading. Not so much an essay as a document showing the comparative traits and qualities of specific nationalities and races. "Races must be compared as regards one particular trait at a time, and what we mean by superior refers to the racial average for that trait," says the writer.

SOME AMERICAN TRAITS; by Datu Bandara as told to Captain I. B. Edwards; *Philippine Magazine*, Manila, May, 1929.

An intriguingly frank set of comments on American characteristics told to an army captain in a Philippine village and set down in English by him.

. . . "All Americans think they are superior. We do not think so; it seems impossible; but what can one say in a discussion?"

DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS

ARBITRATION AND CONCILIATION IN PAN-AMERICA; by James Oliver Murdock; The *American Journal of International Law,* Washington, April, 1929.

FOREIGN OFFICE ORGANIZATION; by Henry Kittredge Norton; supplement of the *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science,* Philadelphia, May, 1929.

A comparison of the organization of the British, French, German and Italian Foreign Offices with that of the Department of State of the United States of America.

JAPAN'S MISTAKES IN CHINA; by Masanao Hanihara; the *Week in China* (American), Peking, May 11, 1929.

JAPAN'S NEW POLICY AND THE FUTURE OF MANCHURIA; editorial; the *China Critic,* Shanghai, May 23, 1929.

". . . Mr. Yamamoto proposes to substitute for political pressure purely economic penetration, and in this way he hopes to achieve better Japanese aims in Manchuria, namely, the amelioration of the so-called population pressure in Japan through exploitation of this vast, resourceful territory."

MONROE DOCTRINE AND LATIN AMERICA, THE; by Leonard W. Matters; the *Review of South and Central America and West Indian Gazette,* London, May, 1929.

A consideration of modern methods. "To declare the old and original Doctrine dead and done with is to declare the obvious," says the writer. This is the third instalment of the report of the lecture before the Foreign and Colonial Affairs Committee of the National Liberal Club, London, by Mr. Leonard W. Matters, Editor of *The Review,* on "The Monroe Doctrine from the Latin American Point of View."

NEED OF A LIBERAL FOREIGN POLICY, THE; by Gilbert Murray; the *Nation and Athenaeum,* London, May 11, 1929.

"It is a tragic thing, in a world suffering acutely from the effects of excessive trade barriers, to have in power a Government whose one remedy for all economic disorders is to increase trade barriers."

NEW JAPANESE POLICY, A; editorial; the *Week in China* (American), Peking, May 18, 1929.

A discussion of Japan's announced "adaptation" policy to replace the old "positive policy" toward China.

OUR MUTUAL BUSINESS PROBLEMS; by C. H. Cahan; *Nation's Business,* Washington, May, 1929.

Mr. Cahan, Member of Parliament, Dominion of Canada, says: "The United States is now probably the most potent single political power of the world; therefore her weaker neighbors, such as ourselves, naturally observe with interest, and sometimes with concern, not only the manner but the spirit in which she exercises the vast political forces which are at her command." He politely points out certain important issues pending between the United States and Canada and the attitude of Canada towards them.

OUR STAKE IN THE PACIFIC; by Chester H. Rowell; *Nation's Business,* Washington, May, 1929.

"Now, there is only one way to acquire this racial respect, which is the foundation of all the other decencies in our relations to these peoples of the Pacific, and that is to know them. This does not mean to live among them, merely. There are those who have done that for a half a lifetime and are still uncomprehending strangers. It means to penetrate into the spirit and meaning of their lives, to make friends of them individually, and to understand the meaning and the history of their institutions collectively. There ought to be more study of Oriental history, geography and languages in our schools and colleges. There ought to be more travel across the Pacific. And there ought to be more appreciation of the problems of the Pacific and of their relations to us."

PACIFIC CONDOMINIUM IN THE NEW HEBRIDES, THE; by Otto Mossdorf; *Geo-Politik,* Berlin, May, 1929.

A description of the principle of condominium as laid down in Article 32 of the Versailles treaty, and of numerous of its examples; the most perfect

example being, according to the author's opinion, in the New Hebrides group of the Pacific. "Pandemonium," it has been termed by the Japan *Trans-Pacific;* "eine geopolitische Neidschöpfung," Dr. Karl Haushofer named it in his volume on "Geopolitik des Pazifischen Ozeans."

PAN-PACIFIC PROBLEM; by M. Galkowitch; *World Policy and World Economy* (Russian), Moscow, 1929, N. 2.

This article contains the following divisions: Japanese Imperialism; United States; England; The Role of the South-Western Part of the Pacific Ocean; England and Japan; Japan and the United States; and England and the United States.

RELIGIOUS LIBERTY IN INTERNATIONAL LAW; by Phillips Bradley; the *Chinese Recorder* (American), Shanghai, May, 1929.

This article is divided into the following heads: East and West; Diplomacy and Religious Liberty; Ending Extraterritoriality; Religious Liberty in Europe; the Minorities Treaties; and Protection by the State.

RUSSO-BRITISH RELATIONS; by E. F. Wise; the *Contemporary Review,* London, May, 1929.

Apart from sentimentalism, the writer presents an unusually clear picture of the position of the Soviet Government today in her relation to the other Powers—particularly Great Britain. The following excerpts note the trend of the article:

"The League of Nations can hardly hope to function satisfactorily until Russia is either a member of it or at least is co-operating directly in its work. . . . The rivalry of England and Russia in Asia is no new phenomenon. . . . The vital point is that in the circumstances likely to prevail in Asiatic countries in the next decade there will be constant friction between England and Russia leading inevitably to conflict dangerous to the peace of the world unless somehow or other friendly relations can be maintained on a wide basis of cooperation between the two countries."

SOVIET SECURITY TREATIES, THE; by Malbone W. Graham; the *American Journal of International Law,* Washington, April, 1929.

WORLD PEACE AND THE PACT AGAINST WAR; by R. H. Markham; *World Unity,* New York, May, 1929.

"What is the use of outlawing war if you don't intend to set out to treat war makers as outlaws? And I assure you it's no joke to be declared an outlaw. Whenever a man is declared outlawed by a court it means that it is the duty of anyone who sees him to arrest him or shoot him. And anyone who is nice to an outlaw by that very act becomes a criminal."

ECONOMICS IN PACIFIC—GENERAL

CHILD LABOR; *Monthly Labor Review,* Washington, May, 1929.

State Laws Regulating Children in Street Trades as of January 1, 1929.

JAPAN AND THE HOURS CONVENTION; *Industrial and Labour Information,* Geneva, May 20, 1929.

Official statements of Mr. Suzuki, President of the Japanese General Federation of Labour, and others, explaining the delay in Japan's adherence to the convention.

GENERAL PRINCIPLES OF AN INTERNATIONAL CONVENTION ON THE CONDITIONS AND CONTRACTS OF EMPLOYMENT OF FOREIGN WORKERS: III; by Louis Varlez; *International Labour Review,* London, May, 1929.

HOOVER HONEYMOON ENDS, THE; editorial; the *Nation,* New York, May 22, 1929.

. . . . "It is bad enough for a new President to have to deal with a tariff situation; to confront at once the duty of placating the farmers and keeping the tariff barons in check is about as difficult a task as could come to any Executive. What makes the situation worse is that the proposals now before Congress satisfy neither the farmers nor the high Protectionists."

CHILD LABOUR IN THE UNITED STATES; Hours of Labour of Minors; *Industrial and Labour Information,* Geneva, May 27, 1929.

A survey of legal restrictions imposed by State laws dealing with the hours of women and of minors in the United States. "Fifty-two States and Territories in the Union (including Hawaii, Porto Rico and the Philippine Islands) have passed legislation placing restrictions on the employment of minors."

JAPAN'S ECONOMIC PROBLEMS; Address of the Japanese Ambassador, Hon. Katsuji Debuchi, at Washington, D. C., before the Association of Foreign Press Correspondents; *Pan-Pacific Progress,* Los Angeles, June, 1929.

"At the bottom of our problem of national existence and national comfort lies our population problem. . . . We believe that our population problem can be greatly alleviated, if not entirely solved, by promoting our commerce and industry. . . . . What Japan wants is not territory, but raw material for her factories, and market for her manufactured goods. It is in this light that we look at China."

RECRUITING OF LABOUR IN INDO-CHINA, THE; *Industrial and Labour Information,* Geneva, May 20, 1929.

"The Governor-General of Indo-China is reported to have decided on an immediate study of the possibility of drawing up regulations governing the profession of 'recruiter' of labour. . . . The Government of Indo-China has always considered that those natives of Tonkin and Annam who decide to accept employment abroad should do so freely and with complete knowledge of the conditions offered to them. Certain rumours, however, which have recently been growing stronger, raise the question whether some recruiting agents have not, unknown to their employers, acted so as to lead the simple and credulous country people into equivocal positions in order to gain a larger profit from the exercise of their occupation."

REPORTS AND ENQUIRIES; *International Labour Review,* London, May, 1929.

Some aspects of child labour in the United States.

STATISTICS IN CHINA; by D. K. Lieu, director of Government Bureau of Statistics; the *Statistical Monthly* (Chinese), Nanking, March, 1929.

UNEMPLOYMENT IN HONOLULU; by Peter Entau Chu; the *Honolulu Mercury,* Honolulu, June, 1929.

The writer stresses the need to establish new industries in Honolulu. "When the day comes," he warns, "that this condition (the preservation of the Oriental family as an economic unit) is seriously weakened or partly eliminated, the competition for jobs will be almost intolerable."

MIGRATION

FILIPINO IMMIGRANT PROBLEM, THE; by Emory S. Bogardus; Bulletin of *Sociology and Social Research,* Los Angeles, June, 1929.

A discussion of the proposed Filipino immigration restriction legislation pending in the United States Congress.

" . . . We are in the predicament of doubly offending our own proteges, of denying them independence on one hand and of shutting them out from the United States on the other."

JAPANESE MIGRATION STATISTICS; by Romanzo C. Adams; Bulletin of *Sociology and Social Research,* Los Angeles, June, 1929.

In this article Dr. Adams criticizes figures on Japanese migration into and out of the United States, as revealed in U. S. census reports and the reports of the Commissioner General of Immigration. These erroneous statistics are widely used in current studies of the situation. As examples he cites McKenzie: Oriental Exclusion; and Mears: Resident Orientals on the Pacific Coast.

MEXICAN IMMIGRANTS AND AMERICAN CITIZENSHIP; by Helen W. Walker; Bulletin of *Sociology and Social Research,* Los Angeles, June, 1929.

"Statistical information from the county court house in Southern California shows that a very small per cent of the aliens petitioning for United States naturalization papers is Mexican. Yet by far the greater per cent of Southern California's foreign population is Mexican. . . ."

NEW NATURALIZATION AND CITIZENSHIP LEGISLATION BY CONGRESS; by Henry B. Hazard; the *American Journal of International Law,* Washington, April, 1929.

WHITE AUSTRALIA; by Col. Edward P. Bailey; *Pan-Pacific Progress,* Los Angeles, June, 1929.

"There is no race prejudice in Australia," says the writer. "The objection is not to the individual." But the "White Australia" policy, though it does not technically keep the colored immigrant out, employs an "education test" which "is applied to a colored immigrant in such a form as to exclude him."

NATIVE PEOPLES

AUSTRALIAN ABORIGINES—A Misunderstood People; by J. A. Gilruth; *Stead's Review,* Melbourne, May 1, 1929.

"The American Indian fought for his independence; the various races of Hindustan, under their different Maharajahs, over centuries contested by force of arms the insidious progress of the white race as a dominant force. . . . . The Maori of New Zealand was undoubtedly the most successful in resisting the onrush of the paleface. The aborigine of Australia, his nearest neighbour, was the least successful. It is interesting to study the circumstances of those races which, despite their opposition, have succumbed in a greater or less degree to the impact of civilisation."

SAMOA: BROBDINGNAG MEETS LILLIPUT; by Hugh C. Tennent; the *Honolulu Mercury,* Honolulu, June, 1929.

An interesting resumé of Samoan history since its first contact with foreigners, together with the habits and the structure of Samoan society itself.

"In recent years the influence of whites has become much stronger," says the writer," but never sufficient to break down in any important degree the structure of Samoan society. . . . . An education which seeks to make the native in our own image and likeness, too often means demoralization and the robbing of native life of its vigor for an empty and unsatisfying shell."

UNCLE SAM HAS A NEW INDIAN POLICY; by Ray Lyman Wilbur; the *Saturday Evening Post,* Philadelphia, June 8, 1929.

"The American Indian should be made self-sustaining, should be brought to full responsibility for himself, should be freed of his government wardship, should be merged into the industrial life of the nation. The administration of his affairs should be decentralized, the manner of his education revised, the Indian agent, with his abnormal powers, should cease to exist. The Indian Service should become one of those agencies of Government which will steadily become less important. In twenty-five years it practically should have ceased to exist." Such is the opening paragraph of the Secretary of the Interior's article. He then suggests in what manner he hopes this will be accomplished.

POPULATION

FAMINE RELIEF IN NORTH CHINA; by Grover Clark; the *China Weekly Review* (American), Shanghai, May 18, 1929.

ORIGIN OF THE JAPANESE, THE; by C. K. Parker; the *Trans-Pacific* (American), Tokyo, May 16, 1929.

A new study of the philological evidences connecting the main Japanese racial strain with the South Seas.

POPULATION PROBLEM IN CHINA, THE; by Harry Paxton Howard; the *China Weekly Review* (American), Shanghai, May 11, 1929.

POPULATION PROBLEMS IN CHINA; by Leonard S. Hsu; Bulletin of *Sociology and Social Research,* Los Angeles, June, 1929.

Dr. Hsu, Professor of Sociology and Chairman of the Department of Sociology and Social Work, and Dean of the College of Arts and Sciences, Yenching University, Peking, deals with the sources of information, the difficulties of securing accurate statistics, the composition of Chinese population, density, distribution and population movements.

SOME RECENT POPULATION STATISTICS FOR CHINA; by H. Y. Chen; the *Statistical Monthly* (Chinese), Nanking, March, 1929.

RELIGIONS IN THE PACIFIC

CHALLENGE OF BUDDHISM, THE; editorial; the *Chinese Recorder,* Shanghai, May, 1929.

"Christianity in its course around the world went north-east; Buddhism north-west." The writer is wondering which will be the religion of the future; or will both be? Of Buddhism he remarks: "Even the non-aggressiveness 'of the typical Buddhist is a kind of strength in reserve; it is the gentleness of the strong man who refuses to push his way in a crowd.'"

DROWSY RELIGION; the *Literary Digest,* New York, June 1, 1929.

"Materialistic, mechanical, mammonistic civilization is swallowing up the quiet forest shrines, the peaceful garden-surrounded temples, and even the golden crosses at the pinnacles of the Gothic cathedrals," says Toyohiko

Kagawa. "The time has come for all the priests of all these shrines, temples, and churches to come out from their peaceful sanctuaries, cast off their somnolence, and confront the actual realities of the roadside."

MEANING OF THE TURKISH REVOLUTION, THE; by Lee Vrooman; the *World Tomorrow*, New York, June, 1929.

"In the Chinese and Russian empires are found twice as many Turks as in Turkey itself, all speaking various dialects of the common Turkish tongue. . . . . (Islam's) secular civilization is spreading from Angora all the way to the bounds of China where a similar wave from Nanking meets it. What will the result be? Men interested in keeping abreast of contemporary life today would do well to keep in touch with the Turkish revolution in all its broad aspects."

MISCELLANEOUS

COLONIAL RAPPROCHEMENT BETWEEN FRANCE AND THE NETHERLANDS, THE; by Marcel Ray; *L'Europe Nouvelle*, Paris, May 4, 1929.

An account of the author's voyage to the Netherlands Indies, in company with the Governor-General of Indo-China, in the interests of friendly relations between the French colony and Java.

COMING KYOTO CONFERENCE, THE; editorial; the *China Critic* (Chinese), Shanghai, May 23, 1929.

Concerning the Institute of Pacific Relations.

INDO-PACIFIC AREA, THE; by Karl Haushofer; *Geo-Politik*, Berlin, May, 1929.

A glance over the area of the South Pacific, with notes on the development of air communications with Europe and other parts of the Pacific area. Pacific migrations are also under review in this article, along with a summary of current political situations in China, Japan and elsewhere. (In German.)

INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS, THE; editorial comment; by George Grafton Wilson; the *American Journal of International Law*, Washington, April, 1929.

INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS, THE; editorial; the *South China Monthly Review* (Chinese), Canton, April, 1929.

Reprint, with comments, of the Kyoto Conference announcements, including details of agenda, purpose and brief history.

INTERNATIONALISM; by Arthur Greenwood, M.P.; the *Fortnightly Review*, London, May 1, 1929.

"It is surely obvious that if the general interests of mankind are served by international co-operation on questions of scientific research, on questions affecting public health and industrial legislation, and on the problems of peace and disarmament, the interests of individual nations are also served and the benefits are shared by all. Where there is true co-operation no country gains at the expense of the rest."

WHICH WAY, RUSSIA? by Leon Trotsky; the *New Republic*, New York, May 22, 1929.

". . . But what would be the second edition of Russian capitalism?" . . . It "would now be a menial capitalism, semi-colonized and without a future. . . . The Soviet system of nationalized industry and monopoly of foreign commerce, despite all its contradictions and difficulties, is a system of protection of the independence of husbandry and of the economy of the country. . . . . Napoleon had exactly grasped the dynamics of the revolutionary epoch and of the extremes of domination when he said: 'Europe will either be Republican or Cossack.' At the present moment one may say with much more truth: Russia will be sovietist or Bonapartist."

WOMEN IN INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS; by Florence Brewer Boeckel; the *Annals* of The American Academy of Political and Social Science, Philadelphia, May, 1929.

The writer, who is the Associate Secretary, National Council for Prevention of War, points out the constantly widening scope for women in international affairs, naming many of the women in various countries who are today playing an important part, particularly in the League of Nations. She gives a list of the women's organizations throughout the world, the largest of which, the International Council of Women, organized in forty-one countries, totals a membership of nearly 40,000,000. "International affairs," she says, "would not be playing the part they are today in national politics, would not hold the position they do today in public interest, if women had continued without political power."

Institute Notes

The information published in this department is issued officially by the International Secretariat of the Institute of Pacific Relations at Honolulu.

THE KYOTO CONFERENCE

October 28, 1929, has been set as the opening date for the third biennial conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations at Kyoto, Japan.

The Pacific Council, International Research Committee and Program Committee will hold a series of preliminary meetings at Nara, from October 23 to 27.

The sessions at Kyoto are scheduled to continue for twelve days, coming to a close on November 9.

Data Papers

It will be noted that August 1 is the date set for data-paper manuscripts to be in the hands of the Central Secretariat at Honolulu for publication and distribution. As the secretaries will move to Japan early in the autumn in order to cooperate more effectively with the Japanese Conference Preparation Committee, this is the latest date following which manuscripts can receive attention in Honolulu. There will be no publishing done in Japan.

Japan Railway Passes

On June 9 Mr. Soichi Saito, Honorary Secretary of the Japan Council, cabled Central Headquarters to the effect that the government had granted railway passes to conference members while in Japan. This generous courtesy will be highly appreciated by Institute visitors while in that country in connection with the Kyoto conference.

New Zealand Conference Preparation

According to a report from Dr. G. H. Scholefield, Honorary Secretary of the New Zealand National Council, his group has in course of preparation a volume on New Zealand Affairs, which, it is expected, will be in the hands of the booksellers by August 1, in ample time for distribution previous to the Kyoto conference. This volume will consist of a dozen papers by various experts on New Zealand conditions and relationships.

British Monographs

In a report letter from Mr. H. A. Wyndham, Chairman and Acting Secretary of the British Group of the Institute, it was made clear that the following studies are in course of preparation for the Kyoto conference:

William P. Ker, The Government of Chinese in Malaya, Hongkong and Weihaiwei; Sir Harold Parlett, Monograph on Manchuria, being published by the Oxford University Press; Sir Hubert Murray, The Government of Subject Races; W. J. Hinton, The Migration of Chinese into British Malaya; British Capital in the Far East, a collective

study; a monograph on the International Settlement at Shanghai. Some of these studies are already completed, and all, with the possible exception of the study on Foreign Capital, will be in the hands of conference members in advance of the Kyoto sessions.

Australian National Council

The Australian National Council held its annual session on April 5 and 12 last, according to a report from Mr. G. F. Taylor, Honorary Secretary. In addition to the usual business it was decided at this meeting to prepare for an Australian round table on International Relations in the Pacific, which, at the time of writing (April 22), was completely organized. A series of 17 data papers on various aspects of this problem were at that time underway and were due by the 21st of May, the discussion sessions to take place in early June. In selecting this subject for their Council's major round table for the year the Council stated that nothing could be more important than an effort toward the development of an international point of view in Australia, and therefore they had decided to "study interests and clashes of the major powers in the Pacific, with a view to reconciling conflicts and examining the possibilities of the limitation of armaments." The data papers prepared for this round table included statements on the population data of the Pacific area, on the main economic products of China and Japan, foreign investments in Pacific countries and the overseas trade of those countries, treaty rights, military statistics, Manchuria and its various entanglements, recent political developments in the Orient, questions of Western foreign policy, Pacific mandates, security and disarmament.

Hawaii Conference Members

The Hawaii Group of the Institute announces its selection of members to attend the Kyoto conference. They are Prof. Romanzo Adams of the University of Hawaii; James D. Dole, president of the Hawaiian Pineapple Company; Walter F. Frear, former governor of Hawaii; Dr. Herbert Gregory, director of the Bishop Museum; Dr. T. Harada, professor of Japanese at the University of Hawaii, and Dr. Fred Lam, honorary secretary, the Chinese Chamber of Commerce of Honolulu.

Mr. Shin Saito

The Institute is compelled to announce with deep regret the unexpected death of Mr. Shin Saito, younger brother of Mr. Soichi Saito, Honorary Secretary of the Japanese National Council, on June 13 last. The younger Mr. Saito had for the past year acted as Executive Secretary for the Institute office at Tokyo and has been very busy in assisting the Japanese Council in its conference preparation. His loss will be sadly felt not only personally by his friends and acquaintances but in the conference work in which he was engaged.

Associate Secretary Arrives

Mr. Keichi Yamasaki, newly appointed Associate General Secretary for the Institute, arrived at Central Headquarters in Honolulu on June 29. Mr. Yamasaki will spend some time at Central Headquarters and return to Japan in advance of the conference date, in order to further assist the Japanese Council in preparation for the Nara and Kyoto sessions.

Dr. Hawkling Yen Abroad

News has come back of the earlier contacts of Dr. Yen, made in the course of his tour of National Councils in America and Europe. Newspaper accounts and letters indicate a very successful period in San Francisco and surrounding territory, including luncheon meetings at the Palace Hotel, at Stanford University, at the Commonwealth Club of San Francisco, an address before Chinese Student groups and also talks over the radio. Dr. Yen was in San Francisco until the end of May.

On June 2 he proceeded to Vancouver where he spent two days in meetings with the Institute group there and in addressing the International Council and the Vancouver Rotary. Stanley Brent, Secretary of the Vancouver Branch of the Institute, writes enthusiastically of Dr. Yen's reception, and newspaper reports from that city give space to interesting material from his lectures. Dr. Yen was then scheduled to visit the five other branches of the Canadian Institute in Regina, Winnipeg, Toronto, Ottawa and Montreal before the middle of June, proceeding thence to Chicago and New York. He is expected to sail for London on July 6.

James Y. C. Yen

On May 24 the noted educational leader, Mr. James Y. C. Yen, founder and head of the Education Movement in China and the mainspring of the various educational innovations and experiments which that movement is undertaking, passed through Honolulu en route home from an extended lecture tour in the United States. Mr. Yen was a visitor at Central Headquarters, in consultation with the secretarial staff, and in the afternoon spoke at a crowded public meeting under the auspices of the Hawaii Council of the Institute.

An International Dictionary of Political Terms

The London Conference of Institutes for the Scientific Study of International Relations has undertaken the preparation of a lexicon of political terms to be prepared in coöperation by the various institutes concerned. In recommending this venture before the conference Dr. Wilhem Haas of the Hochschule für Politik emphasizes the fact that confusion and misunderstanding are constantly being caused between nationals, owing to the inaccurate use or the imperfect understanding of political terms—terms which may have slightly different meanings in other countries so that literal translation is misleading, or which are peculiar to one country and have no exact equivalent. The sub-committee in charge of the work expects to produce a convenient handbook for reference which would meet the practical needs of the large and growing class of persons engaged in public affairs in the international field. Suggestions for making this work as complete as possible, and for specific terms which would be included, are welcomed by the committee which has its headquarters at the University Relations Section of the International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation, Palais-Royal, 2 rue de Montpensier, Paris, France. It is expected that the work will go to press by the end of November next.

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JOURNAL OF
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AUGUST, 1929

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ELIZABETH GREEN
Editor

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No. 8 1929

The object of the Institute of Pacific Relations is to study the conditions of the Pacific Peoples with a view to the improvement of their mutual relations.

PACIFIC AFFAIRS

No. 8 AUGUST 1929

Observations on Mexican Immigration Into the United States

By Manuel Gamio

Recent developments have made the phenomenal Mexican immigration into the United States a matter of vital current interest. It is of such importance and so few investigations have been made into the subject that the Social Science Research Council in 1926 asked me to take charge of a preparatory study.* I shall not transcribe the results of these investigations here, partly because they are as yet unpublished material of the Social Science Research Council and partly because space does not permit. This article will be limited to comment in the light of my own investigations on published information and statistics which are public property but very little known.

The Country and Its Population

It seems advisable to include first of all a few notes on Mexico and its population, and we shall consider not only the Mexicans who emigate from Mexico to the United States but also those who return.

Mexico is a country of Indo-Iberian population amounting to approximately 15,000,000 inhabitants and composed of three ethnic groups: *indigenes,* thirty-five to forty per cent; *mestizos* (Spanish and Indian mixture), the same proportion; *whites,* twenty to thirty per cent. The possession of culture and wealth is in inverse proportion to the ethnic distribution, i.e., it is in the hands of the white or numerical minority, while the Indian has always lived in a state of unalleviated poverty.

The area of Mexico is almost two million square kilometers, making the density of population approximately 7.5 individuals per square kilometer.

It is very generally believed in other countries and even in Mexico that it is a country of great agricultural importance. This is seen to be contradicted when it is noted that only seven to eight per cent of its total area can be considered as normally available for agricultural exploitation. On the dry *mesetas* of the North and for extensive desert regions on the Pacific, the rainfall is very low or non-existent; another large portion of the country is mountainous and unsuitable for cultivation; and though the coasts are generally excessively fertile, production is scarce because of tropical fevers and plagues of insects.

Mexico is one of the richest countries of the world with respect to raw materials, both vegetal and mineral; yet its industries are of much less importance than its agriculture, and it not only does not export

* I presented a preliminary report on the work at the Dartmouth meetings in 1927, where a number of mimeographed copies were distributed. The final report is now being printed at Chicago and several supplementary studies which are being carried on will be published in a separate volume.

manufactured products but scarcely supplies an insignificant proportion of the domestic market.

Foreign Immigration

Since Mexico, as explained above, is not a country of real agricultural possibilities, such as the United States and the Argentine, the great masses of European immigrants have not considered it as an objective. Its rudimentary industries afford few opportunities to immigrants as artisans and laborers, and besides, the European, whose needs are more complex than those of the Mexican, cannot compete with natives in the matter of wages. In fact, the charts prepared by the Bureau of Statistics of the Mexican Department of Migration show that there is a balance in favor of immigration of only three to four thousand individuals annually. This number is insignificant in comparison with the enormous net immigration into other countries.

Nevertheless, the aid of the foreign immigrant is indispensable to the integral progress of Mexico, and if adverse conditions are corrected in so far as possible, it should be able to attract some of the hundreds of thousands of European immigrants who are no longer able to enter the United States, the Argentine, and other American countries.

Mexican Emigration

Various factors, and principally the low density of population, indicate that Mexico is not and cannot be a country of great emigration. The truth of this observation may be demonstrated objectively by referring to the corresponding statistics. Nevertheless, it has been widely proclaimed in the last few years that millions of Mexican immigrants have been settling in the United States, while in Mexico it is insistently said that the country is becoming depopulated because millions have emigrated. These assertions are not borne out by the facts and no doubt have been made because it was difficult to obtain reliable statistics or to verify offhand impressions by a direct observation of Mexican migration.

The figures of the American statistics are not adequate because, although they supply the number of Mexicans who enter the United States, registration of those who return to Mexico is not obligatory and includes only the limited number who are deported or who voluntarily call at the registration office to collect the head tax paid on entrance or for other personal reasons. This recording of the Mexicans who enter the United States without discounting those who leave has been one of the reasons for the false estimates of the number of Mexicans resident in the United States. The figures of the American census taken every ten years are likewise unsatisfactory since they have been taken in the autumn when Mexican transitory immigration is at its maximum. A census repeated in the winter would show a much lower number of Mexicans and would include only the permanent residents.

In making an analysis we have preferred to use the Mexican migration statistics because they furnish the number of immigrants into Mexico as well as the emigrants. The figures given below are approximations taken from a chart by Sr. D. Andres Landa y Piña of the Bureau of Statistics in the Mexican Department of Migration,

representing the migratory movement of Mexicans to and from the United States from 1911 to 1926. Since practically all migration of Mexicans is between Mexico and the United States, these figures practically coincide with those for the entire movement of Mexicans in and out of the country.

	Immigration	*Emigration*
1911	35,000	35,000
1912	55,000	55,000
1913	30,000	30,000
1914	9,000	8,000
1915	14,000	5,000
1916	40,000	40,000
1917	92,000	20,000
1918	40,000	34,000
1919	44,000	45,000
1920	65,000	55,000
1921	105,000	10,000
1922	53,000	33,000
1923	86,000	85,000
1924	105,000	58,000
1925	78,000	44,000
1926	68,000	58,000

An examination of the above figures shows that a much larger number of Mexicans have entered Mexico during the seventeen-year period than have emigrated. This apparent paradox is explained by the fact that a certain proportion who did not register at the Mexican migration offices on leaving the country did register on their return. It is impossible to determine, even approximately, the number of individuals who have left Mexico to settle permanently in the United States, but it cannot be large because it is made up of those persons who entered the United States without registering in the migration offices, a thing possible in isolated cases but dangerous and unlikely in great masses of migration.

The transitory migration, or the equilibrium shown by the above table between immigration and emigration, is of benefit to both countries; permanent migration, or those who leave Mexico to remain in the United States, is undesirable from the point of view of both Mexico and the United States. The basis for these conclusions will appear in the ensuing discussion.

The fundamental motive which obliges Mexican laborers to abandon their country definitely or temporarily is an economic one. The majority of emigrants come from the region of the Central Mexican Mesa where density of population is very high and wages are exceedingly low, circumstances which make living conditions difficult. Nevertheless, this emigration would not have reached the high figures of the last twelve years if for economic reasons the American employers had not offered the Mexicans every inducement. It can be affirmed that the extensive development of the rich agricultural and industrial regions of the American border states has been dependent in a great measure on the material aid of Mexican labor. In fact, according to declarations of business men in the hearings before Congressional committees on Mexican immigration, further progress of these interests involving more than five billion dollars capital, would be retarded and in some cases paralyzed if the supply of Mexican labor were cut off. On the

other hand, American labor is opposed to Mexican immigration because it is considered undesirable competition.

In addition to having become an economic necessity to employers along the border, the Mexican transitory immigrants constitute a body of more than 100,000 efficient and gratuitous propagandists for American exports, carrying American products to the farthest corners of Mexico. It is not exaggerated to forecast that if this transitory immigration is interrupted or restricted to the insignificant proportions which would be fixed by the legal quota, the export of certain American products to Mexico would be materially affected. In such case it will be interesting to compare export statistics on the articles in question before and after restriction.

From the Mexican point of view, permanent emigration is economically undesirable for it means the definite loss of an important labor element; seasonal emigration carries numerous benefits. It serves as an escape valve during economic crises such as are occasioned by revolutionary movements, when large groups of unemployed are saved from pillaging and starvation by crossing the border to work for a time in the United States. There they not only live but can earn enough to send money to their families in Mexico; in fact, the amounts remitted have averaged $5,000,000 a year during the last nine years. They also pay transportation back and forth from Mexico and often save enough to live through a period of unemployment at home until the next season in the United States. Moreover, if the immigrant involuntarily but effectively advertises American products in Mexico, he likewise imports certain Mexican articles, as for example the straw sombreros which were originally introduced by Mexicans and are now generally used by American ranchers. This item is of some importance in the list of Mexican exports.

Problems of Race and Color

The problems of race and color to which the presence of Mexican immigration into the United States gives rise are of even greater importance than the economic question, since they not only concern relations between Mexico and the United States but are significant throughout the Americas and will profoundly influence the destinies of the peoples bordering on the Pacific. From an anthropological point of view these peoples comprise many different ethnic groups, but in this case, for convenience, we will make a classification into three groups according to pigmentation:

(1) *White*—represented by the social majorities of Canada, the United States, Australia, New Zealand and Chile, and the social minorities of the Indo-Iberian countries which extend from Lower California to the Southern limits of Chile and Peru.

(2) *Yellow*—including practically the entire population of Japan, Manchuria, China, Indo-China and the adjacent islands.

(3) *Yellow-Brown*—including the indigenous races in Mexico, Central America, Colombia, Ecuador and Peru.

We shall not attempt to discuss here the cause of the racial attractions or antipathies which may be noted between these groups and shall refer only to the attitudes which they assume.

In general terms the members of the white group feel racial repulsion toward those of the second and third, even when from other points

of view they respect individual and collective qualities. This aversion is particularly marked in whites of Anglo-Saxon origin and is much less marked and sometimes insignificant in whites of Indo-Iberian descent. This becomes evident from a comparison of the very limited mixture between whites and natives of the countries colonized by the British with the high percentage found in the Indo-Iberian countries of Latin America.

The most logical anthropological conclusions as yet proposed suggest that the peoples of the second or Asiatic group and those of the third or American indigenous group are of a common origin, and in fact there are significant analogies which contribute to explain the sexual attraction which they have for each other. Spontaneous crossing between these two groups is present in any country in which they are brought in contact and may be observed especially on the coasts of Latin America where unions of Indians with Japanese and Chinese are very frequent. Finally it should be recorded that although they do not reciprocate the feeling, the whites have a strong sexual attraction for Asiatics and Indians.

The three Pacific groups, and particularly the first and second, are rapidly increasing in number, in offensive and defensive power and in means of communication. Sooner or later they will cross their boundaries and peacefully or aggressively enter into an intimate contact. When this occurs what will be the racial position of the Indo-Iberian population which today occupies the vast and sparsely populated regions of Latin America? Will the high percentage of indigenous population continue to prevail? Will it become white under the influence of enormous European immigration? Will there be sufficient Asiatic immigration to create a new and complex mixture composed of an Asiatic-indigenous majority and a white minority? In such a case what will be the position and attitude of the Anglo-Saxon white group?

These questions are apparently idle and cannot be given a satisfactory answer, but we present them to emphasize the importance, with reference to a solution, of the study of Mexican immigration into the United States. Through such a study we can learn just what is taking place as a result of the contacts which are being effected between the Anglo-Saxon element of the first group above mentioned and the native and mixed element which form a numerical majority of the immigration.

When Mexican laborers first arrived in the United States the feeling of racial aversion to men who were not white had been ingrained in the majority of the American people. For a long time they had been using every means to prevent the large mass of black slaves and even the small group of aborigines subjugated by the colonists from being incorporated racially into the white population. The newly arrived immigrant was ignorant of these antecedents and found the degraded position to which he was relegated most unpleasant. It is true that the Indian has always belonged to the lowest economic and cultural strata of society but his low position has not been due to racial repulsion on the part of the whites since this exists only in limited social groups of conservative and aristocratic character. When an Indian rises to higher levels, he finds no obstacles to his union with a white and may occupy

the highest position in public affairs and in society, as in the case of Benito Juarez, the most illustrious president in Mexican history.

Failing to understand at first that the fundamental cause of his social inferiority consisted in the color of his skin, the Mexican tried to conquer the economic and cultural means which in his country would have facilitated his social ascent. Besides, on observing the success of the European immigrants on acquiring American nationality, he also became a citizen. This too proved useless. The naturalized European was automatically admitted into the great American family and incorporated racially, socially, culturally and nationally. The naturalized Mexican continued to be relegated to the same low position which he previously held, constitutional rights being insufficient to erase prejudices, antipathies and obstacles. The example of such bitter experience caused later immigrants to the United States to refrain from taking out citizenship. It is probably for the same reason that the number of permanent immigrants has been diminishing while transitory immigration is on the increase.

This racial attitude of the American toward the Mexican immigrant may have two possible results:

1. If the immigration to Mexico of Europeans without racial prejudices runs into the millions and at the same time the cultural and economic level of the natives is raised, there will soon be mixture on a large scale and eventually the indigenous ethnic characteristics will be absorbed by the white group, constituting on the American continent another country of occidental descent. In such case the American racial prejudices would lose their significance with respect to Mexico, since the population of both countries would be white.

2. If European immigration does not invade Mexico in great masses and the native element of the population prevails, these racial prejudices will continue to exist as before with contradictory effect: degrading because the Mexicans will never conceive another race as ethnically superior solely because its pigmentation is of a lighter color, and conservatory because racial prejudices have been and will be the best defensive wall against a definite American conquest. In truth, if such prejudices had not existed in the past, Mexico would already have been peacefully and fatally absorbed by the United States, for the enormous American ethnic mass would have crossed profusely with the small Mexican population, which would have disappeared as an Indo-Iberian entity. What obstacle then would have prevented Mexico from becoming politically incorporated into the United States if race, culture, capital, etc., were already genuinely American?

The racial situation is a direct determinant in the influence of American culture on Mexican immigrants. As was logical, the group of "artificial Americans" described above finally resolved to live in isolation and conserve and cultivate Mexican customs, traditions and even characteristic tendencies and feeling, at the same time profiting by the few advantages which their new nationality brought them.

The civilization of the larger part of the immigrants is originally of native or mixed type and consequently different in form and background from that of the American people, all of which, together with the climatic differences between both countries, makes the cultural shock sharp and the biological adaptation for the newly arrived Mexi-

can painful. From this situation a selection results; some individuals go back to Mexico not to return to the United States while others gradually become adjusted to the new environment.

Americanization in material life is begun immediately—in housing, food, dress, tools, domestic utensils, etc. However, there is a certain persistence in some of these items; for example, the immigrant continues to use condiments and dishes of Mexican origin, such as black beans, tamales, various kinds of chile and flat cakes or "tortillas" which may be made of wheat as well as corn. The numerous lunch rooms and restaurants of such great immigration centers as Los Angeles and El Paso serve these dishes indiscriminately to Mexicans and Americans. A profitable way of studying the degree of material Americanization acquired after some time in the United States is to examine at the frontier points of entry the objects which Mexicans take with them on returning to Mexico. Our observations showed these to be automobiles, bathtubs, phonographs, clothing, domestic utensils and tools of all kinds.

The Mexican is usually employed as unskilled labor. In the United States he learns better methods of cultivation, how to use modern tools and industrial machinery, to construct roads and transform raw materials into manufactured objects. This effective and invaluable experience which the immigrants cannot obtain in Mexico will effectively contribute to national reconstruction when they return permanently to their own country.

From the intellectual point of view, the American influence is much less effective and is limited to certain aspects. Patriotism, far from being cooled, is intensely exalted, to such a degree that the Mexican who has resided in the United States frequently loves his country more than one who has never left it. The spirit of social unity is incomparably more developed among the immigrants than in analogous classes of society in Mexico, as seen in the formation of innumerable societies such as Masonic, religious, mutualist, charitable, recreational, artistic, sporting, etc. Illiteracy decreases gradually, as shown by the number of newspapers edited by Mexicans for Mexican readers in the United States. There is probably a larger number of these in proportion to the population than is published in Mexico. These three interesting progressive tendencies which the immigrant presents are greatly stimulated by the racial and social isolation in which he is obliged to live with respect to the American people.

In the matter of religion, fanaticism is often weakened and sometimes disappears; a large number of individuals remain Catholics; some become Protestants and others grow indifferent or join secondary sects. Folkloric ideas are preserved, profoundly rooted. Mexican immigrants resort more to the witch doctor and medicinal herbs of the healer than to the accredited doctor; auguries, intervention of supernatural mysterious entities and the conventional interpretation of natural phenomena and events have the same character as in Mexico. Old songs and music are faithfully preserved and new ones in which the new influence is vigorous are created.

To sum up, the cultural and intellectual influence of the American environment is incomparably less than the material, and both decrease sensibly when the Mexican goes back to his country and does not return to the United States.

The United States in the Pacific

A Survey of the Relations of the United States with China and Japan and American Opinion Thereon August 1, 1927-June 1, 1929

By Harold S. Quigley

I. Internal Politics in China and Japan

In China

The most significant fact was the establishment of the National Government of China, which occurred on October 10, 1928, at the new capital, Nanking. The "organic act" or constitution of the government was promulgated on October 4, 1928. Peking had fallen to the Kuomintang on the previous June 5. Between August 1, 1927, and October 10, 1928, Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek had resigned, permitting opposing Kuomintang governments at Hankow and Nanking to reach a *modus vivendi* with each other. Resigning in August, Marshal Chiang was back in political harness in December, 1927, and he retained the principal role for the remainder of the period under review, assuming the post of President of the National Government on October 10, 1928.

Regional governments at Canton, Hankow, Taiyuan (Shansi), Kaifeng, Mukden and other centers existed within the general organization of the National Government but remained largely autonomous and at times recalcitrant. Marshal Feng Yu-hsiang challenged the control of Nanking in May, 1929, and on the 23rd of that month he was dismissed from all offices and from the party and a punitive mandate was authorized against him. (Cancellation of the mandate and reconciliation with Feng were reported late in June.) The "Young Marshal," Chang Hsueh-liang, who succeeded his father as overlord of Manchuria, acknowledged the authority of the National Government and authorized the use of the new flag.

In Japan

General Baron Giichi Tanaka, head of the Seiyukai, had succeeded Reijiro Wakatsuki, head of the Kenseikai, as premier of Japan in April, 1927. He was still in office on June 1, 1929, having held the posts of premier and foreign minister during the entire period. In January, 1928, he dissolved the lower house of the Diet. The ensuing election, held on February 20, was the first general election under the manhood suffrage act of 1925. The Government failed to obtain a majority but secured a small plurality. Labor parties elected 8 members, independents 16. Although the Tanaka cabinet was severely attacked for its policy of "positivism" at home and abroad it benefited by the dissensions within the principal opposition party and the defection from that party—the Minseito—of some 30 members who formed the Shinto Club and asserted a program more "positive" than that of Premier Tanaka himself. During the 1929 session of the Diet a resolution of lack of confidence in the government mustered 185 votes in the lower house but

This is the first survey of American interests in the Pacific to be published in Pacific Affairs, and it covers the two-year period since the last Institute conference, rather than the quarterly period covered regularly by the British survey, hence its length. The author is professor of international relations in the Political Science department of the University of Minnesota, and has specialized in the Far East.—Editor.

failed to pass. A resolution rebuking the Premier for lèse majesté was passed by the Peers. (The Tanaka cabinet resigned on July 2, 1929.)

II. Relations with China and Opinion Thereon

1. Recognition and Treaty Revision

August, 1927. The Department of State advised that the situation in China at present did not appear to warrant any change in the policy which had been in effect of withdrawing American citizens from the interior and concentrating them at places where they might be protected or readily evacuated in an emergency; that it appeared to be highly inadvisable for Americans in general to return at that time to the interior of China without consulting American officials stationed in districts to which return was contemplated.

December, 1927. President Coolidge's message (70th Congress, First Session, *Cong. Rec.*, December 6, 1927, pp. 108-9), included the following reference to policy toward China:

"We have been compelled to send naval and marine forces to China to protect the lives and property of our citizens. Fortunately their simple presence there has been sufficient to prevent any material loss of life. But there has been considerable loss of property. That unhappy country is torn by factions and revolutions which bid fair to last for an indefinite period. Meanwhile we are protecting our citizens and stand ready to coöperate with any government which may emerge in promoting the welfare of the people of China. They have always had our friendship in these days of their distraction and distress."

December, 1927. House resolution No. 211, to amend and supplement the naturalization laws and for other purposes, introduced by Rep. C. J. McLeod of Michigan, proposed the recognition of the Nanking Government. Referred to committee on immigration and naturalization; no action. (70th Congress, First Session, *House Journal*, p. 188.)

December, 1927. Representative John C. Schaefer offered an amendment to H. R. 5800 (a deficiency appropriation bill) "to strike out the deficiency appropriation for the expenses of our troops in the war in which they are now engaged in Nicaragua and in China. . . . We are at war in Nicaragua and in China although Congress has not declared war. . . . There are many members of this House who are opposed to the present military occupation of Nicaragua and China, and now is the time to show your opposition and cast your vote according to your convictions." (*Cong. Rec.*, 70th Congress, First Session, p. 261.)

December, 1927. The Honorable J. V. A. MacMurray, American Minister to China, stated upon his return to Peking from Washington, according to press despatches:

"The net result of my visit to America is that no radical change is to be made in our policy toward China. . . . We shall not bind ourselves to act in concert with the Powers, and we reserve the liberty to act independently if we think it right to do so."

January, 1928. Congressman L. C. Dyer of Missouri, in an address at a banquet in Washington, emphasized the growth of the trade of the United States with China and asserted that this country "has been the one great power that has shown real friendship for China." (Printed in *Cong. Rec.*, 70th Congress, First Session, pp. 1756-7.)

February, 1928. Senator Guy D. Goff (West Virginia), in an interview published by the *Washington Post* and reprinted in *Cong. Rec.*, 70th Congress, First Session, pp. 2504-5, expressed grave fear of the results of Bolshevist influence in China and said:

"These nations (Great Britain, Japan, France, Holland, Italy and the United States) are confronted with the necessity of choosing between friendly, immediate and inexpensive intervention or a future costly, devastating, horrible war."

Senator Hiram Bingham also was interviewed by the *Washington Post* and his views, published in that paper also appear in *Cong. Rec.*, 70th Congress, First Session, pp. 2505-7. He advocated a plan for dealing with China by regions:

"I believe that the United States ought to take the initiative in an effort to induce the several warring groups in China mutually to agree to respect certain boundaries and each to form a government within its own boundary and confine its efforts to solidifying that government and to increasing productiveness in its own area. We could offer to place a diplomatic commissioner within each such area to help with advice or friendly council. We might lend the weight of our good offices to those governments that were willing to assume their share of existing national obligations." He strongly opposed intervention. He also opposed surrender at that time of treaty rights, anticipating the indefinite continuance of civil warfare.

February, 1928. Senator Copeland (N.Y.) presented a petition from the Women's Foreign Missionary Society of the M. E. Church favoring immediate revision of the unequal treaties with China. Referred to committee on foreign relations, (*Senate Journal*, 70th Congress, First Session).

March, 1928. In his third note in connection with the settlement of the Nanking incident, Foreign Minister Huang Fu asked for further steps toward treaty revision, to which the American Minister made the following reply:

"The American Minister has the honor to acknowledge the receipt of a note of today's date in which the Minister for Foreign Affairs expressed the hope that a new epoch would begin in the diplomatic relations between the United States and China and that further steps might be taken for the revision of the existing treaties and the readjustment of outstanding questions on the basis of equality and mutual respect for territorial sovereignty.

"Although the questions of treaty revision can scarcely be considered germane to that of amends to the American Government and its nationals for the Nanking incident, the American Minister is not averse to setting forth at this time what he has already made known in that regard to the Minister for Foreign Affairs in conversations with him last month.

"It is unnecessary to recall the traditional friendship existing between the United States and China. As is manifest alike from the course of action consistently pursued by the American Government and from the statement of policy made by the Secretary of State on January 27, 1927, the Government and the people of the United States are in full sympathy with the desire of the Chinese people to develop a sound national life of their own and to realize their aspirations for a sovereignty so far as possible unrestricted by obligations of an exceptional character. With that in view, the American Government entertains the hope that the remedying of the conditions which necessitated the incorporation of such provisions in the earlier treaties may from time to time afford opportunities for the revision, in due form and by mutual consent, of such treaty stipulations as may have become unnecessary or inappropriate.

"To that end, the American Government looks forward to the hope that there may be developed an administration so far representative of the Chinese people, and so far exercising real authority, as to be capable of assuring the actual fulfillment in good faith of any obligations such as China would of necessity have for its part to undertake incidentally to the desired readjustment of treaty relations." (Press release of Department of State, April 3, 1928.)

April, 1928. Secretary Kellogg stated in a pamphlet issued by the Republican National Committee on the subject of *Foreign Relations* that:

"The United States is not concerned with the type of government set up in China. It cares only that conditions shall be created permitting the citizens of China to achieve their own highest welfare and engage freely with citizens of the United States in such relations as shall be mutually desired and profitable. . . . No government has been formed able to speak for the nation as a whole, but this Government is ready to continue the process of treaty adjustment whenever such a government appears, or even to negotiate with Chinese delegates, if they represent authorities and people of the entire nation."

No date. The Republican platform contained the following statement concerning relations with China:

"The Administration has looked with keen sympathy on the tragic events in China. We have avoided interference in the internal affairs of that unhappy nation, merely keeping sufficient naval and military forces in China to protect the lives of the Americans who are there on legitimate business and in still larger numbers for nobly humanitarian reasons. America has not been stampeded into making reprisals, but on the other hand has consistently taken the position of leadership among the nations in a policy of wise moderation. We shall always be glad to be of assistance to China when our duty is clear."

(Neither the Democratic nor the Socialist platform contained any reference to relations with China.)

May, 1928. The Department of State reaffirmed the view of the American Government that Manchuria is a part of China and that the Nine Power Treaty of 1922 applies to Manchuria. (See "Manchuria.")

May, 1928. Secretary Kellogg received Dr. C. C. Wu, special representative of the Nanking Government, informally.

May, 1928. Representative L. M. Black, Jr., (N. Y.) on May 9 introduced a resolution proposing mediation by the United States between China and Japan; resolution referred to committee on foreign affairs. (H. R. 189, *Cong. Rec.*, 70th Congress, First Session, p. 8242.) On May 17th Mr. Black introduced a resolution for the recognition of the Nanking Government which also was referred to the foreign affairs committee. (H. R. 211.) He discussed his resolutions on May 19. (*Record*, p. 9273) On the former he said:

". . . pending operations in China present clear proof that we should have a policy with a world perspective. To consider that the present bedevilment of China by Japan is of no American concern is childish."

On the latter resolution Mr. Black stated his belief that:

"If we want to help them progress we should recognize the progressive party in China that has become the *de facto* government and should be considered because of its program and because of its reception by the Chinese people as the *de jure* government."

No date. Senator Burton K. Wheeler (Mont.), presented his views in *La Follette's Weekly*. They were reprinted in the *Record* of the 70th Congress, pp. 1920-2. Pertinent sentences follow:

"We in America should help the Chinese to help themselves. The southern forces are encouraging the masses to become educated and are seeking to raise their standards of living. . . . The Chinese, like every other nation, is seeking to imitate the American. They want our products and we want to sell to them.

"Those deluded souls who are asking us to join Great Britain or Japan in an armed intervention of China entirely overlook the fact that even though we conceded for sake of argument that those nations would exercise only a sort of benevolent dictatorship over China and that it might be beneficial to China, it would most likely lead to a conflict between the nations themselves. Our interest in China and our ideals are so far different from these countries that such a combination must of necessity prove disastrous to us if not to all concerned. The only other alternative is to help in every way possible a sane and liberal Chinese movement or sit idly by, see it fail, and later see that country pass absolutely under the domination of Russia."

June, 1928. Senator King (Utah), member of the committee on foreign relations, declared that the United States should accord recognition to the Nationalist Government of China without delay, that existing relations were tantamount to *de facto* recognition which should be made *de jure*. (*United States Daily*, July 1, 1928, p. 1)

July, 1928. Representative Stephen Porter (Pa.), chairman of the House committee on foreign affairs, advocated immediate action by the United States for a comprehensive revision of existing treaties with China. He said:

". . . that the Nationalist party is now in control . . . seeking relief from treaty obligations it feels to be oppressive and in derogation of Chinese sovereignty."

No date. Opinions somewhat indefinitely expressed were noted in the journals of the Methodist, Lutheran, Roman Catholic and liberal Protestant churches which showed general agreement that the Nationalist Government had become the accepted régime in China and should be encouraged by the American Government.

July, 1928. Secretary Kellogg on July 24 set forth the attitude of his government in a cordial note replying to the request for treaty revision of Dr. C. C. Wu, special representative at Washington of the Nationalist Government:

"Events in China have moved with great rapidity during the past few months. The American Government and people have continued to observe them with deep and sympathetic interest. Early in the year the American Minister to China made a trip through the Yangtsze Valley region and while in Shanghai exchanged on March 30, 1928, with the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Nationalist Government notes in settlement of the unfortunate Nanking incident of March 24, 1927. In pursuance of the terms therein agreed upon, a Sino-American Joint Commission has been entrusted with the approval of damages suffered by the American nationals during that occurrence.

"On January 27, 1927, I made a statement of the position of the United States toward China. To it I have often subsequently had occasion to refer in reaffirmation of the position of this Government. I stated therein that the United States was then and from the moment of the negotiation of the Washington Treaty had been prepared to enter into negotiations with any Government of China or delegates who could represent or speak for China, not only for putting into force the surtaxes of the Washington Treaty but for restoring to China complete tariff autonomy. Ever since, the American Government has watched with increasing interest the developments pointing toward coördination of the different factions in China and the establishment of a Government with which the United States could enter into negotiations. Informed through press dispatches and through official reports which have from time to time been released to the press, the American people also have observed with eager interest these developments.

"In a note addressed by the American Minister to China to the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Nationalist Government at Nanking on March 30 of the present year in reply to a suggestion of the latter concerning revision of existing treaties, reference was made to the sympathy felt by the Government and people of the United States with the desire of the Chinese people to develop a sound national life of their own and to realize their aspirations for a sovereignty so far as possible unrestricted by obligations of an exceptional character, and it was stated that the American Government looked forward to the hope that there might be developed an administration so far representative of the Chinese people as to be capable of assuring the actual fulfillment of any obligations which China would of necessity have for its part to assume incidentally to readjustment of treaty relations.

"In a communication addressed to me under date of July 11, 1928, Mr. Chao-chu Wu informs me that the Nationalist Government has decided to appoint plenipotentiary delegates for the purpose of treaty

negotiations and that he is instructed to request that the Government of the United States likewise appoint delegates for that purpose.

"The good will of the United States toward China is proverbial and the American Government and people welcome every advance made by the Chinese in the direction of unity, peace and progress. We do not believe in interference in their internal affairs. We ask of them only that which we look for from every nation with which we maintain friendly intercourse, specifically, proper and adequate protection of American citizens, their property and their lawful rights, and, in general, treatment in no way discriminatory as compared with the treatment accorded to the interests or nationals of any other country.

"With a deep realization of the nature of the tremendous difficulties confronting the Chinese nation, I am impelled to affirm my belief that a new and unified China is in process of emerging from the chaos of civil war and turmoil which has distressed that country for many years. Certainly this is the hope of the people of the United States.

"As an earnest of the belief and the conviction that the welfare of all the peoples concerned will be promoted by the creation in China of a responsible authority which will undertake to speak to and for the nation, I am happy to state that the American Government is ready to begin at once, through the American Minister to China, negotiations with properly accredited representatives whom the Nationalist Government may appoint, in reference to the tariff provisions of the treaties between the United States and China, with a view to concluding a new treaty in which it may be expected that full expression will be given reciprocally to the principle of national tariff autonomy and to the principle that the commerce of each of the contracting parties shall enjoy in the ports and the territories of the other treatment in no way discriminatory as compared with the treatment accorded to the commerce of any other country." (Department press release, July 26, 1928)

July, 1928. A Washington dispatch to the *New York Times,* (cited in the *Commercial and Financial Chronicle* of July 28, 1928, p. 457), construed the words:

"We ask of them only that which we look for from every nation with which we maintain friendly intercourse, specifically, proper and adequate protection of American citizens, their property and lawful rights," as "pointing to a willingness of the United States to relinquish extraterritorial rights proportionately as the Chinese Government sets up proper judicial and legal safeguards for the protection of American nationals in China."

July, 1928. Mr. MacMurray, American Minister, and Mr. T. V. Soong, Nationalist Minister of Finance, signed at Peiping (Peking), on July 25, the following treaty by which the United States relinquished its conventional control of Chinese tariff rates:

"The United States of America and the Republic of China, both being animated by an earnest desire to maintain the good relations which happily subsist between the two countries and wishing to extend and consolidate the commercial intercourse between them, have, for the purpose of negotiating a treaty designed to facilitate these objects, named as their plenipotentiaries—the President of the United States of America: J. V. A. MacMurray, Envoy Extraordinary to China;

and the Government Council of the Nationalist Government of the Republic of China: T. V. Soong, Minister of Finance of the Nationalist Government of the Republic of China; who, having met and duly exchanged their full powers, which have been found to be in proper form, have agreed upon the following treaty between the two countries:

"Article 1. All provisions which appear in treaties hitherto concluded and in force between the United States of America and China relating to rates of duty on imports and exports of merchandise, drawbacks, transit dues and tonnage dues in China shall be annulled and become inoperative and the principle of complete national tariff autonomy shall apply, subject, however, to the condition that each of the high contracting parties shall enjoy in the territories of the other, with respect to the above specified and any related matters, treatment in no way discriminatory as compared with the treatment accorded to any other country.

"The nationals of neither of the high contracting parties shall be compelled under any pretext whatever to pay within the territories of the other party any duties, internal charges or taxes upon their importations and exportations other or higher than those paid by nationals of the country or by nationals of any other country.

"The above provisions shall become effective on January 1, 1929, provided that the exchange of ratifications hereinafter provided shall have taken place by that date, otherwise at a date four months subsequent to such exchange of ratifications.

"Article 2. The English and Chinese texts of this treaty have been carefully compared and verified; but, in the event of there being a difference of meaning between the two, the sense expressed in the English text shall be held to prevail.

"This treaty shall be ratified by the high contracting parties in accordance with their respective constitutional methods and the ratifications shall be exchanged as soon as possible.

"In testimony whereof, we, the undersigned, by virtue of our respective powers, have signed this treaty in duplicate in the English and Chinese languages and have affixed our respective seals.

"Done at Peiping the twenty-fifth day of July, 1928, corresponding to the twenty-fifth day of the seventh month of the 17th year of the Republic of China.

J. V. A. MacMurray,
T. V. Soong."

(Department press release, July 27, 1928)

July, 1928. The *Commercial and Financial Chronicle* stated editorially on July 28, 1928 (p. 464), its approval of the above action:

"It is to be hoped that Secretary Kellogg's confidence in the stability and wisdom of the Nationalist Government will turn out to have been fully justified and it is entirely probable that the Department of State, which is certainly not given to haste in such matters, has information regarding actual conditions in China not yet made public in the press, that amply sustains Mr. Kellogg's position. . . . The United States, however, in addition to suddenly taking the lead in bringing the issue of tariff autonomy to a settlement, has again shown its friendship for China and the Chinese people, and committed itself

once more to the grant to China of as complete autonomy and independence as China itself is capable of administering with due regard to international obligations. If the other Powers support the American view, peace and reconstruction in China will have been brought appreciably nearer."

August, 1928. The *American Federationist* for August, p. 914, carried another favorable editorial:

"China looks to the traditional friendship of the United States for help in her struggle to establish a national constitutional government. She is now facing the problem much more difficult than that of establishing military control—that of establishing a civil government for the whole country. Such a government would remove the reasons that have made possible intervention of foreign nations. American labor urges our government to stand for a square deal for China."

August, 1928. The *Literary Digest* resumé of editorial opinion concerning recognition of Nanking, printed in the issue of August 11, 1928, p. 5-6, indicated general approval, though certain editors, among them those of the *Chicago Tribune* and the *Los Angeles Times,* counselled deferring full recognition, the action of our Government being regarded at that time as conferring merely *de facto* status. Expectation was expressed that the next step on the part of China would be the attempt to secure relinquishment of extraterritorial jurisdiction, concerning which views were divided.

September, 1928. The full significance of the tariff treaty of July 25, 1928, was revealed when the Department of State announced that the signature of this Government carried recognition of Nanking as the *de jure* government of China.

October, 1928. On October 10, China's Fourth of July, President Coolidge congratulated the Nationalist Government and reaffirmed his faith in the Chinese nation.

October, 1928. The receipt of a note of Dr. C. T. Wang, Chinese foreign minister, requesting consideration of the issue of consular jurisdiction and expressing the anticipation that the American Government would assume the leadership on this point as it had in that of customs control, was denied by the Department of State.

October, 1928. An editorial note with reference to the above communication from Dr. Wang appeared in the *Commercial and Financial Chronicle,* October 27, 1928, p. 2276:

"There is no likelihood, however, of immediate action toward this end by the European and American governments, even though there is a disposition in some quarters to examine the subject sympathetically. One of the greatest stumbling blocks to any satisfactory settlement of the problem is, of course, the instability of the Chinese Government itself. Until this difficulty is definitely removed, the powers will almost certainly remain unmoved by the Chinese appeals. 'This question,' a *New York Times* report said, 'is about the only one on which the powers could unite in present refusal.' "

November, 1928. President Coolidge in a statement declared that recent events had confirmed his policy in China and

showed it to be successful in spite of the domestic and foreign criticism that his refusal to intervene with the other Powers had evoked. He said that the Government had under consideration raising the Chinese legation to an embassy. (*New York Times,* November 7, 1928)

December, 1928. President Coolidge, in his annual message to Congress, referred to China:

"The situation in China, which a few months ago was so threatening as to call for the dispatch of a large additional force, has been much composed. The Nationalist Government has established itself over the country and promulgated a new organic law announcing a program intended to promote the political and economic welfare of the people. We have recognized this Government, encouraged its progress, and have negotiated a treaty restoring to China complete tariff autonomy and guaranteeing our citizens against discriminations. Our trade in that quarter is increasing and our forces are being reduced." (*Cong. Rec.,* 70th Congress, 2nd Session, p. 24)

December, 1928. President Coolidge submitted the tariff treaty with China to the Senate on December 8, 1928. In so doing he said:

"This treaty, which is an evidence of the desire of the United States to deal justly with the Chinese nation, was negotiated and signed by virtue of full powers issued by me. It is the first treaty entered into by the Nationalist Government of the Republic of China. It provides that the principle of complete national tariff autonomy shall apply in the tariff relations between the United States and China, in place of the provisions of existing treaties, and that in connection therewith neither country shall discriminate against the other. I am in entire sympathy with the principles involved and the treaty has my unqualified approval." (*Cong. Rec.,* 70th Congress, 2nd Session, p. 3234)

Secretary Kellogg's explanatory report, which accompanied the treaty into the Senate, concluded thus:

"It is believed that by the signing of this treaty a benefit has been conferred upon all concerned, in that, while safeguarding American interests and doing no injury to the interests of any other country, the way has been provided for a procedure whereby the powers may relinquish their so-called 'control' over China's tariff. It is believed, moreover, that this action is in conformity with the traditional American policy of friendship toward the Chinese nation." (*Rec.,* p. 3234)

December, 1928. Mr. A. L. Warnshuis, Secretary of the International Missionary Council, after a conference of members of the Council with the Department of State issued a statement from which the following is taken:

"It does not appear that there is any legal way by which American missionaries, so long as they remain American citizens, can be exempt from the protection which the government in the exercise of its natural functions extends to all its citizens. . . . Any discrimination separating missionaries from other classes might involve them in new difficulties as the beneficiaries of special privileges."

However, it was suggested in the statement of the Council that the methods used to protect missionary life and property should indicate a

desire "to keep in mind the difference between missionaries and other citizens and . . . avoid such action as will injure any of them." (*Chinese Recorder,* March 1929, p. 201)

February, 1929. The Senate recommended ratification of the tariff treaty on February 11, 1929. Done in executive session. (*Rec.,* p. 3234)

February, 1929. Exchange of ratifications of the above treaty occurred at Washington, D. C., on February 20, between Mr. Sao-ke Alfred Sze, Chinese Minister, and the Secretary of State. (*United States Daily,* February 21, 1929, p. 2)

March, 1929. Senator Bingham (Conn.), referred in the Senate on March 2, 1929, to the favorable reaction in China to the ratification of the tariff treaty with the United States, mentioning the vote of the American Club at Shanghai opening its membership to Chinese.

He concluded his remarks by saying:

"I hope that the day may not be far distant when in recognition of the character of those races (of China, Japan and India) and their civilization they may be accorded equal privileges under the immigration quota with the other races and nations of the world with whom we are on friendly terms." (*Rec.,* 70th Congress, 2nd Session, p. 5088)

March, 1929. Representative Stephen Porter (Pa.) caused to be printed an extension of his remarks, in which he recalled America's consistently helpful policy toward China, contrasting it with what he termed: "The predatory demands of other powers," naming "Japan and certain of the European powers" and referring to the "Twenty-One Demands" as unjustified. Speaking of the future he said:

"But it is certain that these extraterritorial rights are soon to be relinquished."

He stated that the plans for the new consulate-general of the United States at Shanghai make no provision for a court-room or other offices for the United States Court for China. (*Rec.,* p. 5428)

March, 1929. Dr. C. C. Wu presented his letters of credence as the first minister at Washington of the National Government of China to President Hoover on March 25. The President assured Dr. Wu of his great pleasure in receiving him and of his "hearty coöperation" in efforts devoted to the "advancement of the interests common to both China and the United States." (Dept. of State Press release, March 25, 1929)

Secretary Kellogg, upon retiring from the Department of State, said that the Government was watching China carefully but was not alarmed over the international situation. He regretted the dissension within the Kuomintang but thought it had no international import. The United States had no intention of increasing its forces in China, now greatly diminished in numbers. (*North China Herald,* April 6, 1929, p. 6)

April, 1929. Dr. C. T. Wang, Chinese Foreign Minister, concluded an identic note to the Government of the United States

requesting negotiations for the relinquishment of extraterritorial jurisdiction in China with the following paragraph:

"As the American Government has always maintained a friendly attitude toward China, and has always shown its readiness in the adoption of measures for the removal of limitations on China's sovereignty, the Chinese Government is happy to express to the American Government the desire of China to have the restrictions on her jurisdictional sovereignty removed at the earliest possible moment, and confidently hopes that the American Government will take this desire of China into immediate and sympathetic consideration and favor it with an early reply, so that steps may be taken to enable China, now unified and with a strong central government, to rightfully assume jurisdiction over all nationals within her domain." (*Current History*, June, 1929, pp. 538-9.)

May, 1929. Cancellation of the Embargo Agreement on the exportation of arms to China was announced in a press release of the Department of State dated May 1. The release is given herewith:

"The Department of State has been informed that there has been addressed by the Senior Minister of the Diplomatic Body at Peking, on behalf of the foreign governments concerned, to the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the National Government of China, under date April 26, 1929, a note declaring the cancellation of an agreement, generally known as the 'Arms Embargo Agreement,' which was entered into in 1919.

"The agreement in question, which provided for imposing restrictions on the exportation from foreign countries of arms to China and on the importation by foreign nationals of arms into China, was recorded in a note addressed on May 5, 1919, by the Senior Minister of the Diplomatic Body to the Chinese Minister for Foreign Affairs, in which it was stated:

" 'The Governments of Great Britain, Spain, Portugal, the United States, Russia, Brazil, France and Japan have agreed effectively to restrain their subjects and citizens from exporting to or importing into China arms and munitions of war and material destined exclusively for their manufacture until the establishment of a government whose authority is recognized throughout the whole country and also to prohibit during the above period the delivery of arms and munitions for which contracts have already been made but not executed.'

"In addition to the governments named in this note several other governments subsequently adhered to this provision.

"The action taken at Peking on April 26, 1929, in the form of a new note, as stated above, by the Senior Minister of the Diplomatic Body, terminates this agreement.

"The exportation of arms from the United States to China has been governed and will continue to be governed by the President's Proclamation of March 4, 1922, issued in pursuance of the Joint Resolution of Congress approved January 31, 1922.

"Under the provisions of this proclamation it is unlawful to export to China, 'except under such limitations and exceptions as the President prescribes, any arms or munitions of war from any place in the United States' until otherwise ordered by the President or by Congress; and the Secretary of State is authorized to prescribe the limitations and exceptions in the application.

"The Secretary of State announces that exportation of arms or munitions of war for the use of the Chinese Government will be permitted when such exportation is requested by the Chinese Government and license to export has been applied for and been granted.

"In connection with exporting, the American Government provides a Form for application for license and requires that applications be submitted on such Forms, fully filled out, by the prospective exporters, to the Department of State."

May, 1929. Mr. Nelson T. Johnson, Assistant Secretary of State, having supervision over the Far Eastern Division of the Department, addressed the Federal Bar Association on May 13, 1929. A few sentences from the press release issued by the Department of State on May 14 are here quoted from his address, which was essentially historical in character:

"In response to a question from the floor as to whether these conditions were not changing and the foreign governments would have to give up their extraterritorial rights, Mr. Johnson stated that it was quite true that conditions were changing in China; that as long ago as 1903 several powers, including the United States, Great Britain and Japan, had undertaken to give up their rights if and when the Chinese judicial administration had been altered to meet modern requirements. He referred to the Commissions that were sent abroad by the Chinese shortly after that for the purpose of studying the administration of justice in Europe and the United States and told of the establishment in China of the new modern courts, modeled on the Continental plans. He stated that this evolution of the administration of justice in China had been handicapped somewhat by the revolution but that it was steadily going on."

2. Settlement of Claims Arising Out of the Nanking Incident

April, 1928. Notes providing for the settlement of American claims arising out of the Nanking incident of March 24, 1927, were signed on March 30, 1928, by General Huang Fu, Nanking Minister of Foreign Affairs, and Mr. J. V. A. MacMurray, American Minister to China, and exchanged at Shanghai on April 2, 1928. Inasmuch as Mr. MacMurray's notes in each instance repeat, practically verbatim, the notes of General Huang, it is deemed necessary here to give only Mr. MacMurray's notes. His third note is given on a previous page, (see p. 472) since it refers to the general question of treaty revision. The first note of Mr. MacMurray reads:

"The American Minister has the honor to acknowledge the receipt of the note of this day's date from the Minister for Foreign Affairs, which reads as follows:

" 'With reference to the Nanking incident which took place on the 24th of March last year, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Nationalist Government has the honor to inform the American Minister that, animated by a desire to promote the most friendly feelings happily subsisting between the American and Chinese peoples, the Nationalist Government is prepared to bring about an immediate settlement of the case, along the lines already agreed upon as a result of the discussions between us beginning from the 26th February this year.

" 'In the name of the Nationalist Government, the Minister for

Foreign Affairs has the honor to convey in the sincerest manner to the Government of the United States of America their profound regret at the indignities to the American flag and to official representatives of that Government, the loss of property sustained by the American Consulate, and the personal injuries and material damages done to the American residents. Although it has been found, after investigation of the incident, that it was entirely instigated by the Communists prior to the establishment of the Nationalist Government at Nanking, the Nationalist Government nevertheless accepts the responsibility therefor.

" 'The Nationalist Government have in pursuance of their established policy, repeatedly issued orders to the civil and military authorities for the continuous and effective protection of the lives and property of American residents in China.

" 'With the extermination of the Communists and their evil influences which tended to impair the friendly relations between the Chinese and American peoples, the Nationalist Government feel confident that the task of protecting foreigners will henceforth be rendered easier; and the Nationalist Government undertake specifically that there will be no similar violence or agitation against American lives or legitimate interests.

" 'In this connection, the Minister for Foreign Affairs has the pleasure to add that the troops of the particular division which took part in the unfortunate incident, at the instigation of the Communists, have been disbanded. The Nationalist Government have in addition taken effective steps for the punishment of the soldiers and other persons implicated.

" 'In accordance with the well accepted principles of international law, the Nationalist Government undertake to make compensation in full for all personal injuries and material damages done to the American Consulate and to its officials and to American residents and their property at Nanking.

" 'The Nationalist Government propose that for this purpose there be a Sino-American Joint Commission to verify the actual injuries and damages suffered by the American residents at the hands of the Chinese concerned, and to assess the amount of compensation due in each case.'

"In the full realization of the inherent justice and honor of the Chinese people when not affected by the incitations of subversive influences, and with a deep appreciation of the sorrow and humiliation caused to all elements of that people by the Nanking incident, and believing that the earnest given as to the punishment of those guilty of the incident will be completely fulfilled at the earliest opportunity—particularly as regards Liu Tsu Han, who was personally responsible for the incident—the American Minister accepts in behalf of his Government the terms set forth in the note from the Minister for Foreign Affairs in definite settlement of the questions arising out of that incident.

"Confident of the spirit of sincerity in which the present settlement has been made, the American Government looks to the loyal fulfillment of the said terms of settlement, as affording a measure of the good faith and good will with which it may anticipate being met, by the Nanking authorities, in other phases of the relationships between the American and the Chinese peoples."

Mr. MacMurray's second note replies to General Huang's second

note concerning an expression of regret by the American Government:

"The American Minister has the honor to acknowledge the receipt of a note of today's date from the Minister for Foreign Affairs, in which reference was made to the fact that on March 24, 1927, the American war vessels, NOA and PRESTON, then lying in port, opened fire upon Standard Oil Company hill at Nanking, and in which the hope was expressed that the American Government would indicate their regret at this action. In reply, the American Minister has to point out that the firing referred to was in fact a protective barrage, strictly confined to the immediate neighborhood of the house in which the American Consul and his family and staff, together with many others, had been driven to seek refuge from the assaults of an unrestrained soldiery; and not only did it provide the only conceivable means by which the lives of this party were saved from the danger that immediately threatened them, but it also made possible the evacuation of the other Americans residing at Nanking, who were in actual peril of their lives. The American Government therefore feels that its naval vessels had no alternative to the action taken, however deeply it deplores that circumstances beyond its control should have necessitated the adoption of such measures for the protection of the lives of its citizens at Nanking."

(Department of State press release, April 3, 1928.)

May, 1928. Mr. MacMurray informed the Department of State that on April 26 the Minister of Foreign Affairs at Nanking had given to Consul General Edwin S. Cunningham, Shanghai, an order for $100,000 Mex. as the initial payment of the Nanking reparations.

(Department of State press release, May 4, 1928.)

August, 1928. The American and the Chinese Governments named a joint commission of four members, two from each state, to verify injuries and damages and to assess the compensation due.

March, 1929. The Joint commission completed its work, setting the amount of compensation at $450,000. Mission boards withheld claims amounting to $200,000.

3. Protection of Citizens

May, 1928. Mr. MacMurray addressed letters to the governments at Peking and Nanking calling to their attention the fact that the central point of refuge for several thousand Americans was at Tientsin and that American troops were there for protective purposes. He asked that "only trusted troops and commanders of unquestioned loyalty to China's welfare be employed in the event of any operations in the neighborhood of Tientsin."

July, 1928. Mr. MacMurray demanded the punishment of the murderer of Dr. W. F. Seymour, missionary physician at Tsining, who was killed on April 16 by soldiers of Feng Yu-hsiang.

August, 1928. Mr. MacMurray in a note to Nanking urged the evacuation of all American property under military or other occupation. He cited a number of instances of continued occupation and declared that American property was being treated as though it belonged to enemies of China.

April, 1929. The American consul at Nanking asked the government to assure protection of Americans in Shantung. The consul-general at Hankow asked the Chinese authorities to send troops to Taoyuan, Hunan, where foreign lives were menaced by disorder. The consul-general at Canton advised American missionaries in southern Kiangsi and in northern Kuangtung and Kuangsi to leave their stations. Several missionaries in the areas here mentioned were killed by bandits during this period; others were kidnapped or forced to flee, leaving their property to looters.

May, 1929. Mr. MacMurray and American consuls requested immediate action from central and local authorities to secure the release of a missionary kidnapped near Sungtao, Kueichow.

4. Famine

April, 1928. The American minister cabled that it would be helpful if a fund not exceeding $500,000 might be made available immediately for famine relief in Shantung.

5. Chinese at West Point

May, 1928. A joint resolution was passed by both houses of Congress providing for the admission of two Chinese subjects, to be designated and maintained by the Government of China, to West Point. (Statutes, etc., of the 70th Congress, Pt. I, p. 737.)

6. American Advisers Appointed

The Chinese Government announced the appointment of Dr. E. E. Kemmerer and a considerable number of assisting American experts in economics to advise it along lines of economic reconstruction. E. P. Goodrich, engineer, and Henry K. Murphy, architect, also were retained. Henry Ford, Owen D. Young, Jeremiah Jenks, E. R. A. Seligman and R. N. Harper accepted invitations to act as honorary advisers. J. J. Mantell was appointed to survey Chinese railways and to report on rehabilitation and standardization of equipment along American lines. Thomas F. Millard became a political adviser.

These appointments were thought to presage large loans by American banks to finance railway building, city and harbor development and monetary stabilization.

7. Multilateral Pact

The American Government invited the Chinese Government to adhere to the multilateral pact for the renunciation of war. China adhered in September. Dr. Wang concluded his note of adherence with a paragraph urging that the signatory powers demonstrate their sincerity by entering into equal treaties with China and desisting from encroachments upon her sovereignty. China deposited her instrument of adherence at Washington on May 8, 1929.

8. Trade

March, 1928. Mr. Julean Arnold, American Commercial Attaché in China, issued the figures of American trade with China in 1926 and 1927 (inclusive of Hongkong and Kuantung):

	1926	1927
Exports: U. S.	$129,488,000	$109,069,000
Imports	157,904,000	170,393,000
Totals	$287,392,000	$279,462,000

He stated that, inclusive of bullion shipments and of commodities sold to China but recorded as trade with Japan, the total trade had amounted to $350,000,000 in 1927, which was about 25 per cent of China's foreign trade.

March, 1929. Figures of trade during 1928 were as follows:

Exports: U. S.	$165,316,000
Imports	156,575,000
Total	$321,891,000

III. Relations With Japan and Opinion Thereon

1. Anglo-Japanese Relations

August, 1927. William R. Castle, Acting Secretary of State, was quoted in the *New York Times* of August 26, 1927, as having declared on the previous day that:

"The press story of a secret naval pact between Great Britain and Japan is, so far as the State Department knows, absolutely without foundation. No suggestion of this kind has reached the Department and I have no reason to believe that there is any foundation for the story."

The Washington newspaper which published the story of a secret pact intimated that the alleged move was preliminary to reviving the Anglo-Japanese treaty of alliance.

(*New York Times,* Aug. 26, 1927, p. 2.)

September, 1927. President Coolidge permitted an oral statement on his behalf on September 27, 1927, that the position taken by the Japanese delegates to the recent three-power conference at Geneva was entirely satisfactory to the United States. The Japanese delegates showed a disposition to cooperate in every way possible, he believed. The President said that he had seen no suggestion from Baron Saito of Japan to the effect that his country might call another naval conference nor had any such suggestion been made to the President. (*United States Daily,* Sept. 28, 1927, p. 1.)

November, 1928. The Japanese Government, in letting it be known that negotiations were in progress for closer cooperation between Great Britain and Japan, stated its desire to include the United States. Well-informed news sources failed to quote official statements but affirmed that England and Japan had reached an understanding to support each other in matters of mutual interest. It was said that Great Britain had dropped her former objection to making the "Nishihara" and other unsecured loans of Japan a charge upon China's tariff revenue and that she had recognized Japan's "special interests" in north Manchuria. No compensating recognition of British interests was

noted other than the assumption that an entente with Japan would serve British desires to confine Russian communism within its proper bounds. (*Current History,* Jan., 1929, p. 707.)

November, 1928. Sir Austen Chamberlain, British Foreign Minister, in answer to a question in the House of Commons as to whether the United States was being consulted regarding the closer cooperation between Great Britain and Japan said that there had been:

"No consultation with anybody, but that our Minister in Peking communicates with the representative of the United States in that capital; and that I think is the best channel through which we can co-ordinate, wherever co-ordination is possible and desirable, our policy with that of the United States."

Sir Austen's explanation to the House of the character of the arrangement between his country and Japan was printed in PACIFIC AFFAIRS, page above cited. It seems advisable to repeat it here:

"Relations between Great Britain and Japan with regard to China are based on the obligations of full and frank communications specified in Article 7 of the Washington-China Treaty of 1922, and on the fact that Japan and Great Britain have much larger interests in China than have the other Washington Powers. In these circumstances, the two governments have agreed informally that the close contact which they desire to maintain can best be promoted and developed by constant communication and consultation between their respective Ministers at Peking. The two Ministers, each being fully informed of the views of his colleague's Government in regard to every new problem as it arises, will then be in a position to consider whether a common course of action is desirable or not, and if not, to understand and explain the reasons to their Governments. There are no conversations proceeding between the two Governments regarding China other than this informal exchange of information and views which takes place at Peking, and which will, I hope, be continued. This arrangement is not a new departure but a natural consequence of the Washington obligations. Similar conversations and consultation take place between His Majesty's Minister and the Ministers of other Powers at Peking. The general lines of British policy were laid down in our declarations of December, 1926, and January, 1927, to which we adhere."

January, 1929. Premier Tanaka was pressed to reveal the documents relating to Anglo-Japanese cooperation in the Diet. He declared that there were none to publish and that he had simply authorized Count Uchida to discuss the matter with the British foreign office. (*Current History,* Mar., 1929, p. 1054.)

May, 1929. The Japanese Government communicated to the American Secretary of State their general acceptance of the principle of naval reduction outlined at Geneva in April, 1929, by Ambassador Hugh Gibson. They signified their willingness to confer concerning further naval reduction. (*United States Daily,* May 20, 1929.)

2. Immigration

October, 1927. The *News Bulletin* of the Institute of Pacific Relations (Nov., 1927, p. 8), quotes statements from California newspapers. In general they show a disinclination to discuss the immi-

gration issue, which they regard as settled and closed. But the *Long Beach Press-Telegram* and the *Sacramento Bee* express a friendly attitude and declare that Japanese are not excluded because of inferiority.

January, 1928. Premier Tanaka's speech to the Diet included in its references to foreign relations the following statement:

"It is to be regretted that the question of discriminatory legislation against Japanese immigration, pending for the past several years, still remains unsolved. I should state, however, that the mutual understanding and sympathy of the American and Japanese peoples, which are essential to the solution of such questions, are gradually growing."
(*Current History,* Mar., 1928, p. 916.)

July, 1928. The California Joint Immigration Committee filed with the Senate committee on immigration a brief prepared by V. S. McClatchy, secretary of the Joint Committee, which was printed in the *United States Daily* for July 23, 1928, pp. 1-2. The statement follows in full:

"It is frequently asked, 'Why does not Congress grant an immigration quota to Japan and thus end the misunderstanding between the two countries, since less than 200 Japanese a year would enter under such an arrangement?'

"The question is asked usually by those who have had no opportunity for acquainting themselves with the details of the hearings on the subject by the Committees of Congress prior to the passage of the Immigration Restriction Act of 1924. It is a natural inquiry to make in the absence of the knowledge which induced or forced Congress to reject this quota plan after full consideration, when it had determined that Japanese immigration must be stopped and by a plan which would give least reasonable ground for complaint on Japan's part.

"The fundamental reasons are that the plan involves discrimination against all other colored races of Asia, including Chinese, Hindus, Malays, etc., and still more important, it involves entire abandonment of the basic principle to keep out all the colored races without discriminatory immigration laws. Congress felt it could not afford to abandon that principle even though there were admitted thereby only one individual instead of a few hundred.

"The seven-line exclusion section of the 1924 immigration act, which does not even mention the Japanese, is in no way a discrimination against the Japanese, and not even against the other colored races, since it is based on our naturalization law and simply declares that we will not admit to this country for permanent settlement anyone who under our laws is not eligible to become a citizen.

"Our naturalization law, which since 1790 has refused citizenship to members of the yellow, brown and red races, may be considered discriminatory against such races; but if the Japanese or any other of such races were declared eligible to American citizenship they would become thereby admissible as immigrants without any change in the immigration act. Japan's complaint, therefore, if she has a legitimate one, is not against the immigration act, but against the naturalization law.

"If the Japanese are admitted as immigrants we at once nullify the provision which excludes all individuals ineligible to citizenship. Unless we grant the same privilege to Hindus, Chinese and other colored races

of Asia, we discriminate insultingly against such other races and provoke friction and endless trouble.

"Quota, if granted to Japanese alone of the races now ineligible to our citizenship, under the provision of the present act (2 per cent of the foreign-born in continental United States according to the 1890 census), would admit only 40 Japanese per year; but if the same privilege were granted to other races, over 2,000 Chinese would come in each year. If Hawaii's population were included in the basic factor the number of Japanese admissions would increase to over 200 and the Chinese to 2,200 or more. If the census of 1910 or 1920 should be used as a basis, the quota of Japan would be greatly increased.

"If we grant quota to all colored races it is only a question of time when under possible changes in the immigration law or policy their number in this country may be increased; but in any event we are sacrificing at once the basic principle which holds that races declared ineligible for citizenship for reasons deemed to be sufficient shall not be admitted to this country for permanent settlement, since even now a small number, if gathered together in a community, must provoke friction and racial trouble.

"Such was the line of reasoning which forced Congress to abandon any idea of granting quota to Japan. It has lost none of its force since 1924. There has been added since an additional reason because such a plan would no longer meet the requirements of Japan, as has been explained in public print by a number of her leaders. They say she will insist on this country granting to her nationals ultimately full "racial equality," that is to say, not only the same rights as to admission, but also as to citizenship, that are granted by us to European members of the white race. To grant quota to Japan now, therefore, it is claimed would be regarded by her as an indication of weakness on our part and encourage the further demands referred to."

January, 1929. Premier Tanaka, in his speech to the Diet on Foreign relations, expressed satisfaction at the strengthening of economic and political bonds between Japan and the United States but mentioned the still unsettled issue of immigration as one dependent upon mutual understanding which he believed to be increasing.

(*Current History,* Mar., 1929, p. 1054.)

May, 1929. A bill was introduced into the legislature of California to prohibit Japanese fishermen who were not citizens of the United States from fishing in California waters.

(*Pacific Affairs,* May, 1929, p. 279.)

3. Manchuria

September-October, 1927. Thomas W. Lamont of J. P. Morgan and Company visited Japan. On October 4 he expressed the opinion that Japan was well on the road to financial recovery. Decorations were conferred upon Mr. Morgan and Mr. Lamont by the Japanese Emperor. There was discussion of a loan to the South Manchuria Railway Company.

(*Current History,* Nov., p. 302; Dec., 1927, p. 452.)

November, 1927. The Department of State stated orally on November 25 that it could see no objection to the projected loan

by J. P. Morgan and Company to the Japanese Government for the South Manchuria Railway. It stated that:

"Although the projected loan, reported to be $30,000,000, has not come before the Department officially the matter is purely a private one in which the Department of State is not interested."

(*United States Daily,* November 26, 1927, p. 1.)

November, 1927. Secretary Kellogg had his attention called to a report from Tokyo that the Japanese Government considered the negotiation of the loan as indicating that the Department of State had modified its policy toward Manchuria. He orally authorized the following statement:

"The position of the Secretary of State, Frank B. Kellogg, in not opposing the projected loan of $30,000,000 to the South Manchuria Railway does not constitute a change in policy regarding Manchuria."

(*United States Daily,* Nov. 28, 1927, p. 7.)

December, 1927. Dr. C. C. Wu, Minister of Foreign Affairs at Nanking, sent the following note to the American Secretary of State, under date of Dec. 1, 1927:

"Chinese people have heard with alarm the imminent flotation of South Manchuria Railway loan in America and apparent acquiescence of the American Government. It is well known to the world and to none better than the American Government that the railway is not a mere industrial enterprise but the symbol and instrument of alien domination over a large and rich portion of Chinese territory. Japan sought to prolong that domination by nature of the notorious 21 demands. If America, which repeatedly demonstrated its sympathy in China in connection with those demands, were now to lend means to strengthen that domination, Chinese people would be at a loss to understand the fundamental change of attitude on the part of the American Government. The Nationalist Government feels confident that the American Government will not permit consummation of this loan and depart from the traditional policy which has been instrumental in promoting cordial friendship between Chinese and American people."

(*United States Daily,* Dec. 7, 1927, p. 2.)

Similarly emphatic statements were issued by General Yang Yu-ting, Chief of Staff of Dictator Chang Tso-lin at Peking, and by various business and other organizations in China.

December, 1927. The Department of State let it be known that it had not been definitely advised that its attitude toward the loan would be sought but that it held the impression that the bankers would not wish to proceed in the face of the popular disapproval in China. Loan negotiations were discontinued.

(*Current History,* Feb., 1928, p. 765.)

May, 1928. The Department of State, on May 21, stated orally that the United States had not modified its position that Japan had no special interests in China. Although the Lansing-Ishii Agreement had recognized such special interests, it said, that agreement had been terminated. Japan had not consulted the United States regarding its determination to prevent civil war in Manchuria and the Secretary had

received no official notification of action there. In conclusion the statement said:

"As far as the United States is concerned Manchuria is essentially Chinese soil." (*United States Daily,* May 22, 1928, p. 2.)

July, 1928. Sir Austen Chamberlain, British Foreign Minister, stated in the House of Commons on July 30, 1928:

"As regards Manchuria we do not recognize Manchuria as anything but a part of China. We recognize that Japan has great interests in Manchuria, which has a large Japanese population, and that she may well have a certain anxiety about the protection of those persons. But our interest is in a united China under one government which can make and keep obligations and with which we can negotiate a friendly settlement and maintain friendly relations."

(*Commercial and Financial Chronicle,* Aug. 4, 1928, p. 591.)

September, 1928. Count Y. Uchida, privy councillor, stopped in Washington en route home from Paris, where he signed the Multilateral Peace Pact on behalf of Japan, to present an official explanation of Japan's policies toward China. He referred to Japan's attitude toward the open door policy as identical with that of the United States. Without qualifications he declared that Japan regards Manchuria as an integral part of China and entertains no program of annexation or protectorate-establishment there.

(*Current History,* Nov., 1928, p. 352.)

October, 1928. The National City Company offered on October 30, 1928, bonds at 5½% in the amount of $19,900,000 of the Oriental Development Company, Ltd. Term of bonds, 30 years, due Nov. 1, 1958. Offered at 90 and interest. Issue was oversubscribed on the day of issue. The bonds were unconditionally guaranteed by the Japanese Government as to principal and interest. Annouced purpose: "To retire outstanding yen debentures of the company . . . and the balance to the payment of bank loans." Dr. C. T. Wang, Chinese Foreign Minister, was reported by the Associated Press as saying on October 27 that in the event the loan was made the National Government would "consider the act contradictory to the expressed policy of the United States Government toward China." He said that he had instructed the Chinese Minister at Washington to inform the Department of State to that effect; also said that his Government could not countenance a foreign loan to a second foreign group for investment in Manchuria.

(*Commercial and Financial Chronicle,* Nov. 3, 1928, p. 2448.)

4. Secret Treaty With Mexico

December, 1927. The Japanese Embassy issued the following statement, which was received by the Department of State on December 8, 1927:

"With regard to the report recently circulated in some newspapers that a 'secret treaty' was being negotiated by Japan and Mexico, the Japanese Embassy states, in the name of the Japanese Government, that the Government has never approached the Mexican Government with proposals for any secret treaty nor has it ever received any suggestion of such a nature from the Mexican Government and that there

exists no secret treaty or secret agreement whatever between Japan and Mexico." (*United States Daily,* Dec. 10, 1927, p. 2.)

5. Arbitration Treaty

March, 1928. The Department of State announced that it had begun negotiations on March 15 with Japan for separate treaties of arbitration and conciliation, the former to be similar to the recently negotiated treaty with France, the latter to the Bryan treaties. Drafts of these treaties had been submitted to the Japanese Government for consideration, taking the place of a draft treaty of arbitration and conciliation which had been submitted to Japan on December 31, 1927.
(*United States Daily,* Mar. 16, 1928, pp. 1-2.)

August, 1928. The Department of State stated orally on August 11 that negotiations for a new arbitration treaty to replace the treaty due to expire on August 24, 1928, were proceeding satisfactorily. Japan had raised no question regarding the exclusion of disputes concerning the Asiatic mainland, it was stated. Japan had asked for definitions of several expressions contained in the treaty but no serious difficulties had been raised.
(*United States Daily,* August 13, 1928.)

6. The Multilateral Pact

April, 1928. The Government of the United States delivered identic notes at the foreign offices of four powers, including Japan, on April 13, 1928. These notes acquainted the governments with the progress of correspondence between the American and the French governments "on the question of a possible international renunciation of war" and stated that:

"The Government of the United States . . . desires to see the institution of war abolished and stands ready to conclude with the French, British, German, Italian and Japanese Governments a single multilateral treaty open to subsequent adherence by any and all other governments binding the parties thereto not to resort to war with one another." With the note were transmitted an American draft and a week later a French draft of a proposed treaty, for comparison and consideration.
(*The General Pact for the Renunciation of War,*
Government Printing Office, Washington, pp. 19-21, 1928.)

May, 1928. The Japanese Government by Baron Tanaka replied on May 26. The reply was cordial and constructive:

"I beg to inform your excellency that the Government of Japan sympathize warmly with the high and beneficent aims of the proposal now made by the United States, which they take to imply the entire abolition of the institution of war, and that they will be glad to render their most cordial cooperation towards the attainment of that end.

"The proposal of the United States is understood to contain nothing that would refuse to independent states the right of self-defense, and nothing which is incompatible with the obligations of agreements guaranteeing the public peace, such as are embodied in the Covenant of the League of Nations and the treaties of Locarno. Accordingly, the Imperial Government firmly believe that unanimous agreement on a mutually acceptable text for such a treaty as is contemplated is well capable of

realization by discussion between the six powers referred to, and they would be happy to collaborate with cordial good will in the discussions with the purpose of securing what they are persuaded is the common desire of all the peoples of the world—namely, the cessation of wars and the definite establishment among the nations of an era of permanent and universal peace." (*The General Pact*, cited, p. 31.)

June, 1928. The Department of State, on June 23, delivered to Japan and other states a note setting forth the American Government's construction of its draft treaty and stating that although it found no necessity for alteration of the substance of the draft, after due consideration of replies received, it was inclined to revise the phraseology in order to meet points raised by other Governments and thus more promptly to reach a general agreement. With the note was submitted the revised draft. (*The General Pact,* cited, pp. 36-42.)

July, 1928. The Japanese Government by Baron Tanaka acknowledged the above note on July 20, 1928, and stated:

"In reply, I have the honor to inform you that the Japanese Government are happy to be able to give their full concurrence to the alterations now proposed, their understanding of the original draft submitted to them in April being, as I intimated in my note to his excellency, Mr. MacVeagh, dated the 26th of May, 1928, substantially the same as that entertained by the Government of the United States. They are therefore ready to give instructions for the signature, on that footing, of the treaty in the form in which it is now proposed.

"I cannot conclude without congratulating your Government most warmly upon the rapid and general acceptance which their proposals have met with. The Imperial Government are proud to be among the first to be associated with a movement so plainly in unison with the hopes everywhere entertained, and confidently concur in the high probability of the acceptance of this simple and magnanimous treaty by the whole civilized world." (*The General Pact,* cited, pp. 53-54.)

August, 1928. Count Yasuya Uchida signed the Pact on behalf of Japan, Secretary Frank B. Kellogg on behalf of the United States, at the Quai d'Orsay in Paris on August 27, 1928.

March, 1929. The United States deposited its ratification of the Pact on March 2, 1929.
(*Monthly Bulletin, Treaty Inf'n,* May 1, 1929, p. 1.)

June, 1929. The Privy Council of Japan on June 26 approved the Pact without reservations but with an interpretative declaration, not a part of the Pact but accompanying it, explaining that the clause of the Pact: "in the name of their respective peoples" was not to be read as affecting the imperial prerogative or the Japanese constitution. On June 27 the Emperor of Japan ratified the Pact. (Department of State press release, June 27, 1929.) Approval by the Council was preceded by much debate over the clause above quoted, due to a general feeling that it impugned the imperial power to ratify treaties. Count Uchida resigned when the interpretative statement was decided upon and the criticism awakened against the cabinet was a contributing factor in its resignation. No interpretations were attached respecting

the substance of the treaty, Premier Tanaka holding that the non-interference of the Pact with defensive war was a sufficient guarantee of Japan's interests.

7. Liquor Treaty

May, 1928. Secretary Kellogg and Ambassador Tsuneo Matsudaira signed on May 31, 1928, a treaty to prevent the illegal importation of intoxicating liquors.

(Dept. of State press release, May 31, 1928.)

8. Trade and Tariffs

July, 1928. The Department of Commerce released figures indicating that in 1927 the United States bought 42.5% of Japan's exports and sold her 28% of her imports. The trade between the two countries in 1927 was 5½% times as great as that of 1913. Figures of American trade with Japan during the calendar years 1927 and 1928 follow:

Exports	$257,570,000	$288,054,000
Imports	402,105,000	384,346,000
Total	$659,675,000	$672,400,000

(Commerce Reports, Mar. 5, 1928, p. 598, Mar. 11, 1929, p. 593.)

March, 1929. The American Chargè d'Affaires at Toyko left with the Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs the following memorandum on March 23:

"In the bill to amend the tariff on lumber, kedar, a wood from continental Asia, appears to receive preferential treatment. This wood competes in the Japanese lumber market with woods of American origin upon which the proposed law imposes new or higher duties. Owing to the extent to which the Asiatic wood can be substituted for American lumber the proposed tariff would appear likely to constitute discrimination in fact against American products. It is hoped that American lumber products will not be placed on an unfavorable basis as compared with those of other countries."

The Japanese Foreign Office replied on March 30 as follows:

"1. In the Bill for the Revision of the Tariff on lumber, the Tariff rates are differentiated according to the kind of woods, the differentiation being in no way concerned with the place of origin of woods. The woods covered by F-4, 1, Tariff No. 612 in the Bill, namely, the genus Abies, the genus Picea, the genus Pinus and the genus Larix are produced not only in Eastern Asia, but in North America as well and in plenty (e.g. Noble Fir, corresponding to the genus Abies; Spruce, to the genus Picea; Sugar Pine, Western White Pine, Yellow Pine, etc., to the genus Pinus; and Larch to the genus Larix). It follows, therefore, that woods of American origin corresponding to the said four genuses are all subject to the tariff rates under F-4 referred to above.

"2. Kedar or Benimatsu belongs to the genus Pinus and happens not to be produced in the United States, but it is different from Douglas Fir and other North American lumber in nature and in the principal uses to which it is put. As a matter of fact, more than half the Benimatsu logs actually imported are made into ordinary boards 3 bu 5 rin (4.2 inches) to 6 bu (7.2 inches) in thickness and of other dimensions,

and are used as floor boards, roof boards, for making doors and other fittings, etc. The remainder is used for making moulds, various kinds of woodwork, etc. Generally speaking, Benimatsu is a rival of Todomatsu of the genus Abies and of Ezomatsu of the genus Picea, both of which are produced in Eastern Asia.

"3. As stated above, kedar is limited in the uses to which it is put, and, unlike North American lumber, is not capable of being used for general purposes. Moreover, its imports amount to no more than between 500,000 and 700,000 koku (1 koku equals 120 board feet) a year, viz., only 6% on the total imports of North American lumber. Nor can any future increase be expected in the imports of kedar, when consideration is given to the condition of forests in the place where it is produced and to the uses which are made of this wood. In consequence, cedar is worthy of no particular consideration even from the viewpoint of protecting Japanese forestry.

"4. For the reasons set forth in the foregoing, American lumber is not considered likely to suffer particularly from the importation of kedar. It will have been clearly seen that the tariff in question is not designed to constitute any discrimination against American lumber in respect of kedar, either in form or in fact."

The Kirin-Tunhua Railway and Japanese Expansion

From a Chinese Viewpoint

By Ching Shui-kung

(Translated from the Eastern Miscellany)

The Three Eastern Provinces is an integral part of China. Its division into different parts as Northern and Southern Manchuria was not the work of the Chinese but that of foreigners. In consequence of the Russo-Japanese War Manchuria is split into Northern and Southern Manchuria; the point of demarcation is in Changchun; the part north of this town, run through by a branch of the C. E. R., is supposed to be the Russian sphere of influence, that part south of it intersected by the South Manchurian Railway is dominated by Japanese influence. The European and American public has too often heard of North and South Manchuria; hereafter a new term, East Manchuria, will begin to make its impression upon them. Japan has perhaps fully exploited South Manchuria and is now turning her attention to Eastern Manchuria, a designation also coined by the Japanese. As Harbin is a Russian base of operation for Northern Manchuria, Dairen the point d'appui for Japanese intrusion into South Manchuria, Taonam the center of Japanese activities in Eastern Mongolia, so Kirin has been and will be made the ground for further Japanese inroad into Eastern Manchuria. The natural resources, forestry, mines, the fertile soil and the luxuriant vegetation are unknown to the outside world. We Chinese ourselves have left them undeveloped; but the quick eye of the Japanese grasped the potentialities of the region. So the Kirin-Huining railway was projected starting from the capital of Kirin Province, Kirin, to a point in Chosen, Huining, to link with the Chosen system of railways.

The Kirin-Tunhua railway, planned nineteen years ago, 131 kilometers long, open to traffic on the first of October, 1928, is only a section of the Kirin-Huining railway.

Origins of the Kirin-Tunhua Railway

The 1909 Chientao Treaty besides opening a few places to trade gave the Japanese the right to construct this line. Article six of the Treaty says: "In case of extension of the Kirin-Changchun line to Huining the arrangements and terms shall be similar to those obtaining in the Kirin-Changchun Agreement." The matter was left in abeyance to be again revived in 1918. The chief of the Communications Department signed a preliminary agreement with the Japanese Banks for an advancement of 10,000,000 yen to the Chinese Government which aroused no little opposition from the Chinese people. The Chinese Government dared not venture beyond this: no signature of the draft-treaty took place, but still the Japanese reserved the right to construct the line. In the 14th year of the Republic the question was again brought up culminating in the signing of the Kirin-Tunhua Agreement between M. Yip Kung-cho, the head of the Communications Department, and a representative of the South Manchurian Railway for a loan of 18,000,000 yen to build this line. The agreement was never made public, but people surmised that it had the following provisions:

(1) The construction of the line to be undertaken by the South Manchurian Railway.
(2) The survey to commence immediately upon signature, to be completed within two years.
(3) The Minister of the Communications Department to name the Engineer-in-Chief, the Director of the Railway to have supervisory powers over him.
(4) The Engineer-in-Chief must be a Japanese subject. His duties and powers are in common with those of the Chinese Director.
(5) Employment of a Japanese chief accountant until the redemption of the loan.
(6) The property of the railway, movable and immovable, should be the first mortgage for the loan having precedence over other mortgages.
(7) The amount advanced is 18,000,000 yen.

These stipulations are in common with similar agreements entered into between China and other foreign countries.

Before the tidings of the signature reached the general public work was commenced on the spot. That the agreement had not received the assent of the Cabinet was made the pretext for declaring it null and void by a mandate of the Chief Executive dated the 12th of January, the 15th year of the Chinese Republic. At that time Peking orders were flouted by those then in power in Manchuria. Work went on more expeditiously; the Director of the Kirin-Changchun Railway was made concurrently Director of the line in question.

The work on the line, encountering many forests, rivers and mountains on the way, was rather difficult. The Sungari River bridge is 1456 meters long, and there were three tunnels to be pierced, all told

3,300 meters long. The actual cost, 24,000,000 yen, exceeded the preliminary estimate of 18,000,000 yen.

Its Potentialities

The Japanese have exploited South Manchuria for more than twenty years, no more than 185,000 Japanese have emigrated thither—a small figure when compared with her annual million population-increase. The region east of Kirin, or as the Japanese style it, Eastern Manchuria, has been open to foreign trade and settlement for more than twenty years: yet only a paltry number of Japanese are found there; while fifty times more Chosenese went there for the cultivation of rice. In face of such striking facts Japanese statesmen have been bewildered and are endeavoring to find out the reasons. They, however, came to the conclusion that the produce of the region having no easy outlet to the sea was not worth the while for the Japanese to exploit. Hence the raison d'etre of the construction of the line. The writer of this article ascribes the small number of Japanese colonists to the Japanese tenacious love for his own soil, to his slight resistance to diseases, to his idiosyncrasies unassimiliable to, or by, other peoples, to the rigour of the Manchurian winter and to the sporadic attacks of the hunghutzes.[1]

Besides this delicate attention on the part of Japanese statesmen to the material well-being of their fellow countrymen there is another reason that prompts the Japanese to lay this line, namely, the desire to draw traffic away from the Chinese Eastern Railway. So far produce in Northern Manchuria goes by the Chinese Eastern to Vladivostok; that of Southern Manchuria is carried by the line of the same name to Dairen. By the time when the Kirin-Huining railway will have been completed the Chinese Eastern will be divested of much of its traffic for the produce can take a shorter route to the sea. The Chinese writer predicts that it might cause an open breach between Japan and Russia.

Thirdly and lastly the Kirin-Huining railway, or a section of it, the Kirin-Tunhua railway, having much in common with the Antung-Mukden railway enabling Japanese troops to concentrate in the heart of Manchuria in a short time in case of war between Japan and any European or American Power, is essentially a strategic line. In case of a blockade of the Islands, thereby threatening the supply of provisions to her population, she could close the Tsushima Straits and transport food and raw materials without outside interference through the Japan Sea, which is virtually a Japanese lake. Transportation by the South Manchurian railway then would be a devious route, exposing her navy to attacks by any naval power. The enclosed Japan Sea frees her from all such worries. Her navy mustered there would be invulnerable. Then with the strength of this line her continental dream will be realized, for she could pour troops into Northern Manchuria at a moment's notice. It will not be uninteresting to recall that the right of building the Antung-Mukden railway, having the same significance as the line in question, was ceded to Japan only after the threat of force; the Manchu regime thought too much was at stake in the cession of the line and they were undoubtedly in the right.

[1] Chinese colloquial for "bandits."

Pacific Items

British Labor Government

On July 2 the first King's speech ever drafted by a labor government in Britain was read to the joint session of parliament. Prominent place in the message was given to the government's proposals for world-wide naval reduction and resumption of relations with Soviet Russia.

Philippine Independence

Combating statements made in the United States Congress to the effect that Filipinos are insincere in their demands for complete independence, Manuel Roxas, speaker of the Philippine house of representatives, then attending Senate hearings on the tariff in Washington, on July 15 made a demand before the Senate committee for a plebiscite on the independence question in the Philippines.

Chinese-British Naval Arrangement

On July 1 an agreement was signed by Foreign Minister C. T. Wang and the British Minister, Sir Miles Lampson, providing for the training of Chinese naval cadets in Great Britain, and for a British naval mission to assist the Chinese government in naval development. This was officially interpreted as a move on the part of the Chinese government toward the suppression of piracy, and not as British assistance toward a Chinese naval program. No construction plans are contemplated.

Chino-Mexican Treaty

A Shanghai Associated Press dispatch states that the Mexican Minister in Tokyo cabled the Mexican Consul in Shanghai to the effect that the Mexican government had relinquished extraterritorial rights for its citizens in China. This is in consequence of the fact that the Chino-Mexican treaty of 1899 expires on December 14 of this year, and it is the intention of Mexico to allow her special rights in China to lapse.

World Chamber of Commerce Meet

Over a thousand big business leaders from 45 countries met in Amsterdam from July 8 to 13 under the auspices of the International Chamber of Commerce. One of the outstanding discussion topics was China and her various problems as they affect the outside world. For more than a year the International Chamber has maintained a study committee on Chinese affairs, and has been in collaboration with Chinese business leaders on problems of coöperation.

North China Daily News

On June 6 the central executive committee of the Kuomintang cancelled the order revoking the mailing privileges of the *North China Daily News*, British-owned newspaper of Shanghai. The circulation of this paper had been under ban during May and a considerable protest was raised by the foreign press in general. There were inquiries from several governmental sources. The Chinese authorities claimed that the editorial policy of the journal was inimical to the national government. The publishers claimed they were the victims of an unjust censorship which was striving to suppress all news about true condi-

tions in China. On June 25 the *United Press* reported resumption of the ban, due to an editorial pronouncement in the News which denied any change of policy.

Briand-Kellogg Treaty Proclaimed

Following the depositing in Washington of the ratifications of all original signatories, complete with the recent signature of Emperor Hirohito of Japan, President Hoover on July 24 proclaimed the Briand-Kellogg Multilateral Peace treaty as effective from that date.

Pan-Pacific Trade Union Congress

Beginning August 1, the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Congress will be in progress in Vladivostok. This group will comprise left wing labor representatives from the several Pacific countries. Prominent agenda questions are: The War Danger and the Struggle against Imperialism; The Colonial Independence Movement and the Rôle of Trade Unions and Peasant Organizations; International Trade Union Unity; Immigration and Emigration in the Pacific; Program of Amelioration of Working Conditions.

Institute of Politics

The ninth annual session of the Williamstown Institute of Politics takes place August 1 to 29. Of particular interest to Institute members will be a lecture course on the Conduct of British Foreign Policy, by J. W. Headlam-Morley of London, an address by Prof. T. E. Gregory of London on the Present Position and Future Prospects of British Industry, round tables on Canadian-American Relations, Limitation of Armaments, the United States in Latin America, Trade Relations as Affected by Politics, and Mexico: Financial, Social and Political Changes.

Maori Vital Statistics

The detailed government report of the Maori census of 1926, just recently issued in New Zealand, shows that the native race is increasing. The total population enumerated was 63,670, against 56,987 in 1921. For the purposes of the enumeration half-castes and three-quarter castes were regarded as Maoris. This gradual revival of a race which a few years ago was regarded as definitely declining in vitality is looked upon as remarkable in the history of native races in the Pacific. The Maori population is still largely agricultural, but the younger members of the race are entering into a wide variety of pursuits.

United States Immigration Restriction

On July 1 the national origins provisions of the United States immigration laws went into effect. This new method of establishing quotas was opposed by President Hoover, but congress refused to make a change. A general tightening of immigration and naturalization policy is foreseen.

New Zealand-Orient Trade

Sir Joseph Ward, Prime Minister of New Zealand, in outlining new policies for his government, made a promise to facilitate trade between the Dominion and the Far East in a speech before the Auckland Chamber of Commerce, reported in the *New Zealand Herald* of June 7. Government subsidy for a direct steamer communication

between New Zealand and the Orient was promised as the first major step following the financial stabilization of the government.

Canadian Indian Laws

The province of Ontario has bought 129,000 square miles of unceded Indian lands for the sum of $50,000, following a month's survey of the territory in June and July. Each Indian family of five will have one square mile of reservation set aside and the tribes will hold the rights to all base metals within their territory.

Japan Ratifies the Anti-War Treaty

In a note, dated April 13th, 1928, addressed to the Japanese Foreign Minister, Baron Tanaka, the American Ambassador in Tokyo invited the Japanese Government on behalf of the Washington Government to become one of the signatories of the multilateral anti-war pact. The Japanese Government, after due deliberation, expressed its decision to accept the American invitation on July 20th of the same year. Count Uchida, Privy Councillor, was sent by the Japanese Government to Paris to sign the treaty. He affixed his signature to the document together with the representatives of other powers on August 27th, 1928. Towards February last an objection was voiced by the "Minseito," opposition party, to a phrase in the treaty "in the names of respective peoples," considering that, according to the Japanese Constitution, it is the Emperor who concludes the treaty and not the people, who have no status in treaty making. Premier Tanaka desired to stave off the solution of the question until controversy over the phraseology cooled. In accordance with the Japanese Constitution, the signed pact must be submitted to the Privy Council, whose function is to recommend the Imperial sanction or rejection. The Privy Council is the highest advisory body appointed by the Emperor consisting of men who have had great experience in every branch of public affairs. There were a number of Privy Councillors who were not in favor of the above mentioned phrase. Thereupon the Government, in order to have the pact passed by the Privy Council, recommended its approval with a declaration to the effect that the phrase "in the names of their respective peoples" will have no application in so far as Japan is concerned. At its meeting held on June 26th, 1929, the Privy Council accepted the anti-war pact together with the above declaration, and the Emperor ratified the treaty the following day. This delay in ratification was caused solely by domestic politics in Japan. The people of Japan were unanimous in approving this international commitment. —K. Y.

The Japanese Cabinet Changed

Baron G. Tanaka with all members of his Cabinet tendered their resignations on July 2nd, and Mr. Yuko Hamaguchi, leader of the Minseito party, was ordered by the Emperor to form a cabinet. In well-informed circles the cause of the fall of the Seiyukei Cabinet was understood to be "a certain serious incident" in Manchuria which resulted in the death of Marshal Chang Tso-lin. Some Japanese high army officers, who were responsible for keeping order in the South Manchurian Railway zone, were punished for their failure to prevent the incident from taking place, and there was not a good understanding over this decision between the Premier and his Minister of War, who

threatened to resign. Mr. Hamaguchi organized his Cabinet with Baron K. Shidehara as Foreign Minister and Mr. Junnosuke Inouye as Finance Minister.

In its public declaration the new Cabinet pledged itself to a retrenchment of national finance and the lifting of gold embargo, and favored not only the limitation of armament but its substantial reduction. Premier Hamaguchi further declared that his administration disavowed aggressive policies directed to any part of China, but that it would not fail to sustain the legitimate rights and interests essential to the existence and prosperity of the Empire. As Mr. Hamaguchi's party is in a minority in the Diet, it is conjectured that he will have to dissolve the Diet later on. —K. Y.

Soviet-Chinese Dispute Over the Chinese Eastern Railway

On July 6th the Chinese authorities arrested over one hundred members of the Soviet Trade Union and fifty Russian officials of the Chinese Eastern Railway at Harbin, and ordered most of them deported. The Trade Union and Russian commercial organizations were closed and the railway's telegraphs and telephones placed under Chinese control. On July 11th the Chinese replaced the Russian president of the Board of Control by a Chinese official and dismissed other Russian members of the Board.

On July 13th the Soviet government handed a memorandum to the Chinese Chargé d'Affaires in Moscow, proposing to form a joint Soviet-Chinese Commission to settle the question, and demanding the cessation of illegal actions respecting the railway and the release of the Russians who were in custody. The Soviet government demanded an answer from the Chinese in three days.

On July 16th the Chinese government replied to the Soviet government, accepting the latter's demands provided that the Soviet authorities would release the Chinese who had been arrested by the Russians, and averring that the Mukden authorities had been responsible for the steps taken at Harbin.

On July 17th the Soviet government sent another note in answer to the Chinese reply, ordering the withdrawal of all Soviet diplomatic and consular representatives and commercial agents in China, and also of all Russian officials in the Chinese Eastern Railway, discontinuing the arrangement for joint transportation between the Russian and Chinese railways, demanding the Chinese diplomatic and consular representatives in Russia to withdraw, and declaring that they reserved all rights which accrued from Soviet-Chinese agreements. Connexions between the C. E. R. and the Siberian and Ussuri lines were severed following the diplomatic break.

Both Soviet and Chinese governments began concentrating their forces on the Russo-Chinese border. The Chinese declared that they had been constrained to take these measures to prevent bolshevik propaganda, but that they had no intention of violating the peace. The Soviet government also desired a peaceful solution and denied any intention of resorting to arms. The fact that Russia and China are signatories to the multilateral peace pact—of which fact the other Powers have reminded them—has no doubt added moral weight to the decision.

—K. Y.

Reflections

Editorial Opinion on the Pacific

These reprints are chosen as reflecting diverse points of view in and around the Pacific upon problems uppermost in the news of the area. They are not selected, in any instance, as indicative of the editorial attitude of Pacific Affairs.

Outstanding in the news of the past month have been the situation arising at Harbin between Russia and China over the Chinese Eastern Railway; the question of the British Labour Government's recognition of the Soviet Government; and the action of President Hoover in the matter of U. S. Tariffs. In the first instance, the Editor has not been able to quote very widely from opinions concerning the Manchurian affair, as Pacific Affairs goes to press just as the trouble has reached a climax, and time has not permitted of the receipt of papers from a very wide variety of sources.—*Editor Pacific Affairs.*

GOOD FAITH?

From the *Honolulu Advertiser,* July 15, 1929

There seems to be no question that the present seizure is a direct and open violation of the agreement of May 31, 1924. The only justification for it, that seems to come from Chinese official sources, is the use of propaganda in Manchuria by Russia. But that is a cry that has been raised many times before in China, not only against the Russians but against the British, whose newspapers in China constitute a most powerful engine for not only pro-British propaganda, but also anti-Chinese propaganda, anti-Russian propaganda, to some extent even anti-American propaganda.

Aside from the genesis of the present troubles, the more important phase of the squabble is its possible effect in the future. Manchuria is filled with potential dynamite. The cross-purposes of the Russians and the Japanese in Manchuria, which once brought on a war between the two countries, are still apparent, especially in the railway expansion of the three provinces. The fundamental designs of Japan in Manchuria—never completely exposed by any Japanese spokesmen—make always for possible conflict, not only with the Chinese but with the Russians as well.

Ousting the Russians from Manchuria would please not only the Japanese but all the anti-Russian countries as well, especially Britain, the purpose of whose Far East diplomacy, ever since 1917, has been to restrict more and more the influence of Moscow.

But in this instance the Japanese and the British find it difficult to say much, in the open, in praise of the Chinese methods followed in this seizure of the Chinese Eastern. They remember that there is the South Manchuria Railway in Manchuria, and the Nanking-Shanghai-Hangchow Railway in Kiangsu and Checkiang provinces. What is sauce for the goose, they fear, might conceivably some day be sauce for the gander.

One may come to no definite conclusions, yet awhile, about this latest flare-up of trouble in Manchuria. Too many strings are involved. Too little has been vouchsafed us in the way of information about precisely the bases of the present trouble. But the whole mess will bear the most careful scrutiny. There is a powder-barrel up there in Manchuria. And when it blows up, more capitals will be involved than Tokyo, Moscow and Nanking.

NO WAR, SAYS RUSS CHIEF

From *Associated and United Press* Dispatches, July 19, 1929.

Jan Rudzutak, acting head of the government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, today told American newspapermen that his government has no intention of declaring war because of the situation in Manchuria.

Rudzutak said Russia thought the Kellogg peace pact more precious than the loss of the $5,000,000 or $10,000,000 involved in the seizure of the Chinese Eastern Railway and the suspension of trade relations with China.

"Russia will not send a single soldier into Chinese territory," he said. "Naturally we will protect our borders in view of the fact that White Guardists are

forming groups for the invasion of Soviet soil. However, unless China attacks we do not intend to undertake military action."

Rudzutak said the populace is indignant and is clamoring for action. . . . "A break in relations was inevitable," he said. "Various Chinese governments were unable or unwilling to guarantee proper protection of the rights of our citizens. It would have been necessary for us to send in troops to protect them ourselves, and this we were unwilling to do."

CHINA'S JUSTIFICATION

From a *United Press* Interview, July 20, 1929

Obligations assumed by the signatories of the Briand-Kellogg peace treaty . . . are being observed faithfully by China, Wu Chao-chu, Chinese minister to Washington, told the United Press today in an exclusive interview.

"The National government's adherence is in good faith," Wu said. "In relations with the Soviet as with all others China is abiding in the spirit pledged to preserve world peace. The fact that the treaty has not yet been made effective means nothing to our government. Its principle is being observed carefully as if it were already in force.

"The action of my government in ejecting certain Russians was necessitated because the Russians concerned misused their positions in a manner detrimental to Chinese interests. In violation of the solemn pledge from the Soviet, they disseminated propaganda attacking the foundations of our government and social institutions. In the management of the railways they also violated the Sino-Russian agreement of 1924. Under these circumstances Nanking had no course except to require the offending parties to depart from China, which unquestionably is within China's rights.

"Although the Soviet note to China was most provocative, in fact ultimately threatening force, our government endeavored by every means to avert disaster. Naturally, if Russia persists, despite our desire for peace, to force war, China will defend herself."

Wu Chao-chu pointed out that Russia also adhered to the treaty and must bear responsibility if the controversy is not settled peacefully, which he still hopes can be accomplished.

"EVIL PLOTS"

From the *Osaka Mainichi,* June 16, 1929

One of recent sensational incidents in the arena of diplomacy has been the raid on the Russian consulate in Harbin conducted by Chinese police. The raid in itself was an event of sufficient excitement, but the story of some American diplomatic seals and Japanese official blank papers and also a number of forged American bank notes, etc., having been discovered in the premises of the consulate suggest even some dramatic climax.

It is possible, as the Chinese authorities declare, that there are certain evil plots underlying these discoveries. Harbin, as is known, is the hotbed of Eurasian culture with its peculiar sensitiveness to startling rumours. The incident of the raid has no doubt been largely exaggerated by this local peculiarity. The Russian authorities at any rate deny the validity of the discovery reports and ascribe it to the malicious concoction of the Chinese. . . .

A curious point in the tense circumstance is that there really does not exist any legitimate international relations between these two countries which they mutually threaten to suspend. It may be recalled that in April, 1927, the late Generalissimo Chang conducted an outrageous raid on the Russian Embassy in Peiping and arrested many Russians found in it. The Russian Ambassador promptly returned to Moscow more disgusted than scared by the Chinese barbarity. Since this incident there has been no attempt made to smooth out the troubled relations.

There is thus no danger of breaking relations which do not exist, but there certainly lurks the danger of no-relations growing into bad-relations. If the Russians send troops along the borders the Nationalists will accept the challenge as good fighters do. The worst eventuality is thus not wholly chimerical.

ARE THE BEAR'S CLAWS SHORN?

From the *Osaka Mainichi,* June 9, 1929

It is now a matter of history that when Lenin displaced the Czar, he caused it to be announced that the Railway in question should be returned to China. The subsequent events, however, showed that Russia under the new regime was not much different from Russia of the old regime, so far as her Far Eastern policy was concerned, and that the Chinese Eastern Railway remained the backbone of her China policy as much as it had been before the revolution. . . .

Roughly speaking, the Chinese seem to be getting the better of the Russians in the conflict, and, if things are allowed to take their course, it seems as if the Mukden authorities will force the Russians to fulfill, though against their will, their former announcement of returning the Railway to China. A number of things account for the failure of the Russian manœuvres, but two of the strongest factors were the powerlessness of Russia in the first instance and the laxity of relations between Russia and Japan in regard to this part of the world for the second. There was a time when Russia was feared as a strong Power but that was a long while ago. The Russo-Japanese war removed a greater part of Russophobia and the disorder and moral demolition consequent upon the revolution wiped off what fear of Russia that was left. Thus in the public estimation Russia became a bear shorn of its claws—an animal no longer to be feared. . . .

The conflict which is going on at present, therefore, is no new thing. It is only the repetition of what has been transpiring between the two countries for the past ten years. The only question that remains to be answered is if the Mukden authorities will once for all wipe the Russian authorities off the slate along the Railway line. If, however, history teaches us anything, it teaches us that the Russians will not easily beat a retreat. For Russia the loss of the Chinese Eastern Railway means the loss of the very foundation of her Far Eastern policy and for that reason we may well expect that she will fight every inch of the ground before she vanishes from Manchurian soil. In other words, we may be well ready to hear more of the conflict between the two countries.

NEED OF A "LONG LADLE"

From the *New Zealand Herald,* June 11, 1929

Mr. Henderson is frankly determined on bridging the breach with Russia. The Soviet Government, it may be taken for granted, will welcome his approaches, not out of any love for Britain, much less from any desire to discharge any financial or moral obligations, but to serve its own ends. The new Foreign Minister doubtless knows the old proverb to the effect that he must have a long ladle who would take soup with the devil; he will have need to remember it. His aim is, he says, to put relations "on a satisfactory basis." Satisfactory to whom? What the Soviet Government has been asking is not at all satisfactory, it may be confidently asserted, to the majority of British electors. It is one thing to make broad statements of intention—Mr. Henderson has common ground with the Soviet Union in this—but quite another to give them detailed effect. The Soviet leaders are notorious pledge-breakers. Were it not for this fact, an understanding could have been reached with Russia long ago. There is no solid guarantee that they are at all repentant, and any rash advance is to be deprecated.

"UNREALISTIC POLITICAL THINKING"

From the *New Republic,* New York, June 12, 1929.

In the field of foreign affairs, we regret the flat announcement that the administration is opposed to the recognition of Russia, a piece of unrealistic political thinking which may come back to cause Mr. Hoover acute embarrassment a year or two hence. . . . If Hoover, the superman, exists, he has not yet shown himself. The test which is coming in the immediate future (the tariff bill) will reveal to us whether he is his own man, or will yield to the pressure of powerful forces within the Republican party, against his judgment as economist and humanitarian, and keep the country safe for special privilege.

THE FRESH WIND

From the *Manchester Guardian Weekly,* Manchester, June 7, 1929

Now that we are to have a Radical Government in this country the fresh wind of a new foreign policy will blow through the world. Two things can be done at once—the resumption of normal relations with Russia and the withdrawal of British troops from the Rhineland. Russian diplomats should be welcomed to this country on exactly the same terms as any other diplomats. There is no reason for any sort of bargaining. The Russian request for a loan should be considered exclusively on its own intrinsic merits as a commercial and not as a political matter. A treaty or agreement pledging Russia to non-interference in our own domestic affairs is quite unnecessary. If at any time there is any interference it can be dealt with there and then. With a Labour Government in power it would, perhaps, be dealt with rather firmly, for Russian interference usually harms no one so much as Labour. But brutal violence, like the raiding of premises and the breaking open of safes, and the rupture of diplomatic relations for no reasons at all are misconduct of which a Radical Government should be incapable.

A NEW MAXIM NEEDED

From the *Christian Science Monitor,* June 8, 1929

An old maxim of trade, largely abandoned with the incoming of higher business ideals and greater business sense, was known as "caveat emptor"—"let the purchaser beware." . . . Nowadays in American business, at any rate, the maxim, "the purchaser is always right," has taken its place. . . . One wonders, however, whether a new maxim may not be requisite for the protection and safeguarding of those American firms who, it is now announced, are about to do business to the extent of $38,000,000,000 with the Russian Government. There are those, particularly in Great Britain, although individuals with like experience are not lacking in the United States, who would raise a warning hand and say, "Let the seller beware." Yet it is hardly to be believed that such concerns as the Ford Motor Company, the du Pont de Nemours Company, the McCormick Company, or the Radio Corporation of America would enter into great business contracts with the Soviet Government unless assured of their proper fulfillment. Certain it is that under existing conditions the American business house trading with Russia must understand that in the event of later difficulties arising it can look for no especial aid from its own Government, since no political relations exist between Washington and Moscow. . . .

If American business men find Russian officials straightforward and honorable in their business dealings, they will naturally attempt to impress upon Washington the theory that honor and good faith in political relations may likewise be expected. But if they find that their customers, while professing good faith, are seeking to undermine them and to overthrow their business, as the Soviet Government, through its relationship with the Third Internationale, steadily plans to overthrow the governments for which it professes friendship, the whole association will go down, destroyed by such evidences of bad faith.

GREEDY PROSPERITY

From the *New Republic,* New York, June 26, 1929

"Unfortunately, there is no lobby in Washington in favor of international good will; there is not even a lobby in favor of the American consumer or of foreign trade. Once in the throes of a tariff debate, Congress cares little about the resolutions of the International Chamber of Commerce and of the World Economic Conference in favor of lower tariffs; despite the anti-war pact, it cares little about removing the causes of international friction. Once in the throes of a tariff debate, the chief motive of the legislators is to satisfy Republican campaign contributors. It is a deplorable situation—one in which a philosophy of supernationalism and of greedy 'prosperity' has gone mad. It can be changed only after the American people overthrow the conception that government agencies may be legitimately exercised to increase the profits of vested interests. If the conservatives of this country really mean that the government 'should get out of business,' they ought to demand that our present tariff system be abolished."

SELF PROTECTION

From the *Manitoba Free Press,* June 26, 1929

There was no reason to believe that the Government did not mean what it said a month or two ago when it intimated that, if Canada were affected to any extent by increases in the United States tariff, it would take the necessary steps to protect Canadian interests. Reports from Ottawa indicate that the Government has lately been giving consideration to very important increases in the tariff preferences to Britain and the other parts of the Commonwealth for the purpose of giving a stimulus to our trade with all British countries. The reports are confirmed to a large extent by Hon. J. A. Robb, Minister of Finance, who, following a visit paid to him by D. H. Ross, Canadian Trade Commissioner to Australia, was asked if the Government was going to revise the trade agreement with Australia. He is reported as replying: "We are going much further than that. We have communicated with the governments of all the other Dominions looking to the greater development of all the Imperial trade."

In his speech in Essex County in the course of his present political tour, Mr. Bennett said: "An economic conference of the Empire would end all the difficulties over tariffs. If I were clothed with power tonight, within six months I would ask for such a conference, so that we, who are blessed with all the riches of the world, should trade with one another."

BLIND MONOPOLY

From the *New York Times,* July 1, 1929

Publication abroad of the new Tariff bill passed by our House of Representatives, together with indications that the Senate will try to push the rates still higher, has stirred a great amount of adverse foreign comment. Many official protests have been filed with the State Department at Washington. It is doubtful if any previous American legislation of the kind ever provoked so much resentment in other nations, with threats of retaliation. If America was none too well liked before, this new outburst indicates that we may be in danger of losing the few friends we had. . . . President Hoover must be aware of the unpleasant and threatening aspects of the questions raised by our extreme high-tariffs. Of what avail will it be to urge coöperation in working for peace if at the same time we make laws sure to exasperate and inflame the citizens of other lands? . . . While our prosperity is still at the crest, and our Treasury surplus for the fiscal year runs up far beyond the estimates, to $200,000,000, foreigners say that this great and rich republic is striving to exclude them from their due share of the gains coming to a recovered world, and are acting in a spirit of blind monopoly. . . . American public men, if they are wise, will not undertake to whistle all this down the wind. It is a time for far-sighted statesmanship to give heed to warnings and even reproaches, when they are well founded. To put it on no higher ground, it pays to have good friends.

DELICATE PROBLEM

Japanese Press Views, Translated in the *Japan Times,* June 28, 1929

The Manchuria problem is a serious question between Japan and China and it is often said by some Americans and Europeans that it might cause a new war among world powers, especially because recently some Chinese have been voicing the demand for the return of Port Arthur and Dairen.

"If China demands the return of Port Arthur and Dairen unreasonably, the Japanese will become greatly excited," says the Tokyo Nichi Nichi, "but on the other hand when Japan shows a little more ambition, China becomes greatly alarmed. Thus both peoples are very sensitive regarding questions concerning Manchuria."

The Nichi Nichi hopes that the statesmen of both countries will give serious consideration to settling this delicate problem. While Japan is unable to approve unreasonable demands of China, China will herself be unable to obtain her unreasonable ends. Thus the question is placed in very difficult circumstances.

"In some quarters in China, they are mixing the question of abolishing unequal treaties with that of the revision of commercial treaties. In Russia and

China, the political party and the government are one and the same, and public opinion really controls the government. If the revision of the commercial treaty is to be discussed in such an attitude, there will be no hope of success.

"Because the government and public lack proper understanding of this difference, our policy towards Manchuria is often mistaken. However, at this moment, to excite the Chinese will be greatly disadvantageous," says the Nichi Nichi. "Therefore the government should try to settle each problem independently according to the national situation, and then gradually adopt a fundamental Far Eastern policy."

A PARADOX IN IMMIGRATION

From the *Christian Science Monitor,* June 5, 1929

Most of the inconsistencies of the earlier restrictive immigration laws have been eliminated, but a few remain and deserve attention. For example, an American citizen recently appeared at the Bureau of Immigration seeking admission for his wife under the clause which gives nonquota status to alien wives and husbands. It developed that the woman was a native of Tahiti; that her father was a Frenchman and her mother a Tahitian. The woman, the immigration authorities explained, could not enter, because the law limits admission to those "eligible for citizenship," and limits the latter, in turn, to those whose ancestry is preponderantly white or African black. The second group was added in the days of Reconstruction, following the Civil War. The wife of the American in question could not meet the so-called "preponderant" requirement, since her ancestry was exactly divided between white and Polynesian races. Her children, however, who were only one-quarter Polynesian, as figured by the curious mathematics forced by law upon immigration authorities, were eligible to citizenship, and hence to admittance. Only the mother was excluded.

ORDINARY COMMON SENSE

From the *Manitoba Free Press,* June 12, 1929

The way to disarm is to disarm, in place of talking endlessly about the reasons which make disarmament impossible. It has been very difficult for plain people with just an ordinary stock of common sense to follow with understanding the policies favored by the countries with respect to such matters as arbitration. They ask questions to which no intelligent answers can be given. Why did the United States and Great Britain, after agreeing formally to the principle of parity, fail to come to an understanding by which expresison could be given to this principle? If they were agreed to have equality in tonnage in cruisers, why should either country worry about the division of the tonnage to be made by the other country? If the United States wanted to put its tonnage into 10,000-ton cruisers, while Great Britain preferred smaller cruisers and more of them, what difference did it make?

A NEW OUTLOOK FOR CHINA

From the *Hochi* (Tokyo), Translated in the *Japan Times,* June 24, 1929

In understanding diplomatic questions and possessing organization for gathering diplomatic information, the British Labor party exceeds any other political party of Great Britain. Therefore it may not be mistaken to believe that diplomatic affairs will be the most adept field of the Labor cabinet.

It may not be difficult to outline the diplomatic policy of England towards China. England will most probably insist upon the abolition of the unequal treaty and the powers' coöperation in dealing with China. Since the formation of the British cabinet, the return of Weihaiwei to China has already been rumored, and that may be regarded as a forerunner of the abolition of the unequal treaty. It is not difficult to judge that the Labor cabinet will declare the abolition of the unequal treaty, and urge other powers also to give up historical special privileges in China.

But the international coöperative principle followed by the British Labor Party aims at the development of economic resources under international coöperation, and therefore it may be seen that the British diplomatic policy based upon this principle will attempt to change the special privileges of other powers.

Then the question is, how is Japan, which has special rights in Manchuria, to bring about practical harmony with such idealistic diplomacy. We fear that the unwise diplomatic policy of the present reactionary cabinet may endanger Japan's position. (Note: before the dissolution of the Tanaka government.)

"A NATIONAL DISGRACE"

From the *North-China Herald* (Shanghai), May 18, 1929

From many standpoints, the most distressing phase of this question has been the economic boycott which was waged against Japan as a result of the presence of their troops in Shantung. . . . It is undoubtedly true that many Chinese look upon boycott measures as acts of patriotism, but it is equally true that in each instance of a boycott, selfish interests somehow manage to gain control of the machinery of the boycott, which they use in their own interests. In this manner, the boycott becomes a national disgrace, which does incalculably more harm to China's prestige abroad than the release of patriotic fervour serves to strengthen national unity at home.

"ORDINARY RIGHTS OF HUMANITY"

From the *New Statesman*, London, June 8, 1929

On June 12th will occur the first general election of the South African Union to turn on the treatment of natives. The British public may thus opportunely reflect on the lack of a fair policy in South Africa toward the subservient majority of its population, and the effect of this lack on the reputation of the Empire. It is perhaps difficult for the peoples of Great Britain to understand why such an overwhelming proportion of their kith and kin in South Africa (to neglect the Dutch Afrikanders for a moment) should deny ordinary rights of humanity to over five million native Africans in their own land. It seems incredible that British people in any country should so shame the civilisation of which they boast.

RAPID ASSIMILATION NECESSARY

From *American Indian Life* (San Francisco), May, 1929

Secretary Wilbur's (recent) statement emphasized a rapid assimilation of the Indians, viewed as detached individuals, into the general community. For thousands of the Indians, such is the undebatable and only practicable policy.

Secretary Wilbur added: "As rapidly as possible, the Indian is to have the full responsibility for himself. Leadership should be given to the Indians rather than custodianship." Those words of the Secretary imply, we believe, a full liberty of tribal culture and the empowering and helping of the tribes, as bodies corporate or as communities, to work out their own destinies, dignified and valued elements in our embracing American culture. "The Indian stock," said Secretary Wilbur, "is of excellent quality. It can readily merge with that of the nation." Secretary Wilbur, a sociologist in addition to being a biologist, undoubtedly contemplates a partnership and merging of cultures as well as of bloodstreams.

Looking backward, the Indians and their friends are entitled to feel a liberation and triumph. Looking forward, they are entitled to a great and immediate hope. They should not underestimate the difficulties ahead. A future for the Indians has become possible; it has not yet been attained, either by the Government's Indian administration or by the Indians as tribes or as individuals. A changed, but no less imperative, task rests on all Indian welfare bodies.

Books of the Pacific

CANADA IN THE COMMONWEALTH
By Sir Robert Borden
Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1929. G $2.25

CANADA AND WORLD POLITICS
By P. E. Corbett and H. A. Smith
Faber and Gwyer, London, 1928. 10s 6d

These two books, the first by Canada's veteran "elder statesman," the second by two young Canadian academic authorities, may well be reviewed in conjunction. Sir Robert Borden's volume is an extension for publication of the first series of Rhodes Memorial Lectures which he delivered in the University of Oxford during the summer of 1927. Rather less than a third of the book deals with the recent events in which the author himself played a distinguished part. The earlier sections dealing vividly with the historical development of the Canadian nation lend point and meaning to the remarkable eloquence of his introductory paragraphs. In commentary on Rupert Brooke's verdict that Canada was a land empty of history, one of the greatest of her sons replies:

"If Rupert Brooke . . . . . can understand." When a great statesman is stirred in this way by a sense of history, his people have surely arrived at nationhood.

In his reference to recent events, particularly his brief, restrained comment upon the publication of Sir Henry Wilson's diaries, his accounts of the lead given by Canada to the other Dominions in respect of representation at the Peace Conference and within the League of Nations, the appointment of a Canadian Minister at Washington, the proceedings of the Washington Conference, and of the most recent imperial conference, the author is modest and guarded to the point of reticence. Yet it is possible through his narrative to discern more clearly the actual evolution of the events which Professors Corbett and Smith discuss more in detail.

It is natural to find that the second volume under review is concerned rather with looking forward than with reviewing past history. The authors have a lively sense of the forces which are shaping international events at the present time and are likely to shape them in the future. They see clearly that much of the machinery of international intercourse now coming into existence cuts across the neat rules and classifications of international law. Just as Sir Robert Borden dwells on the national spirit of Canada in its historical setting, so his younger compatriots dwell on Canada's future destiny.

The senior Dominion's rôle as leader in the development of nationalism within the British Commonwealth is not yet played out; but already new opportunities of usefulness begin to appear. By her position Canada acts as an interpreter between the Commonwealth and the United States, she speaks at Geneva as the sole representative of the North American continent and as a natural leader among the smaller nations. Her destiny has cast for her a leading part in the reconciliation of national and international ideals.

In playing this part Canadian leaders of thought and action have behind them not only the generations of Canadian national development but also the centuries of British political technique. As emergencies

bring them to decisions they will develop practical devices to meet specific situations. Out of these *ad hoc* devices the political sense of the British people develops constitutional machinery. Such procedure obviously calls for the fullest reliance upon the good common sense of future statesmen. Professors Corbett and Smith emphasize this point of view and illuminate it by their introductory analogy, comparing the relations of the member states of the Commonwealth with those of a family the children of which are on the threshold of maturity.

—J. B. C.

MODERN CHINESE CIVILIZATION
By A. F. Legendre
Translated from the French by Elsie Martin Jones
Jonathan Cape, London, 1928. 12s 6d

Often we call to mind the sentiments of a Chinese reviewer expressed in the spring book section of a contemporary Chinese magazine, the *China Weekly Review* of Shanghai (published in English); and with special frequency did we recall it during the perusal of this present volume. The gentleman said:

> Frequently a deep lassitude steals over us when we encounter one of the unending procession of Western books on what's wrong or right or ugly or beautiful in Chinese politics, psychology, rural life, art, poetry, theology or methods of growing peanuts in Shantung. Our Occidental schoolmasters can be terribly wearying. Often one wishes they would all pick up their encyclopedias and thesauruses and toddle away to South Africa or some warmer spot and let China rest from their ceaseless criticisms.

We feel for that spokesman of the race if he has since allowed his sense of duty to lure him into reading Dr. Legendre's book. For the Doctor harps on the familiar theme of the old resident of China who therefore knows anything that is to be known; and he has no hesitancy in attempting to prove by citing his numerous qualifications that he is an admirably capable person and in an excellent position "to describe Chinese civilization as it was in the past, and as it remains to this day."

The book might not merit so much attention were it not that it has been heralded as an authoritative treatise, deliberate and objective; and this needs refutation. The author is one of those who, intrigued by certain aspects of China's past, has no patience with change or the confusion attendant upon change, and so categorically condemns the present while believing himself an ardent lover of "the real China." As a consequence it is difficult to discover that "scientific exactness and impartiality" of which the book-jacket speaks. The pages flame with exasperated feeling, a feeling which leads him to exaggerated generalities and caustic impudencies such as the following random statements:

> The Young Chinaman has up to now been nothing but a promoter of disorder and anarchy, with all the ruin resulting from them. . . .
>
> The Chinaman has never succeeded in governing himself. . . .
>
> Chinese nationalism . . . exists only in the minds of the European and the American, . . . is nothing but an eruption of greed, a shameless exploitation of the propertied classes.
>
> Poverty is so great and so widespread throughout China that the mass of the people, 99½% of this mass, see in the intervention of foreign powers their only salvation. . . . There is no other solution of the Chinese problem.
>
> . . . the Asiatic mind—a mind whose equilibrium is invariably upset when brought in contact with our ideas. . . .
>
> . . . with the characteristic impudence of the Chinaman. . . .

In fact, far from being impartial, the purpose of the book is clearly stated in the preface, addressed to the foreign powers:

> . . . on this rivalry, this latent strife between the great nations, Young China battens; it exploits to the full the jealousy between the Powers, wresting from us concessions which will be disastrous to us and to China in a future which is only too near. . . .
>
> Therefore let us unite! Let us not wait until the mischief is irreparable. By our union we shall save China from herself, and consolidate this great world market. Has not industrial Europe suffered enough from the Russian crisis? Let, then, the Powers unite for one of the greatest efforts towards salvation and peace which Humanity has ever undertaken.
>
> Read again the history of China; this great country has never been extricated from its difficulties without the intervention of the Foreigner. . . . The peace of the world and the future of civilization are at stake.

The strategy of the book is to take up a conglomeration of subjects and treat them separately, *ad seriatim,* sketching, one must confess, some interesting pictures but marring them often by absurdities sadly out of drawing. Here again his generalizations are annoying—are so sweeping as to be annoying, one suspects, even to readers unfamiliar with the Chinese scene.

Through a series of chapters given over to the following subjects we learn in detail that:

The Chinese Family is a brutal system, filial respect a myth, and love or tenderness quite absent from the picture; the Chinese House is uncomfortable and unsanitary and shows nowhere either taste or originality; the Chinese City is inadequate, unplanned, dirty and unkempt, with only a few redeeming beauty spots and picturesque features; Chinese Dress, "like the Chinese house, has not varied for thousands of years," and has many inexplicable and therefore absurd features. "Queer people, who by preference or by fashion," he exclaims, chain themselves to such absurdities! (The Chinese are, perchance, unique in their attitudes toward the conventions of style?)

And so on through the Chinese character, art, agriculture, ethics, economics and overweening taste for pork. A sometimes entertaining, more often exasperating, and a continuously amazing chronicle of opinions to have appeared in this day and age. —E. G.

THE CAMBRIDGE HISTORY OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE
Volume I. The Old Empire
Macmillan, New York. 1929. G $9.50
THE HISTORY OF BRITISH CIVILISATION
By Esme Wingfield-Stratford
Harcourt Brace & Co., New York, 1928. 2 vols.

Both of these histories deal with British civilisation but it would be difficult to find a more striking contrast than is presented in their respective styles and method of treatment. "There are now," says Mr. Wingfield-Stratford in the suggestive prologue to his book, "two kinds of history, one based on the most painstaking research and compiled by specialists for academic circulation, the other, based on neither research nor knowledge, dished up more often than not in the form of biography, by enterprising potboilers for popular consumption."

There is no difficulty in deciding to which of these categories the Cambridge History of the British Empire belongs. Like the other Cambridge histories it will certainly be a monumental work embodying the highest scholarship and careful research of many noted authorities throughout the English-speaking world. So much can be assumed after going over this first volume of the eight that are intended to make up the series. In twenty-six chapters, apparently equally thorough and equally

difficult for the general reader, it traces the development of the early empire down from the first urge for expansion in the Tudor period to the loss of the American colonies. It is primarily though not exclusively concerned with political developments; some attention has been devoted to important economic tendencies (there is a substantial chapter on "Mercantilism and the Colonies"); to the effects of English philosophy such as Locke's on the growth of constitutional law in the motherland and the colonies; and to personal, religious and social factors.

In composition the book is a model of all that such an academic history should be: it has comprehensive and objective treatment, full documentation and a bibliography of awe-inspiring scope and proportions. It is probably inevitable that such a work should be heavy reading, yet considering the number of writers who have contributed to it, it is surprising that there should be so little variety in method or diction. Its very uniformity tends to add to its heaviness and dullness. However, it is impossible to doubt the academic value of the book; it will be an indispensable source for all students of British and American history. But one is tempted to question whether it will be read by many who are not obliged to read it. It is a monumental work and, like many monuments, tends to impress rather than to attract. But a monument is not doomed to be devoid of appeal and it is to be hoped that the succeeding volumes, many of which will deal with events of greater interest to most readers, will contrive to be a little more approachable and a little less heavy for the sake of the Philistines.

"The History of British Civilisation" is a very different book. It is certainly not of the type that is "based neither on research nor knowledge and dished up for popular consumption." It would appear that the author has with considerable success realised his hope of steering a midcourse "between the Scylla of specialism and the Charybdis of journalism." To tell the story of British civilisation in all its length and breadth as a living unity is no small task, but that is the task which Mr. Wingfield-Stratford has set himself. To the reviewer it appears that he has acquitted himself with courage and distinction.

Through the entire work there seems to run a continuity, a quality that persists even in its changing, so that the reader has the impression of witnessing the development of something that is organic and something that is a unity. The author has given no mere collection of impressions from the various periods of British history. His book is a substantial one of two large volumes containing over 1200 pages, and it shows evidence even in its rather brief documentation of a wide acquaintance with modern research in such differing fields as literature and language, art, anthropology, economics and philosophy as well as social and political history. It ranges over the history of Scotland and Ireland, of the old Empire of India and of the Dominions, and considers the international and imperialist activities of Great Britain. It stretches in time from the Stone Age to the beginning of the Great War.

In such a history political events are perforce relegated to a position roughly proportionate to their significance which in comparison with the many other cultural, economic and social phenomena of a growing nation, is seen to be much less than many histories would have the reader suppose. In that connection one is grateful to Mr. Wingfield-Stratford for his refusal to allow such events as the dreary series of

battles in the Hundred Years War and the Wars of the Roses to obscure the unfolding drama of the growth and decay that went on in social, religious and economic organisation throughout that period, of the rise of Christian democracy and birth of the new literature and thought. Even in the account of such important struggles as the wars with France at the end of the eighteenth century with their serious reactions on the social and economic structure of England, the reader is not allowed to miss the forces of religious revival, literary upheaval and economic revolution that were at work throughout the land.

Despite the author's expressed hope in his prologue to let "the facts —the essential ones as far as I am capable of presenting them—speak for themselves," one cannot say that he has given an objective study of his subject. For that fact one must be grateful in this instance, for it has but added to the charm of his work. The mere process of choosing "the essential facts" involves personal factors in any historian, but the author of this book has done more than that. He has not refrained from including his own views and appraisals in his narrative—a thing which is all to the good since, for the most part, they are excellent opinions incisively expressed. In particular this subjective method is evident in his habit of interpreting a particular epoch or class in terms of its art, notably its architecture—"the spirit of every age tends to express itself in matter"—"man creates in the image of his own soul and the Victorian was most in earnest when it was a question of increasing man's command over matter." However much one challenges this interpretation one cannot deny the force and beauty of the writer's illustrations. His studies of British architecture from the Roman villas and roads down through Gothic, Norman and Tudor architecture to the railways and bridges of the Victorian era, form a fascinating series. The same is true of his writing on the music, painting and literature of the several periods. Perhaps the most delightful parts of all are his analyses, if they may be so called, of the manners of the times. His sketches of the Celtic temperament, of the Normans, of the Puritans and Puritanism, of the charity and brutality of the Georgian age, of the materialism and sentiment of the Victorians—searching criticisms combined with genuine appreciation—these are things to be cherished.

To students of Pacific affairs there is much of value in the book, especially in the last two chapters on British and European imperialism and international relations. The account of the imperialist expansion at the end of the last century is full of good things: as when he refers to a situation involving "Chinese 'reactionaries,' as patriots are called when they fail to possess white skins . . . ."—and "Rhodes was one of those natural born aristocrats for whom the restrictions of everyday morality have no meaning."

To British readers this history is a contribution to literature for which many will be grateful. It is nowhere a glorification of British civilisation; in many respects it contains some of the severest criticism on that civilisation. Yet there are few readers but will feel after putting the book down, that this organism now split up and scattered round the globe as a community of states, is still a living thing that has grown and drawn its life from a heritage of rich and varied tradition. Mr. Wingfield-Stratford expresses what many British people have felt in saying in his epilogue that the League of Nations is but an attempt to

apply the principles of the British Commonwealth of Nations on a world-wide scale. The world today is wont to look askance on High Callings, World Missions, and Manifest Destinies in individual nations. But such a book as this should, in its literary appeal and its essential humanity, reveal that there is in British civilisation a certain beauty and dignity which can perhaps be a contribution of value for the conduct of this modern world. —W. L. H.

DREISER LOOKS AT RUSSIA
By Theodore Dreiser
Horace Liveright, New York, 1928. G$3.00

Out of the maze of contradictory interpretations of Soviet Russia that have appeared during the last ten years Theodore Dreiser has performed a signal service to Russia and to the rest of the world that would understand Russia. Mr. Dreiser's book attempts no analysis of Soviet philosophy or of communism and its economic, political or social theories. The strength of the book is its complete simplicity and its entire naturalness. The title indicates the character of the narrative. The book is as unbiased in its reflection of what is going on in the U. S. S. R. as a mirror—as complete in detail as a photograph. Mr. Dreiser describes what he saw and tells what he heard during his eleven weeks in the U. S. S. R. In doing this he has rid himself completely of whatever prejudice he may have possessed before crossing the Russian frontier. Himself one of America's greatest individualists, he treats with absolute fairness the world's greatest communistic experiment. It is an intensely human narrative illustrated with stories of actual people, events and experiences told with the candor of a child. The author deals sparingly with opinions and conclusions but is a master at keeping the perspective between data and life. He takes the reader with him into the heart of the problems of the Russian people. When you put the book down you are convinced that you have been in Russia and have begun to understand Russia, for Dreiser has made you see it with your own eyes. —J. M. D.

THE CHINESE REVOLUTION 1926-7
By H. Owen Chapman
Constable & Co., London, 1928. 12s

There has been much writing about recent events in China but little that is first-hand information. Even observers who have some first-hand knowledge are almost inevitably tempted into generalisations for which their information is inadequate. It is in fact extraordinarily difficult to write reliably about such a vast country as China, particularly when it is in the process of revolution and civil war. Even local events need interpretation in the light of historical developments and of events which have occurred in other parts of China, or indeed in the outside world.

To write accurately about China, therefore, requires the rather rare combination of accurate, careful observation and the balanced judgment that can only come from extensive historical reading. Dr. Chapman's book exhibits that combination in greater degree than any other which has up to the present attempted to describe the tangled events of the last few years. The author is an Australian medical missionary who, for most of the period he describes, was stationed near Hankow. From this vantage point he was able to observe the march of events in the nation-

alist campaigns, military, political and propagandist. His writing throughout is calm and dispassionate, chronicling rather than judging, and holding the balance even between contending parties. His opinions are supported by reasons, and often by references. He does not hesitate to express definite views; but always with candour and fairness. Moreover, he has obviously gone to great pains to ascertain the facts of such difficult situations as the Nanking incident of March, 1927, and has worked extensively in the library of the Royal Institute of International Affairs, besides consulting original sources such as the vernacular and English language papers in China. His trained scientific mind gives him an initial advantage which is greatly enhanced by his command of Chinese and his local experience.

The result is a most thorough and convincing account of the various forms of nationalist organisation as it worked in practice. Dr. Chapman is not so much concerned with words as with deeds. He notes the declarations of policy and legislation; but pays more attention to the organisation of propaganda, the use of strike pickets, demonstrations and processions, the "moral offensive," the interference with schools and hospitals and similar practical matters. Inevitably the diplomatic contest between Russia and Great Britain during this period occupies a large share of his attention. The services of the Russian advisers to the nationalist movement are clearly stated and also the admirable restraint by which the British troops and warships turned the weapon of the "moral offensive" against the Chinese.

The book abounds in illuminating sections showing the comprehensive account its author has taken of the new forces that are re-shaping China. The women's movement, missionary work, industrial developments, the Chinese renaissance—are all fitted into the narrative.

In the later sections of the book there is a useful summary of the confusing campaigns that followed the occupation of Hankow. This account is perhaps not quite as clear as the brilliant summary of the earlier manoeuvres described by Professor Toynbee in his "Survey of International Relations, 1926." The facts, however, are confused. Between the two nationalist governments operating from Hankow and Nanking relations fluctuated considerably and there were shifting alliances and other bases of operations difficult to describe. The story is brought down to the lowest ebb of the nationalist advance in late 1927. Few people could have foreseen the rapid reorganisation and swift triumph of the nationalist armies in 1928 under the leadership of Chiang Kai-shek, Feng Yu-hsiang and Yen Shi-shan.

In matters of emphasis, one may question points of view, particularly in the later sections of the book. A short chapter takes sympathetic account of the problems that vex successive Japanese governments in relation to China; but throughout the text, and especially in his account of the abortive rebellion of Kuo Sung-lin and of the 1927 occupation of Tsingtao and Tsinanfu, one feels that it is the Chinese point of view which is presented. The later Tsinan incident lies outside the scope of the book.

If the Japanese point of view is somewhat under-emphasized, the American policy receives much the same treatment. Quite pardonably, Dr. Chapman has been more concerned with the policy of Great Britain and the response made to it in China. It is a little difficult, however, to

pass over the calculation (p. 264) of British trade with China, which includes Hong-Kong trade. Hong-Kong is a British possession; but the great entrepot trade which passes through it is British only in minor degree. Much of it is a really domestic trade of China and all nations contribute to swell the total. Statistics have not been collected for some years and in their absence any precise calculation of the British or indeed the foreign trade of China is impossible.

These, however, are slight criticisms and mostly relate to matters of opinion. The book is too careful and accurate to be seriously marred by them. One last reference may perhaps be made to the excellent short section entitled "The Dictatorship of a Party," which provides an excellent corrective to the hasty habit of personification which vitiates much of the discussion of Chinese affairs. An adequate realisation of the fact that China is now governed (rebellions and local disunities granted) by the nationalist party, very much as Russia is governed by the communist party, is essential to a true understanding of the situation. This party, despite its quarrels and schisms, has the cohesion of a quarter of a century's careful organisation. It has moreover learned a great deal from Russian political technique which it retains, though it has disavowed communism. Its military leaders are also its servants, which is a fact of hopeful significance for China and the world. —J. B. C.

THROUGH ENGLISH EYES
By J. A. Spender
Frederick A. Stokes Company, New York, 1928. G $2.50

A pleasantly provocative, entertaining and instructive little volume, particularly valuable for the thoughtful American interested in the foreigner's estimate of his own institutions and politics. The writer, because of a previous period spent in this country in 1921, is better qualified than most casual visitors to interpret what he saw and heard on his travels through the United States during the autumn and winter of 1927-28, as the first "Senior Walter Hines Page Memorial Fellow." This fellowship is provided under "a scheme organized and administered by the English-Speaking Union with the cooperation of the leading newspapers" in England and the United States. "Representative Americans" and fellow journalists freely furnished him information and open sesame to such institutions as presented themselves for investigation in the course of his journeys.

The book of 324 pages is made up of three parts, the first 79 being given over to a record of current impressions from the time of the writer's arrival in our greatest port city, whose leading industry "is the mass production of Americans" and where everything from buildings to noise, "to use a mathematical expression, is raised to the power of New York;" on across country to the Pacific Coast and back again.

Part II covers a dissertation on American Life and Institutions. "In America," he says under the head of The American Achievement, "as nowhere else in the world at the present time, the traveller gets the sense of a creative evolution working collectively and subconsciously to ends greater than the sum of individual effort and unforeseeable by living man," and he then proceeds to tell of Business which "to the American is the great adventure—sport, work, pleasure and patriotism rolled in one;" of Politics and Parties, Law and Disorder, Religion and

the Churches, the Racial Question, American Journalism, Universities and Colleges, and Prohibition . . . all through English eyes.

In Part III the author undertakes a discussion of American Policy and British-American Relations, first sketching in a background. In this he touches upon two points—the American Revolution, which to England "was only an incident in our history, and was soon submerged in our life and death struggle with Napoleon," but which is for Americans "still the foundation of their being," and without reference to which "no detail of their Constitution can be understood;" and upon America's withdrawal from the international scene and her resumption of the "traditional policy of aloofness from Europe" following participation in the Great World Madness—a "return to normalcy" which to Europeans "is disappointment and disillusion;" these two points evidencing the difference in point of view which "governs the entire historical retrospect of the two peoples."

The brevity and sureness of his presentation of the fundamentals of the "special quality of the British-American Relationship" evidence an adequate historical knowledge coupled with a sympathetic understanding of the American viewpoint. Other countries, he says, may err and be forgiven, but "there is never a clean sheet in the account with the British; their doings and misdoings are posted up in American History and form a continuous record which may leap to light at some critical moment." (p. 248). The two nations being "an open book to each other" because of common origin and a common language, it is not possible to "have done with this racial relationship" and treat each other as foreign countries, "and get the benefit of practical politics. . . ." He goes on to say: "The difficulty about this is precisely that it is not practical politics. British and Americans may resolve to cut clear of their entangled past and start again on the basis of formal and polite acquaintanceship, but history and memory will not be denied, or the susceptibilities of either be quenched in the formalities of a correct diplomacy. Their relationship remains a thing apart from the normal dealings of foreign Powers; and it needs careful steering on both sides to reap its advantages and avoid its dangers." (p. 249).

He likens America's present attitude toward participation in European affairs to Britain's earlier endeavor to "keep clear of 'continental entanglements'" from which "splendid isolation" Great Britain was driven by events beyond her control. (p. 254). Concerning the League of Nations—"an American foundling left on the European doorstep"—he sees "no reason to regret that the United States did not join the League of Nations at the end of the war. . . . It is possible to believe that President Wilson rendered a great service to the world by his courageous initiative, and yet to feel that it was better for the United States to leave Europe to work out its own salvation in, at all events, the early stages of the League." (p. 258). "If the United States departs from this attitude it will be from the force of events and not from any pressure put on her from the outside." (p. 262). Three chapters discuss the United States as Creditor, The Naval Question and The Commercial Situation—through English eyes.

In the author's Conclusions he sees the entire country "mobilized for the winning of an industrial war in just the same way as a few years ago we were all mobilized for another kind of war. . . . With this go the

unrest and the nervous excitement which we noted in Europe as wartime symptoms and they seem to be chronic in America." (p. 310). He finds "the great men of the United States are the big business men, not the statesmen or politicians . . . far too little of the brains and character of the country is going into its public affairs." He charges that "the people who in all the world crave most for new things and in the ordering of all other parts of their life are modern of the moderns, are all but Chinese in their worship of the Constitution and their ancestors who devised it. . . . The populous modern United States remains faithful to laws and institutions laid down by the fathers of the Constitution for their little community in the eighteenth century. Thus the most daring innovators in all else present the appearance of being politically the least enterprising and the most tolerant of outworn institutions." (p. 314). The sum of his advice to British and American Governments is "to face difficult questions fairly, to nurse no grievances which cannot be avowed and explored, and at all times to keep in touch."

As fair and impartial a picture of America as could well be drawn by a foreigner—but one is never unconscious of the title. In England, by the way, the volume was published under the title "The America of Today." —B. G.

INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF THE AMERICAN CONSTITUTION
By Charles E. Martin
Oxford University Press, London, 1928
AMERICAN GOVERNMENT AND CITIZENSHIP
By Charles E. Martin and William H. George
Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1927

For the student of international relations in need of specific information on the working of American governmental machinery as a background to securing a comprehension of that nation's diplomatic relations with the rest of the world, the two volumes above cited are of particular value.

The first, by the Professor of Political Science and Dean of the Faculty of Social Science at the University of Washington, is a revised second edition of a standard text on the American constitution. The text has been accepted by the American Bar Association and recommended by that body as "indispensable for students of the Constitution." The book enters into a thorough analysis of the growth of the American system, the background of political ideas from which its central conceptions were drawn, the Colonial and Revolutionary periods of gestation and the later periods of independent growth and modification. Following the purely historic and legalistic sections, Part III is devoted to an interpretation of the "Spirit of the American Constitution."

The second and larger volume is a comprehensive treatise on American political theory, government and politics and international relations, by two professors of Political Science at the University of Washington, the first of them being the author of the preceding text book, Dr. Martin.

The section on Political Theory explains the Colonial origins of American governmental thinking and traces through the establishment of Federalism. In Part II the details and practical working of fundamental national laws and methods of government are expounded through eight chapters.

Perhaps the most valuable section, for the student of affairs rather than of abstractions, is that on the Foreign Relations of the United

States. Here 316 pages are devoted to an exposition of the Monroe Doctrine and other principles and practical policies of State Department practice, including the especially interesting subjects—Pan-Americanism and the Open Door in the Pacific; and to a study of American Diplomatic Procedure. Under the latter, sub-sections are given over to a discussion of the peaceful settlement of international disputes and other modes of redress short of war. 757 pages. —E. G.

PAMPHLETS

THE ROCKEFELLER FOUNDATION
A Review for 1928
By George E. Vincent, President of the Foundation
New York, 1929

The world-wide activities of the Rockefeller Foundation in 1928, with a map of the world indicating the work done by the foundation on the following subjects: Hookworm control or survey; malaria work; yellow fever control, yellow fever survey; county health work; other public health work; public health education; countries in which fellowships were granted; countries in which aid was given to medical schools; countries in which aid was given to premedical and biological sciences; countries in which aid was given to nursing education.

CHINA'S ATTEMPT TO MUZZLE THE FOREIGN PRESS
Printed and published by the
North-China Daily News & Herald, Limited
Shanghai, May, 1929

The *North China Daily News'* side of the question in the recent banning of their paper through the mails by the Nationalist Government.

ANNUAL REPORT ON LABOR STRIKES IN GREATER SHANGHAI 1928
Compiled by Bureau of Social Affairs (in English and Chinese)
The City Government of Greater Shanghai

Contents: A Summary of Work on Labor Statistics, 1928; Methods of Statistics on Labor Strikes; A Review of Labor Strikes in Greater Shanghai, 1928; Monthly Reports on Labor Strikes, 1928; Chart of Labor Strikes, 1928; Chart of Causes and Results of Labor Strikes, 1928.

TRAFFIC IN OPIUM AND OTHER DANGEROUS DRUGS
U. S. Treasury Department
Washington, D. C., 1928

Report by the Government of the United States of America for the year ended June 30, 1928.

THE PRODUCTION OF IRON AND STEEL IN JAPAN
Department of Commerce
Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce
Washington, 1929

"While Japan does not rank with the great steel-producing nations of the world, its position is steadily gaining in importance. Because of the development of the Japanese industry in recent years and because Japan has been and is even now one of the principal markets of the world for steel products, the expansion of the industry of that country is of especial interest to the industries of

UNEMPLOYMENT, SOME INTERNATIONAL ASPECTS
International Labour Office, Geneva, 1929

Chapter heads: Unemployment and Monetary Fluctuations; Unemployment in the Coal-Mining and Textile Industries; Unemployment and International Migration.

THE EMBARGO RESOLUTIONS AND NEUTRALITY
By Joseph P. Chamberlain
"International Conciliation," New York, June, 1929

Texts of the Resolutions, the treaty of St. Germain, and the Trade in Arms Convention.

In the Magazines

Note: All the following references to magazines published in the Orient are for English language publications. National ownership of such publications is indicated.

BRITISH EMPIRE

ARBITRATION COURT SYSTEM (in Australia), A DEFENCE OF, THE; by R. C. Wilson; the *Australian Quarterly,* Sydney, March, 1929.

AUSTRALIAN IMMIGRATION PROBLEM AND THE WORKING CLASS, THE; by S. Carpenter; the *Pan-Pacific Worker,* Sydney, June 1, 1929.

AUSTRALIAN LABOUR MOVEMENT, THE; unsigned; the *Round Table,* London, June, 1929.

"The Labour movement must receive special consideration, because the Labour party is the most active and characteristic element in our political complex."

AUSTRALIAN POLITICS AND THE FEDERAL ELECTIONS; by the Hon. F. W. Eggleston; the *Australian Quarterly,* Sydney, March, 1929.

CANADA—The Federal Session; unsigned; the *Round Table,* London, June, 1929.

A review of the 1929 Federal Parliament, and a discussion of Canada's dominion status as viewed by a French Canadian.

LABOUR'S FOREIGN POLICY; editorial; the *New Statesman,* London, June 15, 1929.

"It is plain that the Labour Government will have to tackle the question of Russia. The recognition of the Soviet Government should not present much difficulty. A good deal of water has flowed under the bridges since Jix's raid on Arcos and the purging of the Augean stables at Chesham House. There is widespread agreement that the present position is unsatisfactory, and even silly; and the Bolshevik bogey chills very few marrows nowadays. But the mere return of the Soviet representatives to London is not all that either the Russians or we want. Both want more trade, and the condition of that is financial assistance to Russia."

CHINA—GENERAL

CHINA—FROM REVOLUTION TO RECONSTRUCTION; by Celtcius Aper; *World Trade,* Paris, April, 1929.

"A stupendous population, four hundred to four hundred and fifty million inhabitants, one-quarter of all mankind, frugal, hard working, brave, persevering. . . .

"The oldest of peoples . . . to them we owe the magnetic needle, gunpowder, rag paper, and printing. To them we also owe the foundations of wisdom and the first gropings of science. China reigned supreme in the working of bronze and hard-wood, in the weaving of silks and in the art of embroideries. It stood, in the past, at the head of civilization, and at the time when the first official publication of the western world, the *Gazette de France,* appeared in 1631, China had already had its *Peking Gazette* for more than six hundred years."

CHINA IN THE WORLD FAMILY; by Herbert B. Elliston; *Foreign Affairs,* New York, July, 1929.

A penetrating article by a man who knows China. "From the standpoint of world power a country's population and resources are measurable mainly by organization. China is emerging from the category (of geographical expressions); it is reaching out to a national organization which will realize at home and abroad the latent strength of its population, resources and geographical position."

The remainder is an effort to give background to this new movement toward organization, and to explain the appalling tasks awaiting the Nanking government.

CHINESE POPULATION FIGURES; by Harry Paxton Howard; the *China Critic* (Chinese), Shanghai, June 6, 1929.

DEVELOPING MANCHURIAN WASTES; unsigned; *Chinese Economic Journal* (Chinese), Shanghai, June, 1929.

"The pioneer immigrants to Manchuria were ginseng gatherers and fur trappers and close upon their heels followed the farmers, who, with spade and hoe, brought under cultivation large tracts of waste but fertile land in the val-

leys of the Sungari and other rivers. The early immigrants into Manchuria were, in the eyes of the officials, outlaws, who went there against the orders of the Government. In spite of official discountenance and the inclemency of climatic conditions, the immigrants founded their new homes and became prosperous in the land of their adoption."

ELECTRIC ENTERPRISES AND AMERICAN CAPITAL IN CHINA; by A. Friedrich; *Ostasiatische Rundschau,* Hamburg, June 1, 1929.

GUARANTEE OF HUMAN RIGHTS, THE; by Dr. Hu Shih; the *Week in China* (American), Peking, June 15, 1929.

The translation of an article by one of the foremost critical thinkers in China today, exposing what he considers the fundamental weaknesses in China's new governmental machinery, and making a plea for a basic national constitution. The article originally appeared in the *Ta Kung Pao,* Tientsin, June 3 last.

LUMBER INDUSTRY ON THE YALU RIVER; unsigned; *Chinese Economic Journal* (Chinese), Shanghai, June, 1929.

"Manchuria is not only the 'Granary of Asia' but also the treasure-house of Asia's sylvan wealth.

"The latest estimate of the forest wealth of the whole of Manchuria put it at 145,000,000 cubic feet or 45,000,000 acres, which is one-fifth of the total area of the Three Eastern Provinces. . . . . "

MANCHURIA'S RAILWAYS; unsigned; the *Week in China* (American), Peking, June 8, 1929.

COMMUNICATIONS

CHINA'S NEW AVIATION CONTRACTS; the *Far Eastern Review,* Shanghai, May, 1929.

"The air-mail contract between the Chinese National Aviation Corporation and Aviation Exploration, Inc., is of exceptional importance because it lays the basis for future contracts of a similar nature in China. The American company is to operate air-mail service on three routes and to fly 3,000 miles a day." The contracts are published in full in this article.

GOODWILL OF BRITISH COMMERCE, THE; by T. G. Barman; the *Spectator,* London, June 8, 1929.

"In Europe, too, American news agencies are blazing a trail for American trade. Anyone in touch with Press conditions today will confirm the fact that many Continental newspapers are finding it increasingly difficult to maintain correspondents abroad, and more particularly in London. An arrangement is then made with a news agency for the supply of foreign news. This news agency is invariably American."

SOVIET AIR LINES; *Soviet Union Review;* Washington, June, 1929.

"Early in May regular passenger airplane service was started by the 'Urkvozdukhput' (Ukrainian Air Line), the Joint Stock Company 'Dobrolet,' and 'Deruluft,' a mixed Soviet-German Stock Company. It is proposed to continue the service in the winter hereafter."

TRANSPORTATION—RAILWAYS; by Charles F. Baldwin; *Commerce Reports,* Washington, D. C., June 17, 1929.

"The use of motor rail cars on the railway lines of several Australian States, notably Queensland, New South Wales, Victoria, and South Australia, has increased considerably during years, both on suburban routes and in country districts. . . . ."

WHAT'S NEXT IN OCEAN TRAVEL? by Edward R. Armstrong; *Nation's Business,* Washington, D. C., July, 1929.

The inventor of a floating landing field believes a system of trans-Atlantic air transportation will be in complete operation within the next five years. Plans call for a fleet that will give thirty-hour service between Plymouth and New York City. What can subsequently be visualized in the Pacific?

CULTURES

CHANGING CHRISTIAN METHODS; by L. W. O.; the *Week in China* (American), Peking, June 1, 1929.

CHRISTIANITY AND YOUNG JAPAN; by Ernest Pickering; the *Nineteenth Century and After,* London, June, 1929.

"The missionaries' position today is by no means an easy one, because, for one thing, Japan is in the full tide of developing a strong national consciousness, and the students especially are reluctant to accept the religious teaching of foreigners which teaching, moreover, is regarded by the more socialistically-minded youths as the religion of a capitalistic society. . . ."

FILM INDUSTRY IN THE NATIONAL REPUBLICS, THE; *Soviet Union Review*, Washington, June, 1929.

"Expeditions are constantly going to the Crimea, the Caucasus, Kazakstan, Siberia, Mongolia—to the farthest reaches of the Soviet Union where the film operator can penetrate, to take ethnographic and scientific pictures, and to film the daily life of the people. Sovkine is, in fact, preparing a 'Kino-Atlas' of the U.S.S.R. which will be a living cinema map of the whole Union."

KUAN-YIN: GODDESS OF MERCY; by Clarence Burton Day; *China Journal*, Shanghai, June, 1929.

An interesting account of the place of Kuan-yin, goddess of mercy, in Chinese religious worship, literature and painting.

ONE SHALL CHASE A THOUSAND; by John Palmer Gavit; *Survey Graphic*, New York, July, 1929.

"The most thrilling experience that I have had during the past winter—can't remember any ever of quite the same sort—was meeting Jimmie Yen. Getting the vision of one man setting out almost casually and without self-consciousness to teach half a billion people to read. It sticks in my mind as about the most ambitious project ever undertaken by any individual in his right mind. Something almost cosmic about it; suggestive of the Almighty's method, of starting one cell, electrifying it with a magic touch, leaving it to divide and multiply and replenish the universe. As method, biologically a sure thing; but from the so-called 'practical' point of view, just plain crazy. Yet it works, as one might have known it would."

PRESENTATION OF THE CHRISTIAN MESSAGE IN INDIA, THE; by John S. Hoyland; the *Nineteenth Century and After*, London, June, 1929.

"The war changed the position of the Christian missionary in India. Today the missionary finds that he can accomplish nothing unless in his contact with educated Indians he is willing from the start to adopt an attitude of teachableness and humility, and to confess that Western civilization has failed to establish a world order which can be regarded as Christian, as stable, or as genuinely beneficial."

RACE RELATIONS; by Melville J. Herskovits, Asst. Prof. of Anthropology, Northwestern University; the *American Journal of Sociology*, Chicago, May, 1929.

"It is well to recognize that the problems of racial relations in this country lie deeply imbedded in our historical development. The descendants of aboriginal Indian tribes, of white settlers, and of Negro slaves, all contribute to the perplexing puzzles of integration with which we are confronted, while to these have been added problems introduced by the advent of vast groups of persons more recently arrived from Southern and Eastern Europe and the Scandinavian peninsula."

SOME ASPECTS OF JAPANESE LIFE; by Kayo Ichikawa; *New Japan*, New York, May, 1929.

". . . Most of the people learn about foreign countries not by reading good, authoritative books on those countries or by traveling there to acquire truthful knowledge, but only by reading newspapers or by means of movies. . . . I cannot find any reason why so-called great papers . . . . are content with such incompetent correspondents resident abroad sending news of misrepresentation that are always contradicting the preceding reports of the previous day. I know that those correspondents in Japan have no knowledge of the Japanese language or any sympathy, which may compensate for their lack of the knowledge of the language, for our people and our culture. . . . 'Current Events and News' in the motion pictures . . . are really nothing but the caricatures of Japanese life," when they picture Japan.

DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS

AMERICAN SUBSTITUTE FOR BRITISH BLOCKADES, AN; by Charles Cheney Hyde; *Foreign Affairs*, New York, July, 1929.

Some important notes on American and British views of blockade and boycotts as dangerous substitutes for war.

Monroe Doctrine and Latin America, The; A Consideration of Modern Policy; by Leonard W. Matters; the *Review of South and Central America and West Indian Gazette*, London, June, 1929.

This is the final instalment of the report of the lecture before the Foreign and Colonial Affairs Committee of the National Liberal Club, London, by Mr. Leonard W. Matters, Editor of *The Review*, on "The Monroe Doctrine from the Latin American Point of View."

Our Haitian Problem; by A. C. Millspaugh; *Foreign Affairs*, New York, July, 1929.

An account of United States government activities in Haiti; of particular interest as it reflects the general United States policy in Central and South America and has a bearing on the Monroe Doctrine.

Problem of Extraterritoriality, The; by George E. Sokolsky; the *Far Eastern Review*, Shanghai, May, 1929.

Mr. Sokolsky, the chief political writer on the staff of the *North China Daily News* (the British newspaper recently barred through the mails by the Chinese Government for printing unfavorable rumors about the Nationalist Government), bolsters up his article showing the necessity for extraterritoriality by quoting lengthy decisions of the Washington Conference, and the report of the Commission that met in Peking in 1926.

Russia Unrecognized; by John Hanna; the *New Republic*, New York, June 19, 1929.

"The ten days that shook the world ended November 7, 1917. Since then, four Washington administrations have regarded Russia as a legal vacuum. The Soviets, meanwhile, have received diplomatic recognition from twenty-six autocracies, dictatorships, constitutional monarchies and republics."

ECONOMICS IN PACIFIC—GENERAL

Analysis of Japan's Cheap Labor, An; by Dorothy J. Orchard; *Political Science Quarterly*, New York, June, 1929.

"It is one of the paradoxes of the Orient, of India and China as well as of Japan, that manufacturing industry suffers from a scarcity of labor. The farms are overpopulated, but labor is reluctant to enter the factory. . . . "

Australia—The British Economic Mission; unsigned; the *Round Table*, London, June, 1929.

A review of the British economic mission to Australia, and a chronicle of Federal Activities.

Emancipation of Women; editorial; *New Japan*, New York, May, 1929.

" . . . We note, with profound interest and sympathy, the bill abolishing the institution of licensed prostitution after 1935, introduced and ably defended by our much-loved Abe Isoy, leader of the Social Democratic party. His able defense of a new status of women, his brilliant plea for feminine emancipation, his sincere championship of their just rights, all did not fail to call the attention of the whole nation to this most pressing question of the hour, involving more than 50,000 of our feminine friends."

Financial Reconstruction in Mexico; by Herbert Feis; *Foreign Affairs*, New York, July, 1929.

"It was only because of the progress made in these matters (of financial reconstruction) that the Federal Government was able to meet the revolt so effectively and promptly without extraordinary financial measures."

Future of China's Export Trade, The; by Julean Arnold, American Commercial Attache' to China; the *China Weekly Review*, Shanghai, June 1, 1929.

"It will take time to set the whole country on the road to modern economic, social and political advancement, but sufficient progress has already been made in this direction to convince the nations of the earth that the Chinese people have turned their eyes from the past and are now determined to tune in with modern conceptions of civilization."

Interdependence of the Nations; editorial; *World Trade*, Paris, April, 1929.

"Today the failure of a cotton crop in South Carolina, the bankruptcy of an American bank, or the cutting off of the Russian wheat market, causes distress in London, Lyons, Vienna and Hong-Kong. The civil dissensions in China are not merely local in their effect; they effectively lower the standard of living throughout the whole world. The rest of the world is willing and

anxious to buy the products of China's untold resources, and China has need of Western products of all kinds in exchange."

INTERNATIONAL LABOUR OFFICE, THE; unsigned; the *Spectator,* London, June 8, 1929.

"The twelfth International Labour Conference opened on Thursday, May 30th. Several points are worth noting: fifty out of the fifty-five States members are represented; China, for the first time, has sent a complete delegation, and Great Britain has endeavoured to confound her critics by providing the largest of all."

LABOR MOVEMENT IN THE PHILIPPINES; by C. Evangelista; the *Pan-Pacific Worker,* Sydney, June 1, 1929.

A brief history of the movement and a resume' of the program of today, from a radical point of view.

NEW ZEALAND—The Ward Government; unsigned; the *Round Table,* London, June, 1929.

"A survey of three months of the new government, as affecting unemployment, land and business problems, and a report on Samoa."

REPORT OF THE BRITISH ECONOMIC MISSION (to Australia); by L. G. Melville; the *Australian Quarterly,* Sydney, March, 1929.

SALT IN CHINA AND ELSEWHERE; by Boris P. Torgasheff; *Chinese Economic Journal* (Chinese), Shanghai, June, 1929.

A survey, with tables, of world salt production, with special detail to China's salt industry.

SINGAPORE'S CONTROL OF KEY MINERAL RESOURCES; by H. Foster Bain; *Foreign Affairs,* New York, July, 1929.

"Panama and Singapore are the two great gateways to the Pacific, the ocean of the future. In the Canal Zone, with 553 square miles area, the United States holds (let us hope for peace rather than war) one of these great gateways. Opposite lies Singapore, an outpost of British dominion. Ships trading between the Pacific and other oceans must pass through one of these two gateways or else make a roundabout and expensive journey. Singapore, then, is one of the critical centers of the world, and the forces that control it and the resources of the people resident around it offer subjects well worth study."

SOME THOUGHTS CONCERNING ECONOMICS IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF CHINA; (Third Instalment); by Dr. J. A. L. Waddell, the *Far Eastern Review, Shanghai,* May, 1929.

". . . It being essential for the development of China that she borrow large amounts of money abroad, it is evident that some radical step will have to be taken without delay to re-establish her financial credit in the eyes of the world."

SOVIET-JAPANESE ECONOMIC RELATIONS; unsigned; *Economic Review of the Soviet Union,* New York, June 1, 1929.

"A further expansion in trade relations between the Soviet Union and Japan is reported by Mr. P. Anikeev, the Soviet trade representative in Japan. Export and import operations of the Soviet Trade Representation in Japan, amounted to 26,500,000 yen ($13,250,000) in 1927-28, an increase of nearly 60 per cent over 1926-27. While Soviet exports to Japan increased 54.5 per cent."

NATIVE PEOPLES

NATIVE AND COLONIAL LABOUR; unsigned; *Industrial and Labour Information,* Geneva, June 10, 1929.

. . . Mr. Newnham (Mayor of Colombo) said that it was known that small children were obtained from the villages in consideration of monetary payment, taken far from their homes and used as domestic servants in return for the mere provision of food and clothing. Undoubtedly the majority were well treated, but in the last year there had been 13 cases brought to the courts in which children had been grossly and cruelly ill-treated. The average age of these children was eight years.

PROBLEM OF COLLABORATION BETWEEN EUROPEANS AND NATIVES IN JAVA, THE; by Marcel Ray; *L'Europe Nouvelle,* Paris, June 1, 1929.

In the May 4th issue there appeared the first section of a study by the same writer, who accompanied M. Pasquier, Governor-General of Indo-China on a voyage to the Netherlands Indies. This is the second section, treating

specially of the native policy of the Netherlands government (public instruction, popular libraries, administrative problems).

South African Elections and the Native Question, The; by A. M. Chirgwin; the *Nation and Athenaeum,* London, June 8, 1929.

"General Hertzog has nailed his colours to the mast; he stands frankly for differentiation between black and white. He has outlined a series of six Bills which will delimit the sphere of the native in the political, economic and social life of South Africa. His party is committed to the attempt to build the future of South Africa upon the differential treatment of its black and white population. . . . This policy is admittedly dictated by fear."

RUSSIAN RELATIONS

American Notes of the Week; by Ivy Lee; the *Spectator,* London, June 8, 1929.

"The details just published of contracts entered into by the Soviet Government and American firms show the immense strides which have been made recently in the development of trade relations between the two countries. . . . . These all afford a striking indication of what can be done even in default of political recognition. Both by the amount involved and the evidence which the arrangements afford of the Soviet Government's desire to introduce American ideas into Russia, the contracts are felt to be a significant bid for American trade cooperation with a view to ultimate political recognition. Incidentally the opinion here is that the introduction of American methods on a large scale in Russia will have a distinct influence upon the thought and customs of the people."

Five Years of Soviet-American Trade; by Saul G. Bron; *Economic Review of the Soviet Union,* New York, June 1, 1929.

"The total of Soviet-American trade in the past five years was somewhat in excess of $500,000,000. . . . . ."

Foreign Trade Planning; *Bank for Russian Trade Review,* London, May, 1929.

"Estimates have now been drawn up by the People's Commissariat for Trade for the development of the foreign trade of the U.S.S.R. during the next five years. According to these estimates the exports should amount in 1932-33 to 2,047.5 million roubles. Large capital investments will be necessary in order to increase the exports of the country to the extent indicated."

New Crisis in Russia, The; by F. A. Mackenzie; the *Nineteenth Century and After,* London, June, 1929.

"Soviet Russia is passing through another economic crisis. The shortage of supplies and foodstuffs in the cities and in various rural districts, the sharp decline in the value of the chervonitz, and the unrest among sections of the peasantry are largely due to the endeavour of the Soviet Government to enforce stricter Communist rule.

Resolution of British Industrialists; *Soviet Union Review,* Washington, June, 1929.

"In a final conference with a commission of the Soviet Government before departing for England, the economic committee of the British Industrial Delegation to the Soviet Union presented the following resolution: 'The delegates are firmly convinced that no development of economic relations between the two countries is possible without normal diplomatic relations, and binds itself to take measures to impress this fact on British public opinion.' . . ."

Russia: The Awakening Muzhik; unsigned; the *Round Table,* London, June, 1929.

The Russian peasant may rail against present conditions, may denounce them as no better than the old, but the very fact of his denunciation stamps him as a liberated man. "It would be impossible to overestimate the significance of this outburst of audacity in the peasant. It implies many things, but most of all an awareness of self which was alien to him in the pre-revolutionary era. . . . . Yes, the peasant is now conscious of being somebody, not merely a soul, as he used to be labelled for statistical purposes in former times—a blank, impersonal object—but a man, an individual with a soul and a personality all his own. The peasant has found himself."

The article then discusses the peasant grievances under soviet rule, and the communist's peasant dilemma.

RUSSIAN MOTOR-CAR WORKS; unsigned; the *Commercial,* Manchester, June 6, 1929.

"The Board of the Moscow Municipal Council has approved the plan for a thorough reorganisation of the AMO motor-car works and an increase in production, which is to be brought up to 25,000 cars a year. The work will be supervised by a group of American engineers, with whom a contract has already been signed."

UNITED STATES TARIFFS

AMERICA CALLS A HALT; unsigned; the *Commercial,* Manchester, June 6, 1929.

". . . America, by her policy of raising tariffs against imports of foreign manufactured goods, is steadily increasing the difficulties of her debtors in making payments, all of which means in effect that there is a basic tendency for the dollar to appreciate in terms of the other exchanges of the world."

CHRONOLOGY OF AMERICAN TARIFF LEGISLATION, *A*; *Congressional Digest,* Washington, June-July, 1929.

American Tariff History, 1789-1929.

IMMEDIATE EFFECTS OF TARIFF CHANGES; unsigned; *Information Service,* New York, June 12, 1929.

A detailed analysis of the effect of the U. S. tariffs on the various countries concerned.

REASONS FOR PRESENT TARIFF REVISION; *Congressional Digest,* Washington, June-July, 1929.

Statements of the Political Parties and their candidates in 1928 election.

MISCELLANEOUS

NAVAL DISARMAMENT; unsigned; the *Round Table,* London, June, 1929.

A survey of world opinion since the Gibson proposals at Geneva in April, with an analysis of difficulties and problems—cruiser strength, freedom of the seas, parity, outlawry of war.

"The real root of the trouble has been that Great Britain has claimed to be the sole judge of when the seas should be closed—or partially closed— to neutral trade in the interests of 'public right' and that the United States has claimed to trade with all belligerents irrespective of whether a matter of 'public right' was involved or not. . . . . .

"The truth is that strategically and technically 'parity,' like every other abstract standard of armaments, is an absurdity. . . . .

"Whether they (the treaties) will be effective depends mainly upon whether armaments are in future to be used as the instruments of individual national security, or as the instruments whereby war can in the last resort be prevented."

PACIFIC CONFERENCES OF THIS DECADE; by Eleanor M. Hinder; the *China Weekly Review* (American), Shanghai, June 8, 1929.

POPULATION; by Warren S. Thompson (Miami University); the *American Journal of Sociology,* Chicago, May, 1929.

". . . probably the changes of greatest moment, those which will most influence the future history of mankind, are those that are taking place in population growth. . . And because they can now be seen so distinctly we may assess their significance more certainly than we have been able to do hitherto." This article contains quite extensive tables on population increase throughout many countries.

SAVING FAITH OF INTERNATIONALISM, THE; by J. A. Hobson; *Contemporary Review,* London, June, 1929.

"Another war, even more destructive than the last, is freely spoken of as probable or even inevitable, unless substantial and fairly rapid progress can be made in strengthening the structure of internationalism. . . . . War itself, along with other obsolete and morally defective institutions, such as slavery and polygamy, must be regarded as having a legitimate place in the historico-biological movement towards the survival and progress of man from savagery towards civilisation."

Institute Notes

The information published in this department is issued officially by the International Secretariat of the Institute of Pacific Relations at Honolulu.

THE KYOTO CONFERENCE

October 28, 1929, has been set as the opening date for the third biennial conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations at Kyoto, Japan.

The Pacific Council, International Research Committee and Program Committee will hold a series of preliminary meetings at Nara, from October 23 to 27.

The sessions at Kyoto are scheduled to continue for twelve days, coming to a close on November 9.

Conference Preparation

The list of studies which is printed below consists only of those which have been notified to the central secretariat by the National Councils as probably available for conference discussion at Kyoto. The list is neither exhaustive nor final. In particular it necessarily excludes many major research projects of the Institute upon which there has not yet been time to make sufficient progress to warrant a printed report. Only those books and papers are listed which the National Councils intend to present as conference documents. Materials assembled for the assistance of the national groups in their preparations have not been included.

In a number of cases the manuscripts are not yet in final shape, so that the exact titles and contents of the papers cannot be given. The list which follows contains the information available at Honolulu on July 15, 1929. Manuscripts received after August 1 cannot be printed by the central secretariat prior to the conference; but may be made available at Kyoto either in manuscript, or in the case of some of the groups data material will be brought directly to Kyoto in mimeographed or printed form. The printed record of the conference proceedings is to be published by the University of Chicago Press early in 1930, and will contain a selection of the data papers not previously printed in permanent form.

In listing the papers under the main divisions of conference discussion, it has been necessary in order to avoid repetition to place a document in the division with which it is most concerned. Many of the documents, however, contain material which is pertinent to two or more divisions. This is particularly true of the symposia prepared by the Australian and New Zealand groups which consist of short papers covering the main topics of the conference agenda, but are bound in single volumes for convenience.

FOOD, POPULATION AND LAND UTILIZATION

1. G. L. Wood and P. D. Phillips (Editors), Australia: "The Peopling of Australia," Macmillan, Melbourne, 1928.
2. W. J. Hinton, Britain: "Chinese Emigration to Malaya."
3. J. Lossing Buck, China: "Rural China."
4. C. C. Chang, China: "The Extent of Land Utilization in China."

5. C. H. Chen, China: "China's Population Problem."
6. C. C. Hsiao, China: "The Economic Development of Manchuria."
7. Quentin Pan, China: "Migration in Relation to Food Supply and Land Utilization."
8. S. Nasu, Japan: "Population and Food Supply in Japan."
9. E. F. Penrose, Japan: "Agricultural Production in Japan."
10. E. E. Yashnoff, Manchuria: "Chinese Farming in North Manchuria."
11. G. H. Scholefield (Editor), New Zealand: "Studies in New Zealand Affairs."
12. A. Petroff, U.S.S.R.: "Migration of Russians from West to the Far East."

QUESTIONS PARTICULARLY CONCERNING CHINA

1. W. P. Ker, Britain: "Chinese Under British Rule in Malaya, Hongkong and Weihaiwei."
2. Sir Harold Parlett, Britain: Monograph on Manchuria. Oxford University Press, London, 1929.
3. Royal Institute of International Affairs, Britain: Monograph on Shanghai.
4. M. J. Bau, China: "The Present State of Tariff Autonomy and Extraterritoriality."
5. M. J. Bau, China: "Russian Influence in China."
6. L. T. Chen, China: Translation of Documents on Manchuria.
7. Ta Chen, China: "Japanese Emigration to Manchuria."
8. C. L. Hsia, China: "The International Settlement of Shanghai."
9. Shuhsi Hsu, China: Studies in the Recent Diplomatic History of Manchuria.
10. Shuhsi Hsu, China: "The Status of Germans."
11. B. H. Li; Shun Chin Hsiao; Hsueh-feng Pu; S. S. Liu; James Yu; China: Papers on Manchurian Problems.
12. Nankai University, China: Bibliography on Manchuria.
13. S. H. Tan, China: Study of Treaty Relations.
14. Y. T. Tsur, China: "The History of Foreign Loans."
15. M. Royama, Japan: "Japanese Interests in Manchuria."
16. American Council: Revision of J. A. MacMurray: "Treaties and Agreements With and Concerning China," Oxford University Press, New York.
17. C. Walter Young, United States: "The Treaty Situation in Manchuria."

INDUSTRIALIZATION AND FOREIGN INVESTMENT

1. T. E. Gregory and Dennis H. Robertson, Britain: "British Investments in China."
2. R. H. Coats, Canada: "Foreign Investments in Canada."
3. W. H. Moore, Canada: Study of Canadian Tariffs.
4. Franklin Ho, China: "Studies in Industrialization in Tientsin."
5. D. K. Lieu, China: "The Chinese Cotton Industry."
6. D. K. Lieu, China: "Foreign Investments in China."
7. T. M. Liu, China: "China's National Tariff."
8. T. C. Wang, China: "Industrial Areas in Shanghai."
9. Japanese Council: Statement on Japanese Tariff Situation.
10. Japanese Council: "Japanese Investments in China."

11. League of Nations Secretariat: "Technique of Financial Reconstruction." "The Measurement of Tariffs." "The Reduction of Tariff Barriers in Europe."
12. American Council: "Statement on the American Tariff Situation."
13. E. G. Mears, United States: "San Francisco Shipping."
14. C. F. Remer, United States: "American Investments in China."
15. Boris Torgasheff: "Coal, Iron and Oil in the Far East." (Digest.)

DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS IN THE PACIFIC

1. Persia Campbell; R. C. Mills; G. V. Portus; (Editors), Australia: "Studies in Australian Affairs," Melbourne, 1928.
2. L. J. Burpee, Canada: "The International Joint Commission."
3. Ira A. MacKay, Canada: "International Control of Fisheries on the High Seas."
4. K. Takayanagi, Japan: Studies in Diplomatic Relations.
5. League of Nations Secretariat: Memorandum on League Activities in the Pacific.
6. G. H. Blakeslee, United States: Paper on the General Political Situation in the Pacific.
7. J. T. Shotwell, United States: "Diplomatic Machinery in the Pacific."
8. J. T. Shotwell, United States: "War as an Instrument of National Policy." Harcourt Brace, New York, 1928.

PACIFIC DEPENDENCIES

Royal Institute of International Affairs, Britain: Study of the Administration of Pacific Dependencies.

CULTURAL RELATIONS

1. Hu Shih, China: Monograph on Cultural Relations of East and West.
2. Romanzo Adams, Hawaii: "Further Developments in Race Contacts in Hawaii."
3. Japanese Council: Symposium on Cultural Influences (including sections on: Science by Prof. Yamasaki; Education by Prof. Tomoeda; Law and Politics by Prof. Takayanagi; Literature and Drama by Prof. Saito; Religion by Prof. Anesaki; Social Life and Art by Dr. Dan; Economics and Industry by Mr. Inouye; Music by Mr. Komatsu; Language by Prof. Takagi.
4. E. C. Carter (Editor), United States: "China and Japan in Our University Curricula," New York, 1929.

NEWS ITEMS

Mr. Inouye's Appointment

The Institute has again lost its leader. The Hon. Junnosuke Inouye, who succeeded President Ray Lyman Wilbur as Chairman of the Pacific Council when the latter was drafted into President Hoover's cabinet this Spring, has in turn been drafted into government service. He was named Finance Minister by Premier Hamaguchi when the latter reorganized the Government on July 2, and immediately tendered his resignation as Chairman of the Pacific Council and of the Japanese Institute Council. While the Institute expects to continue to have Mr. Inouye's

friendly interest and counsel, as it has retained that of Secretary Wilbur, it has nevertheless sustained a definite loss in being obliged to dispense with the active leadership and cooperation which he has always given, especially so at this important conference period.

Dr. Yui as Chairman

As vice-chairman of the Pacific Council, Dr. David Z. T. Yui, head of the China Council and member of the two preceding conferences of the Institute, succeeds Mr. Inouye as Chairman of the Pacific Council on the latter's resignation, making the third Pacific Council executive to hold office within six months' time. Dr. Yui will complete Mr. Inouye's unexpired term, opening the meeting of the Pacific Council at Nara on October 23.

Dr. Inazo Nitobé

On July 15 the Japan Council cabled the Central Secretariat the news of the appointment of Dr. Inazo Nitobé as Chairman of the Japan Council of the Institute and concurrently as Japan's member on the Pacific Council, filling the vacancies left by Mr. Inouye's resignation. Dr. Nitobé has been Director of Research for the Japan group. As an outstanding Japanese and English scholar and writer and former Under-Secretary of the League of Nations he needs no introduction to Institute members.

Japan Conference Members

The Japan Council sends a provisional Kyoto membership list of 36 which it is expected will be brought up to the number of 40 or more. The following are the names of the important persons expecting to take part in the next sessions of the Institute:

Masaharu Anesaki, Librarian-in-Chief, Tokyo Imperial University; Junshiro Asari, International Labour Office, Tokyo; Roy H. Akagi, General Secretary, Japan Student Christian Association in America; Ino Dan, Professor of Imperial University of Tokyo; Miss Aiko Hoshino, Acting President of Tsuda College, Tokyo; Seiryo Hamada, Kyoto University; Masanao Hanihara, Ex-Ambassador to the United States; Yukichi Iwanaga, Managing Director of the Shimbun Rengo; Akira Ishii, President, Taihei Insurance Company; Takashi Komatsu, former Manager of Toyo Kisen Kaisha in San Francisco; Shunzaburo Komura, Advisor to the *Tokyo Nichi Nichi;* Shiro Kawada, President, College of Commerce, Osaka; Kiyoshi Kanai, Counsellor of Imperial Government Railroads; Johtaro Kawakami, M. P. from the Proletarian Party; Tamon Maeda, Editor, *Tokyo Asahi;* former government representative to the International Labour Office, Geneva; Yosuke Matsuoka, Vice-President, South Manchurian Railway; Shiroshi Nasu, Director, Research Committee, Japan Council of the Institute; Agricultural Department, Tokyo Imperial University; Hampei Nagao, formerly International Railroad Commissioner of Manchuria and Siberia; Inazo Nitobé, Chairman of the Japan Council of the Institute, member, House of Peers, and former Under Secretary-General, League of Nations; Masanosuke Odagiri, Managing Director, Yokohama Specie Bank; Masamichi Royama, Professor of Tokyo Imperial University; Baron Yoshiro Sakatani, Member of the House of Peers, formerly Minister of Finance, ex-mayor of Tokyo; Count Michimasa

Soejima, Member of the House of Peers, Editor, *Keijo Nippo,* Seoul, Korea; Soichi Saito, Honorary Secretary, Japan Council of the Institute; Junpei Shinobu, Professor, Waseda University; Shigeo Suehiro, Professor, Kyoto Imperial University; Bunji Suzuki, M.P., Hon. President, Central Federation of Japanese Labor; Yusuke Tsurumi, Member of Parliament and publicist; Kenzo Takayanagi, Tokyo Imperial University; Yasaka Takagi, Tokyo Imperial University; Takahiko Tomoeda, Professor of Tokyo Imperial University; Sobun Yamamuro, Director of Mitsubishi Bank, Osaka; Sakuzo Yoshino, Tokyo Imperial University; Jinichi Yano, Kyoto Imperial University; Miss Tetsuko Yasui, President, Women's Christian College of Tokyo; Motosada Zumoto, Publicist, President, International Journalists' Association.

British Conference Group

Hon. Hugh A. Wyndham, Chairman and acting Secretary of the Institute Council in Britain, sends the following information with regard to the personnel of the conference group planning to attend at Kyoto:

Lord Hailsham, group leader.

Lionel Curtis, Fellow of All Souls College, Oxford; Honorary Secretary of the Royal Institute of International Affairs; author of "The Problem of the Commonwealth of Nations," "Dyarchy," etc.

Prof. A. J. Toynbee, Director of Studies at the Royal Institute of International Affairs, research professor of International History at the University of London; member of the British Delegation to the Peace Conference in Paris, 1919; author of certain chapters of "The History of the Peace Conference" and of the "Survey of International Affairs" for 1920-1926, etc.

Hon. H. A. Wyndham, Acting Secretary of the Royal Institute of International Affairs; formerly in the legislature of the Union of South Africa.

William Turner, Director of Reuter's Far Eastern Division.

Canon B. H. Streeter, Fellow and Lecturer of Queen's College, Oxford; author of "God, and the Struggle for Existence," "Reality, a New Correlation of Science and Religion," etc.

Prof. C. K. Webster, Wilson Professor of International Politics, University of Wales; Secretary, Military Section of British Delegation, Paris Conference 1918-1919, author of "The Study of 19th Century Diplomacy," "British Diplomacy, 1813-15," etc.

Miss Eileen Power, lecturer at the London School of Economics and Political Science and Reader in Economic History of the University of London, author of "Medieval People," and joint Editor with R. H. Tawney of "Tudor Economic Documents," etc.

Dr. S. K. Datta, formerly National Secretary in India of the Young Men's Christian Association.

G. F. Hudson, Fellow of All Souls College, Oxford; at present at Imperial University, Tokyo.

Malcolm J. MacDonald, Labour Member of Parliament for Bassetlaw (Notts), and member of the London County Council; a member of the British Party that attended the Conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations at Honolulu in 1927.

George S. Sale, M.C., B.A., son of Mr. C. V. Sale, Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company; Director of Sale & Co., Ltd., Japan.

Archibald Rose, C.I.E. of the British-American Tobacco Company; member of H.B.M.'s Consular Service in China till 1921.

Dame Edith Lyttelton, G.B.E., British substitute Delegate to League of Nations Assembly, 1923, 1926, 1927 and 1928; author of several plays, literary essays and works of biography.

American Conference Members

On July 16 the American Council of the Institute met at luncheon at the Hotel Ritz in New York, at which time the names of thirty-four conference members invited by the Executive Committee to attend the Kyoto sessions were made public. The list includes only those who have definitely signified their intention of attending. Among them are well-known academic men and women and leaders in business, labor and professional circles. The list follows:

C. F. Adams, First National Bank, Portland, Oregon; Wallace M. Alexander, President of Alexander & Baldwin, Ltd., San Francisco, California; Mrs. Ethel Richardson Allen, Adult Education Movement, Los Angeles, California; Carl L. Alsberg, Food Research Institute, Stanford University, California; Sewell L. Avery, President of the United States Gypsum Company; Charles R. Bennett, National City Bank, Peking; George Blakeslee, Harvard and Clark Universities; Roland W. Boyden, Boston, formerly observer on Reparations Commission; Judge Charles Carey, Portland, Oregon; E. C. Carter, the *Inquiry,* New York City; Joseph P. Chamberlain, Columbia University, New York City; President Ada L. Comstock, Radcliffe College, Cambridge, Massachusetts; Stephen P. Duggan, Director of Institute of International Education; Alfred I. Esberg, Lawyer, San Francisco, California; Mortimer Fleishacker, banker, San Francisco, California; Jerome D. Greene, Lee, Higginson & Company, New York City; Roger S. Greene, Rockefeller Foundation, Peking; Sidney Hillman, President, Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America; Charles P. Howland, lawyer, New York City; Frederick P. Keppel, President of Carnegie Corporation, New York City; William H. Kilpatrick, Columbia University, New York City; Harry B. Lear, banker, Seattle, Washington; Lewis L. Lorwin, Institute of Economics, Washington, D. C.; Miss Katherine Ludington, New York City; James C. McDonald, Foreign Policy Association, New York City; Duncan McDuffie, Berkeley, California; Mrs. Alfred McLaughlin, San Francisco; Charles W. Merrill, President, The Merrill Company, San Francisco, California; Mrs. J. W. Morrison, Chicago, Illinois; Harold G. Moulton, Institute of Economics, Washington, D. C.; G. S. Phelps, Tokyo; Paul Scharrenberg, California Federation of Labor, San Francisco, California; James T. Shotwell, Columbia University, New York City; President Leighton Stuart, Yenching University, Peking; Quincy Wright, University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois.

In addition to the conference members four junior secretaries are to travel to Kyoto, these being Miss Catherine Porter, Frederick Vanderbilt Field, Hobart Young and John Rockefeller III.

Australian Conference Members

Mr. G. F. Taylor, Secretary of the Australian National Council of the Institute, sends the following list of Kyoto conference members from his group:

F. W. Eggleston, a professional assistant at the Paris Peace Conference and minister in several Australian governments in the past; leader of the Australian group at the Honolulu Conference, 1927.

A. L. Sadler, past professor of English Literature at the Peers College, Tokyo, and now Professor of Oriental Studies, University of Sydney; author of several translations of Japanese literary classics.

A. H. Charteris, Professor of Industrial Law, Jurisprudence and Political Science, University of Sydney.

Georgina Sweet, Honorary Lecturer in Zoology and Parasitology, University of Melbourne, and member of the Australian National Research Council; Chairman, Australian Pan-Pacific Women's Conference Committee.

Mrs. Harry Emmerton, leader in charitable, artistic and other public movements in Melbourne.

Persia C. Campbell, Research officer, Bureau of Statistics, N. S. W., 1919; author of Chinese Coolie Emigration, joint editor of "Studies in Australian Affairs," 1928; secretary to the Australian delegation, 1927 conference of the Institute, Honolulu.

Eleanor Hinder, Programme Secretary, first Pan-Pacific Women's Conference, Honolulu, 1928; Rockefeller investigator into employment conditions in China for women and children.

C. H. Currey, Senior Lecturer in History, Teachers' Training College, Sydney; author of British Colonial Policy, 1783-1915 (1916); deputy leader of the Australian delegation to 2nd Conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations, Honolulu, 1927.

Tristan Buesst, barrister and student of international relations in various countries.

G. F. Taylor, journalist and writer; National Secretary, Australian Council, Institute of Pacific Relations.

H. L. Wilkinson, civil engineer and author of "The Trust Movement in Australia" and "Price Fixing in Australia;" mining investigator in the Far East.

Mr. Keichi Yamasaki

On July 11 the Central Secretariat formally welcomed the new Associate General Secretary from Japan, Mr. Keichi Yamasaki, at a luncheon at the Young Hotel, Honolulu, to which were invited Governor and Mrs. Judd, the Japanese, Chinese and British Consuls and their wives, members of the Hawaii Council of the Institute and a few distinguished visitors. Mr. Frank Atherton, chairman of the Hawaii Council and treasurer of the Pacific Council, introduced Governor Judd and Mr. Yamasaki.

Having recently come from Japan, the section of Mr. Yamasaki's speech dealing with the work of the Japan Council was particularly interesting, and is reproduced here.

"In the present age when the center of gravity of international politics and cultural development is shifting from the Atlantic to the Pacific, we consider that the importance of the work of the Institute cannot be over-estimated.

"In Japan the Institute is not yet very widely known to the public. However, a number of leaders in various walks of life are now taking an active part in the work of the Institute.

"The outstanding feature of the Institute's work is the third biennial conference to be held in Kyoto this fall and the Japanese Council of the Institute is earnestly making preparations for the conference. Several committees, research and otherwise, have been organised for its preparations. The Japanese Council considers that the population and food problems are highly important and Dr. Nasu who went through Honolulu to Chicago to attend the conference of the Norman Waite Harris Memorial Institute is in charge of the research into these problems. Several assistants are working in fact-finding in his research room. In the present age when nations live in close relations with each other and as members of the big international family, I think, the population and food problems should be solved through international study and cooperation.

"The Manchurian question, among other Chinese questions, is the most delicate one to handle. Professor Royama of the Imperial University of Tokyo is the Chairman of the Research Committee of Manchuria. He personally made a trip to Manchuria to study the conditions over there, and exchanged views with Chinese leaders. Several assistants are also working under him in fact-finding. A voluminous report is being prepared by his Committee. The committee met several times and at its meetings a number of experts exposed the results of their studies. I think the contention of the Chinese is to have all Japanese rights and interests in Manchuria restored to China, while the Japanese position is that Japan cannot waive her rights and interests formerly recognized by China, which Japan acquired with an enormous sacrifice of blood and treasure. Although there should be free and frank discussion on the subject, it ought to be handled with tact. Diplomatic relations are another item regarding which the Japanese Council organized a committee. Professor Takayanagi heads this committee which is meeting once a week to study various diplomatic questions, including questions of disarmament in the Pacific area.

"I understand that the Japanese Council has no intention of seeing the question of Japanese emigration to America included in the agenda of the coming conference, although it may be incidentally taken up in the course of some round-table discussions. They think that the question was thoroughly discussed during the last two conferences. What the Japanese want is the equal treatment of the Japanese in the matter of immigration, equal to any other nationals. This is not a closed issue and the Japanese expect that the Americans will take steps for its fair and judicious solution."

Dr. Chester Rowell at Headquarters

On July 17th Dr. Chester H. Rowell, who was attached to the central staff beginning July 1, as temporary information secretary for the conference period, arrived in Honolulu. Dr. Rowell has been making contacts with the press in the United States preparatory to handling conference information at Kyoto, and will remain at central headquarters until the staff removes to Japan.

Secretary Wilbur

The past chairman of the Institute of Pacific Relations, Dr. Ray Lyman Wilbur, now Secretary of the Interior in the United States government, spoke on "Pacific Relations" before a National Conference on

Social Work which took place in San Francisco late in June and early in July. "The urgency of international cooperation in meeting the social problems of all countries bordering on the Pacific" was stated in the conference program as one of the most significant themes of discussion presented to its thousands of delegates. Three other individuals interested in the Institute of Pacific Relations were scheduled as speakers, these being John Stewart Burgess on the Faculty of Social Sciences at Yenching University, Peking; Roy H. Akagi of the Japanese Student Association of America (a 1927 Honolulu conference member), and Miss Yoshi Shoda, of the Japan Woman's University, Tokyo. Dr. Chester H. Rowell is president of the California Conference on Social Work, the host organization on this occasion.

Radio Programs

The Pacific Coast branch of the American Council has inaugurated an Institute radio program, planning one speaker each month on some topic connected with the Institute or the Pacific area. Dr. Chester H. Rowell opened their first program on June 10th with a 25 minute lecture on the place of the Institute in the Pacific.

The Institute of Pacific Relations

PACIFIC COUNCIL

DAVID Z. T. YUI, China, Chairman

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PACIFIC AFFAIRS

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ELIZABETH GREEN
Editor

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The object of the Institute of Pacific Relations is to study the conditions of the Pacific Peoples with a view to the improvement of their mutual relations.

PACIFIC AFFAIRS

No. 9 SEPTEMBER 1929

The Technique of Diagnosis

By J. B. Condliffe

A previous article in *Pacific Affairs* (March, 1929) described the work of the Institute of Pacific Relations as "an experiment in diagnosis." This description is applicable not only to the preliminary research studies, but also to the conference discussions. The whole purpose of the biennial conference is to provide means for exchange of opinions and coöperative discussion. The atmosphere of the round-tables is one of mutual enquiry. Necessarily opinions and attitudes must be stated since they are themselves facts of importance to be reckoned with in international affairs. It is sometimes more important to find out what representative people think the facts of a particular situation are and mean, than it is to get an exact statement of what these facts are in reality. The Institute, however, tries to do both and to do them together. It tries to face its members with as accurate a statement of the facts as can be obtained and with the varying interpretations of these facts that are made by people with different backgrounds and interests.

In doing so it has verified the truth of Lippman's oft-quoted epigram that there are often two or more sides to a fact as well as a story. Not only as between members from different countries but quite as often between the members of one national group, there is considerable divergence both of appreciation and of interpretation of facts. This must necessarily be so in complicated social problems when any statement must be a combination of facts and tendencies, in which slight shifts of emphasis alter the final conclusions. The procedure of round-table discussion is specially designed to bring out such differences of emphasis, to enable all members to realize that others equally frank and objective in their viewpoints can look at the problems and see in them different lights and shadings.

There is room for much thought and planning in regard to conference procedure. The Program Committee of each conference works hard not only to give due proportion to the various issues that call for round-table discussion but also to devise the best technique for full consideration of those issues. It is not an easy task. Gradually, however, the Institute seems to be building up a tradition within which it is possible to elicit increasingly valuable exchanges of opinion. To repress the voluble, restrain the impetuous, stimulate the reticent into expression, give time to the slower of speech whose opinions are often the most valuable, to keep discussion to the point and yet follow up promising leads—these are tasks calling for alertness, tact and sound judgment in the round-table chairman. Some broad principles such as

the minor use of factual experts, adequate but brief statements of issues as well as prepared materials, repression of the lecturing habit and care in giving opportunity for those who are using a foreign language, are easily stated; but to carry out such rules involves quick and accurate thinking in every chairman.

The first essential is to get statements of fact as accurate and complete as possible for the members to use in discussing the various problems.

It is true that many members of the round-tables might almost qualify as living encyclopedias on certain subjects. But their knowledge is personal and can be drawn upon only by those who sit around the same table with them. For considered statements of fact which shall be available to the whole constituency of the Institute prepared papers are necessary. This is the main justification of the Institute's research program. Round-table discussion also reveals areas of disagreement where there is little basis of fact upon which opinions can be built. It is the task of the research scholars to provide such bases for future discussion.

There is a rather subtle preliminary problem to be considered before such a task can be approached. The relativity of facts and opinions becomes apparent as soon as people of mixed races attempt even to state what the problems are which require investigation. In particular it may be said broadly and with due modifications that the very different social backgrounds of oriental and occidental countries mean that their nationals often approach social problems from quite different angles. Mr. Tawney has emphasized the distinction between the mediaeval conception of problems in terms of social ethics and the modern statement of those problems in economic terms. In 1500, he points out, "the typical controversy is carried on in terms of morality and religion as regularly and inevitably as two centuries later it is conducted in terms of economic expediency." Something the same is true as between the different Pacific countries today. Perhaps it would be more accurate to say that different loyalties and different standards of valuation enter into the statement of problems needing analysis or even into the recognition of situations as problems. This fact is to some extent masked because the urge to enquire into such situations is essentially a part of western scientific technique and partly also because those who coöperate in such studies from the Oriental countries have usually been trained either abroad or in their own countries in that technique. A fact it remains nevertheless. With it there exists a danger that such a research program as the Institute has begun tends to be formulated in the way that appeals to the Anglo-Saxon mind as scientific and effective. This could easily involve the importation of assumptions such as the validity of democratic government, the importance of individual welfare, the value of economic progress, which are axiomatic in the West but not in the East.

The first pitfall to be avoided therefore is that which has been described as academic imperialism or a new scientific version of the missionary movement. With the more developed research technique and energy, the larger resources and the habit of research of Anglo-Saxon countries, it would be easy to develop a program which was essentially that of westerners investigating the Orient and finding answers in their own terms to problems which they had formulated. Even with

the machinery for international coöperation developed by the Institute such a procedure is not easy to avoid. All research projects may be placed within the control of the national council concerned, the utmost care may be taken to use local institutions and local research men, and still the formulation of the problems may be essentially foreign, designed to satisfy a foreign curiosity.

In order to ensure that those groups which must snatch time for international discussion from the pressing practical tasks thrown upon them by the rapid internal transformation of their countries, may be given full opportunity to contribute their own characteristic viewpoint and technique, it may even be necessary to slow up the pace. A superficial loss of efficiency in research, a neglecting of opportunities, may bring great results in allowing time for real mutuality of investigation and discussion to emerge.

While it is probable that the Institute has not been wholly successful in achieving its ideals in this respect, a real effort has been and is being made to safeguard the autonomy of each national group in research as in other aspects of discussion. An inspection of the research projects outlined below will indicate that some progress has been made at least towards the negative aspect of mutuality. Australians and New Zealanders present their own problems, Chinese scholars are presenting Chinese studies, Japanese research work is wholly in Japanese hands and so with most of the research program. A small beginning has even been made towards the more important constructive aspect whereby there is reciprocity of investigation. The time should quickly come when Japanese and Chinese scholars are invited to investigate problems in Occidental lands not as a mere expedient whereby they learn western scientific methods, but in the hope that they may bring new light from the different angle of their approach. In the same way students may go from West to East and not as they do now almost wholly from East to West for their training.

It takes time to develop real international coöperation of this sort. The distances of the Pacific Ocean are very great. There are few chances of conference, which is in itself a reason for attaching importance to the biennial gatherings of the Institute. The secretaries travel and so achieve a good deal of personal consultation, but most of the preparation must be by correspondence. Letters cross, triangular correspondence causes delays or possibly misunderstandings. It says much therefore for the genuine and widespread interest of many workers in every Pacific land that in less than two short years it should have been possible to achieve even the limited results outlined below. It will be obvious to every reader that, compared with the vast problems of the Pacific, little has yet been achieved in description and analysis. All that has been possible has been the utilization of existent resources to make progress at strategic points. Within the wide "frame of reference" of each broad topic, entry has been made by small pieces of research on specially significant aspects of international problems. The list below is grouped in the subject-divisions which have been adopted as a convenient arrangement for preparation of the conference discussions. It is given mainly to show the manner in which research coöperation has been arranged.

Problems of Food, Population and Land Utilization

The Institute conferences have naturally been concerned with the immediate economic and diplomatic pressures resulting from the varying densities of population in the Pacific countries. Their interest in the general problem of population has been somewhat different from that of other bodies working in the same field. The Pacific Science Congress devoted much of its meeting in Java during May, 1929, to considering technical agricultural problems of land utilization and food supply in relation to population. The World Population Conference which met at Geneva from August 29th to September 3rd, 1927, was comprised of biologists and statisticians who were primarily interested in the long term trends and cycles of population increase.

The Institute is interested in population problems only in so far as they produce situations which may cause international conflict. Its research program has therefore approached practical situations of difficulty rather than theoretical or technical problems. The projects now under way fall naturally into two groups.

1. *Migration and Immigration Restrictions*

The first problem which came up for discussion was the international feeling aroused by Immigration Restriction Acts in various Pacific countries. The first major studies of the Institute were made in this field by the American Council which published for the 1927 conference:

Mears, "Resident Orientals on the Pacific Coast," Chicago, 1928
McKenzie, "Oriental Exclusion," Chicago, 1928
Wilson & Wynne, "Immigration Laws"

Other groups brought somewhat similar data papers to the conference, notably:

Charteris, "Australian Immigration Laws and Their Working"
Hall, "Asiatic Immigration in New Zealand: Its History and Legislation"
Adams, "The Education and Economic Opportunity of Japanese in Hawaii"
Harada, "The Social Status of the Japanese in Hawaii"

After these conference discussions emphasis was naturally given to the facts of migration rather than to legislation concerning them. There is good statistical material available in the official publications of the United States, Canada, Australia, New Zealand and Japan; but there have been two great migration movements proceeding within and from China which involve international problems, and little accurate information is available concerning them.

The following studies have therefore been made and will be available for the Kyoto Conference:

(i) Professor W. J. Hinton (University of Hongkong) has investigated the economic and political aspects of the recent large migration from southern China to British Malaya.

(ii) A group of economists at Nankai University (Tientsin) under the direction of Professor C. C. Hsiao has made a detailed study

of the migration of Chinese farmers into the Three Eastern Provinces (Manchuria).

(iii) Professor Ta Chen (Tsinghua College) has made a further investigation of Japanese immigration into Manchuria.

(iv) Professor A. Petroff (Institute for Colonization and Distribution and Ownership of Lands, Moscow) has made available his study on "The Migration of Russian People to the Far East."

(v) Mr. Quentin Pan has prepared for the China Council a paper on "Migration in Relation to Food Supply and Loan Utilization".

Parallel studies of population and migration have been made in other countries as follows:

(vi) The Australian Council has published a symposium entitled "The Peopling of Australia" (Macmillan, Melbourne, 1928).

The following chapters in "Studies in Australian Affairs" (Macmillan, Melbourne, 1928) also deal with this problem:

Ch. I—Griffith Taylor, "The Natural Resources of Australia"
Ch. II—D. T. Sawkins, "The Australian Standard of Living"
Ch. III—F. A. Bland, "Development and Migration"

(vii) The New Zealand Council has in preparation a symposium which will contain papers on the administration of the immigration restriction acts and on the absorption of immigrants.

2. Population and Land Utilization

Two major studies of population are in progress in China and Japan. These are designed to fill gaps in the existing information concerning the pressure of population upon food supply in those countries. Certain supplementary projects may be mentioned first:

(i) The Chinese Council has on hand the preparation of data papers by—

C. C. Chang, "Extent of Land Utilization in China"
C. H. Chen, "China's Population Problem"

(ii) Professor G. B. Cressey of Shanghai College has in preparation a "Geography of China" which will utilize the latest geological survey and economic information available.

(iii) Professor E. F. Penrose has made available to the Japanese Council his statistical studies of agricultural production in Japan.

(iv) A digest is being prepared of a work recently published in Chinese and Russian by E. E. Yashnoff entitled "Chinese Farming in North Manchuria."

(v) The University of Nanking has published a sample study of 2866 farms in various parts of China.

(vi) The New Zealand symposium will contain a chapter by Professor H. Belshaw on "Food Production in New Zealand".

(vii) The Australian Council is providing a paper by A. H. E. Macdonald, Director of Agriculture, in New South Wales, on "Australia's Wheat-Producing Capacity."

The two major studies in progress are—

(i) Population and Food Supply in Japan: Professor S. Nasu of Tokyo Imperial University has had three assistants and several graduate students working upon field studies of population and land utilization in Japan. The first results of these studies will be available at the Kyoto conference.

(ii) Land Utilization in China: The department of agricultural economics at the University of Nanking under the direction of Mr. J. Lossing Buck has begun preliminary arrangements for an extensive survey of land utilization, agricultural production and population in continuation and extension of its previous studies in this field. This investigation will work in close cooperation with the census being taken in 1930 by the newly established Bureau of Census and Statistics at Nanking, the director of which is Mr. D. K. Lieu who is also chairman of the China Council's research committee. It will also be complementary to the World Agricultural Census which the International Institute of Agriculture at Rome proposes to conduct in 1930.

There are two other long-term research projects in this field which owe their origin to the Institute and are now being undertaken by the Food Research Institute of Stanford University. Both of these projects have been financed by the Social Science Research Council; but in each case the Institute's research machinery has been used to secure collaboration. The two projects are—

(i) The Trend of Consumption of Agricultural Production in Eastern Asia by Professor Franklin L. Ho of Nankai University.

(ii) The Trend of Pacific Agriculture from Subsistence to Cash-Crop Farming by Mr. W. Y. Swen of the University of Nanking.

China and the Other Powers

The research preparation in this field has very close relation to the preparation of the conference program at Kyoto. The studies which are being made fall into two main divisions, each of which is closely connected with other parts of the conference program such as diplomatic relations, industrialization, and population.

At the 1927 conference the three data papers available were the following:

(i) Professor M. Joshua Bau presented the three chapters which were afterwards printed in *Problems of the Pacific* (University of Chicago Press, 1928) and formed part also of his book published as "China and World Peace" (Revell, New York, 1928).

(ii) Sir Frederick Whyte presented a monograph entitled "China and the Powers" (Oxford University Press, 1927).

(iii) The World Peace Foundation published for the conference a study (Vol. X, No. 5, 1927) by Dr. S. K. Hornbeck, entitled "China Today."

For the present conference preparatory material falls into two divisions. The first division consists of the treatment of diplomatic problems which arise out of the relations between China and the other Powers in the present transitional stage of development. The following

projects are in preparation for the conference under the direction of the China Council:

C. L. Hsia, "The International Settlement of Shanghai"
M. J. Bau, "Russian Influence in China"
M. J. Bau, "The Present State of Tariff Autonomy and Extra-territoriality in China"
Y. T. Tsur, "The History of Foreign Loans"
Shushi Hsu, "The Present Status of Germans"

In addition to these Chinese studies other groups of the Institute have prepared material on special subjects as follows:

Royal Institute of International Affairs, "A Monograph on Shanghai"
W. P. Ker, "Chinese under British Rule in Malaya, Hongkong and Wei-hai-wei"
American Council, Revision of MacMurray's "Treaties and Agreements with and concerning China"

The second division consists of investigations into the more specific international problems which have arisen in the Three Eastern Provinces (Manchuria). The Chinese Council has arranged for a major study in the recent diplomatic history of Manchuria by Professor Shushi Hsu, Dean of Graduate Studies in Yenching University. The Council has also translated Japanese, Chinese and Russian documents bearing on the problems and has arranged with the Nankai University committee on Manchurian studies to prepare a bibliography on Manchuria. Supplementary studies of various aspects of the Manchurian problem are in preparation by other Chinese scholars.

The Chinese information thus made available will be supplemented by the following specialist studies made under the direction of other national councils of the Institute:

(i) Professor M. Royama (Tokyo Imperial University) has had the assistance of a Japanese committee in preparing a monograph on Japanese interests in Manchuria.

(ii) Sir Harold Parlett has prepared a monograph which has been published for the Royal Institute of International Affairs by the Oxford University Press.

(iii) Professor C. Walter Young has prepared for the American Council a statement on the Treaty Situation in Manchuria.

Industrialization, Foreign Investments and International Trade

The economic relations of the different Pacific countries are perhaps not yet as close as those between European countries; but Pacific trade, shipping and investment are increasing and are destined to increase still more. The possibilities of research are more intriguing in this field because the problems are so new that it is possible to watch them from their beginnings. This is true for example of the problems of foreign investment. There is a great deal of feeling and apprehension concerning foreign investments in the backward industrial countries; but actual-

ly the bulk of investments appears to be small. In the same way reciprocity of trade in the Pacific has hardly yet developed to the point where tariffs become a serious menace to international goodwill. Clearest of all is the fact that the industrial revolution has touched only the fringe of economic life in such countries as China.

In all these problems, however, the beginnings are most important and in the Pacific it is possible to make a scientific analysis of problems which are small now, but show every sign of becoming important factors in international relationships. The Institute's research program has so far been grouped around three subjects, in all of which some measure of international cooperation is involved.

1. *Problems of Foreign Investment*

Investigation of international movements of capital as one of the fundamental factors determining international relationships in the Pacific was considered by the research committee of the Institute conference held at Honolulu in July, 1927. The committee's interest in the project was stimulated by the fact that the round-table which discussed the international aspects of foreign investments in China drew attention to the lack of authoritative information on this subject.

A preliminary draft for a research project was submitted by the chairman of the international research committee to the Social Science Research Council at its meeting at Hanover, N. J., in August, 1927. This was in the form of a study of the export of capital from the United States. The Council recognized the importance of the problem and referred the project to a sub-committee of economists who have specialized in this subject. The sub-committee held meetings at New York on March 24 and May 21, 1928.

Discussion at these meetings revealed the fact that a considerable amount of work was in progress in various quarters along these lines. The following paragraphs will indicate some of the approaches being made to the problem.

(i) The U. S. Department of Commerce publishes an annual calculation of the balance of trade from which may be deduced the net inflow and outflow of foreign investments. Other calculations have been or are being made in the United States by (inter alios) the Foreign Policy Association, the National Bureau of Economic Research, the National Industrial Conference Board.

(ii) The bearing of such international transferences of capital upon the theory of international trade has been the subject of much discussion among economists in recent years. From work already published it is apparent that a re-statement of principles is in progress which will have important bearings upon practical policies.

(iii) Specific investigations of the control exercised by exporting countries over foreign investment are now well under way and similar studies of control by importing countries are projected.

(iv) The importance of foreign loans in diplomacy is the subject of vigorous discussion from many angles. For example, such an objective study as Howland's "American Foreign Policy, 1928," devoted a large space to economic problems, mainly of foreign investment, international control of price-levels, reparations and war debts.

After consideration of these and other studies, the sub-committee drew up a statement for submission to the Social Science Research Council reviewing the field of research and submitting a definite project for a coöperative international study of the problems raised by foreign investments in China. The Council accepted and financed this project placing it under the direction of the Brookings Institution, which has produced a long series of authoritative studies of this type. Professor C. F. Remer of the University of Michigan and for eight years Professor of Economics at St. John's College, Shanghai, was named as the director of the study.

Using the research machinery of the Institute Professor Remer thereupon arranged for statistical studies to be made for preliminary discussion at the Kyoto Conference. The available American information will be summarized by Professor Remer; the Royal Institute of International Affairs has arranged for Professor T. E. Gregory and Mr. Dennis H. Robertson to compile information concerning British investments in China; the Japanese research committee has set up a sub-committee to obtain information concerning Japanese investments, and Mr. D. K. Lieu, chairman of the Chinese research committee, is compiling a study giving all the information available in China. The Economic and Financial Section of the League of Nations coöperated in providing information requested by the Institute concerning the expert technique which has been worked out in the financial rehabilitation of various European countries.

At the present time an expert commission headed by Professor Edwin W. Kemmerer of Princeton is at work in China under the Ministry of Finance, preparing recommendations for financial and economic reconstruction. The report of this commission will not be available by the time the conference convenes at Kyoto, so that the possibilities of useful round-table discussion of the problems involved will be limited. There will, however, be comparison and discussion of the preliminary papers noted above, following which Professor Remer will spend a year in China completing the investigation. He expects to extend his study to a consideration of the problems of industrial development raised by the importation of foreign capital into such a country as China. His final results, together with the reports and recommendations of the Kemmerer Commission should be available for the 1931 conference of the Institute.

The international financial and economic position of Japan is the subject of another study in which the Institute has been interested. Upon the initiative of Dr. Harold G. Moulton, Director of the Brookings Institution, collaboration was arranged by Mr. Junnosuke Inouye for a study of this character. The scope of the project was agreed upon and Mr. Ko of the research staff of the Bank of Japan has been associated with the Brookings Institution in preparing the material.

Studies of the importation of foreign capital into Canada have been made available by the Dominion Statistician, Mr. R. H. Coats, and negotiations have been opened up in Australia for similar studies to be made there. "Studies in Australian Affairs" contains two chapters bearing on this subject, viz.:

Ch. V—R. C. Mills, "Australian Loan Policy"
Ch. IV—H. Teare, "Australian Banking Policy"

The New Zealand symposium will also contain a chapter by A. H. Tocker on "The Balance of Trade and the Importation of Capital."

2. *Studies in Industrialization*

Modern industrial technique has been widely introduced in Japan and has found some lodgment also in parts of China. The economic and sociological changes which result are both important and far-reaching. They cause significant shifts in economic interests and popular opinion and therefore have a profound effect upon the international outlook. The industrial revolution, popular education and democracy are inseparably connected. Moreover, in the peculiar circumstances of the moment in China, much industrial development involves international coöperation. Development is greatest in the treaty ports where foreign initiative is strongest. Labour and financial problems often bear an international aspect in consequence.

Accurate description of the facts of development is the first necessary condition of informed discussion. With this in mind the research activities of the Institute have been directly concerned with surveys rather than interpretation or analysis. The major projects in this field are still in the preliminary stages of projection; but the following studies are in actual progress:

(i) A digest has been made of a work by Boris Torgasheff entitled "Coal, Iron and Oil in the Far East" which has not hitherto been published. The manuscript of this work was completed at Shanghai in 1928 and contains the latest available information on the principal mineral resources of the Pacific area.

(ii) The China Council has arranged for a preliminary paper by Mr. T. C. Wang entitled "Industrial Areas in Shanghai."

(iii) Professor Franklin Ho of the Department of Commerce, Nankai University, Tientsin, is coöperating with the China Council of the Institute by making available a series of studies upon various aspects of the industrialization that is proceeding in Tientsin. The whole program of his department includes a gradual survey of urban and rural industries in the vicinity of Tientsin and will not be completed for some time; but at Kyoto the following preliminary papers will be available:

(a) Report on Wholesale Prices in North China
(b) The Rug Industry in Tientsin
(c) Family Budget of the Working Classes in Tientsin
(d) Index-number of the Cost of Living of Working Classes in Tientsin
(e) Index of the Volume of Chinese Trade, 1867 to date

(iv) After consultation with the Economic and Financial Section of the League of Nations, Mr. D. K. Lieu is preparing a statement summarizing the facts concerning the ownership output and labour conditions of the cotton industry in China.

3. *Trade and Tariff Problems in the Pacific*

The growing trade across the Pacific inevitably raises the tariff problem for consideration. Tariffs as a cause of international friction may not yet be as important in the Pacific as they are in Europe; but

they are rapidly becoming more important. European experience as embodied in the activities of the League of Nations will be at the disposal of the Kyoto conference. The Economic and Financial Section of the League has sent material on two groups of problems.

(i) The Measurement of Tariffs, an explanation of the methods used for this purpose in the preparations made for the World Economic Conference, 1928.

(ii) The Reduction of Tariff Barriers in Europe; an account of the progress made by the League through the World Economic Conference and in other ways towards greater freedom of trade relationships.

These general papers will be supplemented by the following papers descriptive of the trade and tariff situations which exist in the various Pacific countries:

(i) "Studies in Australian Affairs" contains:

Ch. IV—J. B. Bridgen, "The Tariff Policy and Its Effect on Australian Development"

Ch. VII—E. T. McPhee, "Australian Trade in the Pacific"

(ii) Mr. W. H. Moore is presenting a study of the Canadian Tariff.

(iii) China's tariff problems are in a slightly different category from those of other Pacific countries. Therefore Professor M. J. Bau has prepared a paper on the present status of the movement towards tariff autonomy, in addition to Mr. T. M. Liu's study of China's National Tariff.

(iv) A Japanese committee will make a statement concerning the Japanese tariff.

(v) The New Zealand symposium will contain:

Ch. II—G. H. Scholefield, "The New Zealand-Japanese Trade Treaty"

Ch. IV—Dr. G. Craig, "The New Zealand Tariff"

(vi) The American Council of the Institute has arranged for a last minute statement on the new tariff now under Congressional discussion and has also requested Professor Eliot G. Mears of Stanford University to make a specialist study of San Francisco shipping.

Diplomatic Relations in the Pacific

The machinery of diplomatic negotiation as distinct from the actual issues of diplomacy is a proper subject for unofficial discussion, particularly in the present age of transition. There are many who foresee a gradual democratizing of international relationships forced by the increasing importance of international trade in precisely the same way as the growth of domestic industry and trade democratized national governments. There are many signs of a changing technique in handling international affairs and not least of these signs is the widespread if not popular interest in such questions.

Recent books by members of the Institute are so close to its field of interest that although they have been produced quite independently they might almost be regarded as preparatory material for the confer-

ence. The American group so regards the recent book published by its research chairman, Professor J. T. Shotwell, entitled "War as an Instrument of National Policy," Harcourt Brace & Co., New York, 1928.

Other studies in this field more specifically prepared for the conference are:

(i) "Studies in Australian Affairs" contains:

Ch. VIII—K. H. Bailey, "Australian Treaty Rights and Obligations"

Ch. IX—R. Campbell, "Australian Defence Policy"

Ch. X—R. S. Ross, "A Labour View of Pacific Problems"

(ii) The Canadian group has forwarded papers by L. J. Burpee on "The International Joint Commission," and Ira A. M. McKay on "International Control of Fisheries."

(iii) A Japanese committee under the direction of Professor K. Takayanagi (Tokyo Imperial University) has prepared a study in diplomatic relations.

(iv) The New Zealand symposium will contain chapters by T. D. H. Hall on "New Zealand's International Commitments," and Sir James Allen on "New Zealand Defence Policy."

(v) The American Council has arranged for two papers by G. H. Blakeslee on "The Diplomatic Position in the Pacific," and J. T. Shotwell on "Diplomatic Machinery in the Pacific."

(vi) The League of Nations secretariat has prepared a "Memorandum on League Activities in the Pacific" similar to that prepared for the 1927 conference.

Pacific Dependencies

The government of Pacific Dependencies is a subject which raises far-reaching issues for discussion. There are four island groups administered by Australia, the British Empire, Japan and New Zealand under a mandate from the League of Nations. These obviously involve international problems as clearly as does the condiminium in the New Hebrides.

In another important group of Pacific possessions, notably the Philippines and Korea, problems arise which are closely akin in their nature and complexity to the European minority problems which play a large part in the work of the League of Nations.

Beyond these diplomatic and political problems, there lies a whole range of economic, sociological and anthropological problems involved in the government of native races. Such problems clearly lie within the Institute's field of reference; but only a beginning has been made in approaching them.

(i) "Studies in Australian Affairs" contains two chapters bearing on this discussion:

Ch. XI—J. W. Burton, "The Australian Mandate in New Guinea"

Ch. XII—Sir Hubert Murray, "Australian Policy in Papua"

(ii) The Royal Institute of International Affairs is preparing two studies, one a general study of the administration of Pacific Dependencies, the other a specific study by Mr. W. P. Ker of the government of Chinese in British Far Eastern possessions.

(iii) The New Zealand symposium will also include two chapters, one upon recent aspects of the Samoan situation, the other by Sir Apirana Ngata entitled "Anthropology and the Government of Native Races."

Mr. F. M. Keesing's study of modern Maori problems printed as "The Changing Maori" (New Plymouth, 1928) secured for him a Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial Fellowship, which he has taken up at the Universities of Yale and Chicago. Mr. Keesing's work has been pursued in close collaboration with the research department of the Institute and his published work throws light upon problems of racial adaptation and adjustment with which the Institute is vitally concerned.

Cultural Relations

The Hawaiian origin of the Institute caused a good deal of stress to be laid in the first conferences upon the cultural aspects of racial contact and intermixture. The main emphasis of the later conference discussions has tended to shift rather towards the urgent problems of more immediate economic and political importance. Necessarily, also, the research technique has been applied just to these economic and political problems; but with the view always of their leading into the deeper and in many ways more significant issues of cultural relationships. It is difficult to find ways by which such relationships can be explored.

In some ways Hawaii is a laboratory and its racial problems of adjustment are of a certain significance. Professor Romanzo Adams has followed up his previous studies in this field by preparing a paper entitled "Further Developments in Race Contacts in Hawaii."

The holding of the 1929 Conference in Japan and particularly the choice of Kyoto offers in itself a valuable object-lesson in Oriental culture. The Japanese Council has taken advantage of this opportunity by preparing a symposium on cultural influences in the modern life of Japan. This symposium will be edited by Dr. Nitobé and Professor Takaki and will contain the following chapters:

Science—Professor Yamasaki
Education—Professor Tomoeda
Law and Politics—Professor Takayanagi
Literature and Drama—Professor Saito
Religion—Professor Anesaki
Social Life—Mr. Ino Dan
Art—Mr. Ino Dan
Economics and Industry—Mr. Junnosuke Inouye
Music—Mr. T. Komatsu
Language—Professor Takaki

The Chinese Council has asked Dr. Hu Shih to prepare a somewhat similar monograph upon the Cultural Relations of East and West.

The American Council has published an investigation, edited by its Honorary Secretary, Mr. E. C. Carter, under the title "China and Japan in our University Curricula," New York, 1929.

A Continuing Research Program

The meeting of the International Research Committee and its report to the Pacific Council at Nara, followed immediately by the round-table discussions of the third conference beginning at Kyoto on 28 October, will enable this research program to be reviewed and probably extended. Representatives of the research committees of each National Council comprise the International Committee, which will therefore be in a position to review the whole field of research covered by the Institute. There will be many specialist authorities in attendance at the conference also whose services can be coöpted for consultation on subjects within their specialty.

It will be obvious that much of the research work outlined above is in the nature of a preliminary survey of the field supplemented by exploratory surveys of topics of immediate importance. It will be the task of the International Research Committee to consider this program as a whole and to lay down policies for future development. The staff survey and the information contained in the papers already arranged will be supplemented by the members of the committee from their national background of experience and knowledge. Progress will be reviewed and the question of developing this or that project will be decided after full consultation and discussion. Fields of research which have not yet been opened up, such, for example, as the various problems of news collection and distribution, will be considered with the help of members of the conference who are expert in this field. The validity and practical value of the program as a whole and each particular section of it will be tested by the extent to which it can be integrated with the round-table discussions of the conference.

Forest Industries in Canada

Their Relation to Pacific Trade

By Harold A. Innes

The importance of Canadian forest products to Pacific trade depends primarily on the developments of the Pacific coast. In the first place lumber is a bulky product for which the general advantages of water transport are realized to the full. In the second place the exhaustion of the forests in Eastern Canada and indeed in Eastern North America has given the virgin stands of large trees of the Pacific coast a monopoly position. The opening of the Panama canal has made it possible for Pacific coast lumber to be shipped to points on the Atlantic seaboard and to compete effectively with Eastern lumber. The effect on the lumber industry of Eastern Canada has been serious and in the Maritimes the pulp and paper industry has received a decided stimulus. Lumber mills in Eastern Canada have found the size of the trees decreasing and white pine and other species especially suited for the export market becoming exhausted. In the face of increasing costs of transportation and in spite of large scale operations the competition of Pacific Coast lumber has been serious. Consequently lumber companies and pulp and paper companies have tended to stress the production of pulp and paper from spruce and species less suited to lumber.

This paper does not pretend to be a discussion of the Pacific Coast lumber industry generally but only of that portion in the province of British Columbia. It may be advisable to note, however, that the exploitation of the forests of Oregon and Washington is proceeding with greater rapidity and that British Columbia will tend to become relatively more important from the standpoint of resources and export.

The export trade of British Columbia is limited chiefly to the highest grades and to the species of lumber in which she has a monopoly. The best grades of B. C. Douglas fir are the chief type of lumber exported. A discussion of this species of lumber will show to best advantage the problems of the B. C. industry in relation to Pacific trade. This species is chiefly limited by climate and soil to the southern portion of the coastal trench and Vancouver Island. The more accessible lumber along the coast has been exploited and penetration to the less accessible areas has begun. The mills tend to become concentrated at points favorable to the export trade at which lumber can be loaded with the least difficulty such as Vancouver. The logs can be floated in rafts from various limits to the sawmills. These factors have been responsible for several tendencies. The heavy character of the logs and the difficulties of logging in mountainous country with relative scarcity of snow have required an extensive investment of capital. The relatively heavy overhead costs and the possibilities of continuous operation with coniferous trees and a favorable climate all the year round have been responsible for a persistent flooding of the market with logs. The scattered character of the resources along the coast has been the principal cause of the division of the industry into logging and milling. Loggers consequently force the

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This was prepared as a data paper for the Kyoto Conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations. The author is Professor of Political Economy in the University of Toronto.—Editor.

market and logs are sold on an open market. The lack of adjustment between logging and milling was responsible for the raising of the embargo on the export of logs during the war. The mills have expanded rapidly and the capacity has been far in excess of output. Fluctuations in prices and profits in such a commodity as lumber which is used primarily in the construction industry and is most seriously affected by the business cycle are of serious consequence. From the standpoint of the export trade the industry is in a position to expand rapidly given favorable prices.

The possibility of rapid expansion in the production of high grade lumber raises serious problems for the production of the by-product or joint product—lower grade lumber. The market for this product is largely restricted to the prairies and to the local market. The result of this tendency toward overproduction of the lower grades is shown in depressed prices and in careless handling of material which might produce lower grade stock. The waste is at once evident from the standpoint of the finished product and from the standpoint of slash and increased fire hazards.

The continued success of the lumber industry must depend on the efficiency of government administration. This assumes close cooperation between the Dominion, which owns large stretches of forest in British Columbia and the province, a carefully elaborated policy of conservation, and efficient enforcement of regulations.

On the whole the industrial revolution of the Orient which must be dependent on great quantities of cheap construction material has in British Columbia an ample supply. As the industrial revolution of Great Britain and of the United States in the nineteenth century depended on the cheap supply of lumber in Eastern America, so the industrial revolution of the twentieth century may depend on the cheap supply of lumber in British Columbia and the Pacific Coast.

The pulp and paper industry in British Columbia has advantages similar to those of the lumber industry. The species of tree more suitable for the manufacture of paper, especially spruce, are located chiefly in the northern section of the coastal trench. Abundant water power and reserves of raw material give the industry much the same advantages as those possessed by lumber in the expansion of the Pacific market.

The forests of Central and Eastern Canada have comparatively little influence on the Pacific trade for reasons which have already been indicated. The lumber industry has suffered a decline especially in white pine and the tendency has been to depend on smaller trees and mass production in mills. The American market has become increasingly important for smaller dimension stock. Pulp and paper has become more important with the decline of white pine and the increasing utilization of spruce. The abundant water power of the Canadian shield, the capital available from the earlier lumber industry, the technique and experience of American mills, and the rising prices incidental to the exploitation of the forests of the United States have been responsible for the rapid growth of the pulp and paper industry in Canada. The problems of conservation in the face of rapid exploitation have been attacked with varying success by the provinces concerned. The continued existence of the forest industries depends on the outcome of the measures designed.

Australian Chronicle

By K. H. Bailey

The Australian National Council of the Institute feels that no useful purpose would be served by attempting to publish for Australia the kind of Parliamentary abstract which the British group produces so successfully. But it is thought that a periodical survey of Australian public life may be of some value to readers in other parts of the Pacific by way of supplementing the ordinary news service. The present survey finds its starting point in the Federal elections last November.

In the sphere of external relations the intervening six months have been almost devoid of incident. Four matters, however, may be briefly mentioned: In the first place it is understood that negotiations are still in progress between the governments of the British Empire with regard to the acceptance of the optional clause (Art. 36) of the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice, providing for the compulsory submission of certain classes of disputes ("justiciable disputes") to the Court. The Imperial Conference of 1926 came to no resolution upon the subject but reached an understanding that "none of the governments represented at the Conference would take any action in the direction of the acceptance of the compulsory jurisdiction of the Permanent Court without bringing up the matter for further discussion." It is believed that Canada initiated such discussion in 1927 by expressing her willingness to accept Art. 36. The precise state of the discussion has not been disclosed. The subject has now become of more pressing importance since the British Labour Ministry is understood to favour immediate acceptance of the "optional clause." It should be added that there is at the moment little real public interest in Australia either way on the question of adherence to Art. 36. Here it is essentially a matter for specialists.

In the second place the Commonwealth is interested in the meeting in London next October of two expert bodies to consider matters arising out of the Imperial Conference of 1926. It was there realised that the principles laid down in the Report on the Imperial Relations Committee would require detailed examination in their application to some points of constitutional practice, and it was recommended that steps should be taken to constitute expert committees to consider such matters. The one body is described as a Committee of Experts, to inquire into, report upon and make recommendations concerning three difficult problems in Imperial Constitutional Law: the Crown's power of disallowing Dominion legislation; the competence of Dominion Parliaments to give their legislation extraterritorial operation, and the present operation of the Colonial Laws Validity Act 1865. The other body is described as a Sub-conference to consider and report on the practice and legislation relating to Merchant Shipping in the various parts of the Empire. The Commonwealth has appointed as its representative upon each of these bodies Sir Harrison Moore, a very eminent constitutional lawyer, who represented the Commonwealth at the Assembly of the League of Na-

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This is the first Australian Survey to be published in *Pacific Affairs*. The author (M.A., B.C.L.) is Professor of Jurisprudence in the University of Melbourne.—Editor.

tions in 1927 and 1928, and is to do so again this year, and who is well known to many members of the Institute as the author of the lectures on the Imperial and Foreign Relations of Australia at the Norman Waite Harris Institute in 1927.

In the third place the Commonwealth Government recently addressed to the Government of the United States of America a friendly reminder that the proposed tariff changes of the United States, though unquestionably within the sole domestic competence of the United States, were also a matter which might usefully be discussed with the countries likely to be affected. This communication attracted some public attention in Australia. But it ought not to be regarded as an indication that the Australian people are likely to regard from this point of view such of its own policies (migration or tariff, for instance) as are of some international interest. It is true that at a recent meeting of the Economic Consultative Committee of the League of Nations one of the Australian representatives (Mr. F. L. MacDougall) expressed some impatience at the slow progress of the League in dealing with the tariff question. Mr. MacDougall's attitude is of course entirely consistent with the attitude disclosed in Australia's recent representations to the United States. But the distinctly negative attitude hitherto adopted by Australia to the work of the World Economic Conference points clearly in the opposite direction.

In the fourth place considerable press interest has been displayed here in the recent Antarctic expeditions, and also in Sir Douglas Mawson's projected Australian expedition at the end of this year. But there seems to be little public appreciation of the political issues involved in the conflicting Antarctic claims of the British Empire (as declared by the Imperial Conference of 1926) and of the United States of America (as indicated in recent diplomatic exchanges). The Prime Minister, indeed, was prompt to deprecate public discussion of such "intricate international matters." It is, in fact, exploration and discovery that have, as always, stirred the popular imagination. Even the economic (especially the mineralogical) possibilities of this region evoke no widespread Australian interest.

We may now turn to Australian domestic affairs. Our period opens with the return of the composite Bruce-Page Government with a substantially reduced majority, Labour gaining some thirty per cent at the expense of the Nationalists led by Mr. Bruce, the Prime Minister, the strength of the Country Party, led by the Treasurer, Dr. Page, remaining unchanged. In a House of seventy-five, the state of the parties is now Nationalists 29, Country Party 13, Labour 31, Independents 2. The election issues were indeterminate, and, as usual, many different and perfectly accurate explanations may be offered for the opposition gains. Perhaps the most powerful factor was also the simplest—the fact that the Labour party has been in opposition ever since 1916 and that the country has been passing through a period of economic depression.

In the six State Parliaments a precisely contrary tendency has found expression, namely a swing from Labour to anti-Labour. In 1926 there were Labour governments in all the States except one. To-day there is only one Labour government left—in Western Australia. By what has been called a political revolution the anti-labour parties have just been returned in Queensland, after fourteen years of Labour rule, with a

majority beyond all possible expectation. Dissatisfaction with governments in power has probably been the decisive factor, in State politics as in Federal. It is indeed tempting to go farther, and to infer from the Queensland débâcle that the electors are suffering a revulsion from State socialism. It is true that it is in the State as distinct from the Federal arena that industrial issues are for the most part determined and that social legislation is chiefly to be found. It is true also that the new Queensland Ministry has come into office pledged to encourage private enterprise and that it is beginning by abolishing the State fish shops, butchers shops, produce agencies, and the like. But State socialism, like tariff protection, is part of the political faith of almost every Australian. The only conflict is as to the limits which ought to be set upon principles whose validity is agreed.

The kernel of the policy of the Federal government is—in the present Parliament as in the last—to develop Australia's resources and increase her population. This is of course in essence an economic rather than a political objective. But the terms "economic" and "political" are apt to acquire a new indistinctness when applied to the activities of any modern government. A political chronicle naturally tends to be indistinguishable from an economic record. It will not be possible to consider in detail the politico-economic measures and policies in which the Federal Government seeks to give embodiment to its ideal—the maximum development of Australian resources. Reference may, however, be made to a few of them at any rate.

(1) *The place of the expert in government.* One of the clearest characteristics of the present Federal ministry is its healthy, or at any rate hearty, belief in the value of expert aid in solving the major problems of government. Within the last few years it has set up a Council for Scientific and Industrial Research whose task is to tackle the scientific factors—botanical, entomological, biological, geological and so forth—which at present retard development. Perhaps the most dramatic sphere of its activity hitherto has been the campaign against prickly pear, which already covers a vast area of good land in Queensland and was spreading with alarming rapidity. The method has been to discover, breed in numbers, and distribute for use in overrun areas, organisms that destroy the pear plant. It is believed that cactoblastis is proving very efficient. Again, to meet a rather different need, the Commonwealth Government next created the Development and Migration Commission. Its primary task is to investigate and report upon development schemes proposed by the States within the terms of the British-Australian migration agreement of 1925, under which £34,000,000 will be made available on very easy terms to the States for developmental schemes leading to the introduction of fresh immigrants.

This sphere of usefulness of the Commission has to be measured, not so much by the expenditure it has approved, as by the schemes which it has condemned. It has already in the first two years of its existence prevented much loss and disappointment. But the Development and Migration Commission has many other functions: in particular it is charged with investigation of the conditions in, and development of existing industries and the possibility of establishing new ones. The Commission has already conducted important investigations with regard to gold mining, fishing, and motor transport; to the dried fruit, canned fruit, paper,

tobacco and other industries; to unemployment and business stability in Australia; and to the whole economic life of Tasmania. It must not, of course, be supposed that the work is all carried out by the four members of the Commission in person. Their task is, as the Chairman put it recently, to "organise the brains of Australia to do the work." As is perhaps inevitable, the Commission has been sharply criticised, both for having done too much and for having done too little. But it is probably fair to say that its real problems are long-term problems, and its ultimate value to the people of Australia cannot yet adequately be judged.

The Council for Scientific and Industrial Research and the Development and Migration Commission both approach the policy of development as from within Australia. But at the Imperial Conference of 1926 the Prime Minister suggested the desirability of obtaining expert assistance as from without, and requested the British Government to name four independent business men to visit Australia. In addition to the problems of Australian development there was also the problem, of which the Prime Minister has never been insensible, of Imperial economic relations. Australian economic life is at present oriented towards Great Britain, i. e., it is in the main an economic life within the Empire. Will this state of affairs remain, or will Australia be drawn into other economic systems? This problem was therefore added to the other, and the terms of reference were as follows:

> To confer with the Commonwealth and State governments, with the Development and Migration Commission and the leaders of industry and commerce in Australia on the development of Australian resources and on any other matters of mutual economic interest to Great Britain and the Commonwealth which may tend to the promotion of trade between the two countries and the increase of settlement in Australia.

The members of this British Economic Mission landed at Freemantle on the 25th September, 1928, and presented a report to the Commonwealth government on 7th January last, after the most thorough possible investigation of Australian conditions within such narrow limits of time. They described their investigations as follows: "We have visited every State of the Commonwealth and have travelled some twenty thousand miles within Australia. We have seen areas of primary production and industrial centres and have held over a hundred conferences with governments and their officials, with representatives of public bodies, with labour organisations and with associations of producers and traders of every kind concerned both with primary and secondary industries. In addition we have as individuals met and conferred with many of the leading citizens of the Commonwealth." In such circumstances it was inevitable that their debt to earlier commissions of enquiry in Australia and to the work of Australian publicists should be heavy, and the members of the Mission make full acknowledgment. They make no claim to have conducted *de novo* a complete investigation of the economic life of Australia. "Our report," they say, "should be looked at as representing the judgment of four business men on the data placed before us after a brief but comprehensive survey of the conditions of the country." In the result, the Mission did not come to conclusions strikingly different from those to which the work of Australian publicists had been pointing. It would really have been discouraging, even almost suspicious, had they done so. This is not of course to belittle the service rendered by the Mission to the Australian people. It is not unimportant that the judg-

ment of four independent disinterested and acute business men should so conclusively have endorsed the policies and criticisms and warnings of students of Australian public affairs.

The main problems dealt with in the Mission's report will be considered later more in detail. The point here to be emphasised is the attempt of the Commonwealth government to get an enlightened opinion from abroad as to whether Australia is being governed along the right lines, with an eye to her most satisfactory development. It may not be altogether irrelevant to draw attention in detail to one paragraph which is not only an indication of the spirit in which the investigations were conducted, but an eloquent commentary on the nature and principles of the British Commonwealth of Nations:

> Our terms of reference, it will be observed, lay emphasis on the problems of the promotion of trade and commerce between Great Britain and Australia and of the increase of settlement in Australia. It early became clear to us that these problems should be approached from the point of view of what is best for Australia herself in the belief that the increase of Australia's prosperity and productivity is an essential condition of increased trade with Great Britain. Given the maximum possible prosperity and wealth production in Australia the ties between Australia and Great Britain are sufficiently close and the sentiments of common loyalty which bind the one to the other are sufficiently strong to secure that the maximum commercial intercourse will follow. Given the maximum possible power of absorbing population in Australia her determination to remain the most British community in the world is sufficiently strong to secure that it will be from Great Britain that the flow of immigration will come. But if the desired conditions of Australian prosperity and power to absorb population are not present, artificial means of promoting trade and migration from Great Britain must fail. We have no short-sighted idea of attempting to induce Australia to carry on more trade or to take more migrants from Great Britain at the cost of lasting economic sacrifice on her part. We believe that any such effort would be bound to defeat itself. We have therefore to consider whether there are any modifications of Australia's financial and economic practice which, if adopted, might by enhancing her own prosperity, conduce to the realisation of the objects envisaged by our terms of reference.

Since the report of the British Economic Mission was presented, the Government has taken all the necessary steps to constitute a Bureau of Economic Research alongside of the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research and the Development and Migration Commission. Practically all the development policies of a government involve far-reaching economic effects which must be fully investigated by experts if the policies are to be applied satisfactorily. An irrigation scheme, for instance, may so far as soil and climate and transport are concerned, be thoroughly satisfactory, but it is of little use to put it into operation if there is no real possibility of finding a market for the produce of the land in question. Here is an economic question of great difficulty, yet one which must not be neglected. It would of course be investigated by the Development and Migration Commission if the scheme came before it. But it could much better be done by a body specifically entrusted with economic studies, with full access to all the available data on the subject. Precisely similar problems arise in connection with the operations of the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research, of the Tariff Board, and of industrial tribunals. The new Bureau will therefore work in conjunction with many other governmental agencies and will effect a salutary delimitation of the work of the other expert advisory bodies. The

investigation into the conditions affecting unemployment and business stability in Australia, conducted a year or so ago by the Development and Migration Commission, is, for instance, eminently the sort of work which the new Bureau may be expected to undertake. Another investigation, now approaching completion, into the effect of protection upon the development of Australian industries and the increase of the country's prosperity would also have fallen within the sphere of the Bureau if it had been in existence. In constituting such a Bureau Australia is putting herself in line with the now established practice of other enlightened governments.

(2) *Public Finance.* This is one of the four main problems discussed in the report of the British Economic Mission. The principal feature of Australian public finance—as is natural in a country engaged in rapid and vigorous development—has been the expenditure of loan moneys for developmental purposes. This expenditure has been an important element in maintaining the rapid rate of increase in Australia's population and in keeping up the volume of employment. It has necessarily, however, been accompanied by a rapidly mounting national debt, and many critics both in Australia and abroad have of late expressed fears for the stability of Australia's financial position. The members of the Mission did not subscribe to these fears. The mere amount of public debt is not, they declared, in itself an indication of financial instability. Stability depends upon the resources, actual and potential, of the borrower, and the members of the Mission were of opinion that the country's borrowing is still well within her resources. "Her creditors," they said, "have no cause whatever for present anxiety."

Nevertheless, the members of the Mission did sound a warning note. While, they said, it may be quite proper in a new country to raise capital for development by means of public loans, yet it is an essential requirement for sound finance that the development schemes themselves "should be self-supporting within a reasonable measure of time . . . . . (i.e.) that within such measure of time they should, either directly or indirectly through the increased taxable capacity of the community and the enhanced value and price of government-owned land attributable to them, provide at least their own working costs, interest on the loan capital invested in them, and a sinking fund sufficient to provide for its repayment when it falls due." It is an open secret that a number of development schemes in Australia do not show a satisfactory result when tested by this criterion, and that a heavy and permanent burden is in consequence being laid upon the Australian people. The members of the Mission therefore urged that the Australian Governments should "proceed very cautiously in the matter of the initiation of new schemes involving the expenditure of borrowed money, and should submit them before initiation to the most rigorous scrutiny from the point of view of their prospects of being self-supporting at a reasonably early stage." (Similar conclusions, it may be remarked, have been reached by the Hon. Fred. Eggleston, Australian Member of the Pacific Council of the Institute, in a paper shortly to be published in Australia embodying the results of an exhaustive survey of the history of public finance in Victoria.) The Mission further advised that Australian governments should at any rate not extend their business activities, and should leave the field more open than in the past

to private enterprise. This is advice that, as has been indicated, runs counter to the whole trend of Australian development.

From the foregoing account of the expert bodies recently created by the Commonwealth Government, it will be clear that no effort is being spared, so far as the Commonwealth itself is concerned, to put future development on the kind of footing that the members of the British Economic Mission would regard as sound. There may be failures in the future, as in the past. No human judgment is infallible, and some essential factors—as, for instance, concerning marketing possibilities—may be well-nigh incalculable. But the Commonwealth's plans will at any rate be as well laid as experts can make them. The Development and Migration Commission will of course also act as a check on many State schemes. For State schemes (if any) outside the scope of the Commission the responsibility for securing adequate preliminary scrutiny rests with the States themselves.

The British Economic Mission would certainly have regarded with satisfaction the recent proceedings of the Federal Loan Council. For the Council is understood to have decided on some curtailment of borrowing for the year 1929-30, which the Mission clearly thought desirable. The Loan Council is constituted under a new financial agreement between the Commonwealth and the six States, validated early in the present year by the Commonwealth Parliament, the necessary amendment to the Commonwealth Constitution having been accepted by an overwhelming majority at a referendum held contemporaneously with the Federal elections. All the seven governments of Australia are represented on the Council, and the principle is that the Council shall determine both the total amount to be borrowed for the year and the allocation of that amount as between the several governments. Loans are to be raised for the members of the Council by the Commonwealth Government alone. Not only will borrowing thus be coordinated but the amount to be borrowed will be the subject of discussion among all the governments of Australia. The proceedings of the Council are private, and no official figures are given, either as to the total amount to be borrowed or as to the allocation of this sum between the governments. It is however understood that the Council in view of the continued economic depression—agreed that still less should be borrowed in 1929-30 than in 1928-29, the year just closed. This will probably have some effect in reducing the volume of employment, and the community will learn a hard lesson. If borrowing had been less free in the years of plenty, it might have been sound finance to raise heavy loans now, in a time of depression. But there comes a point beyond which to add largely to the interest bill is only to continue inflation and prolong the period of depression. In the judgment of the Federal Loan Council, that point has now been reached by Australia. It seems clear that the State Governments themselves, as separate borrowing units, would not have been likely to reach so heroic a conclusion.

Point has since been given to the Loan Council's restraint by the fact that in all States except New South Wales and Victoria (in which latter a small paper surplus covered a heavy actual loss) the financial year 1928-9 has closed with a deficit, while in the Commonwealth an anticipated (or at any rate estimated) nominal surplus turned out to be a deficit of £2,338,000. It is believed that the Federal Loan Coun-

cil resolved to borrow £30,000,000 abroad in 1929-30. This is very close to the average of recent years. There has been lately a good deal of anxiety about Australia's "unfavourable" balance of trade, and it might have been anticipated that some attempt would be made this year to reduce overseas borrowings. But it appears that this year's overseas loan programme will not be likely to affect the present position to any appreciable extent.

(3) *The public regulation of industry.* We may pass over, in the present survey, the matters in connection with the British-Australian migration agreement, discussed in the British Economic Mission's report. The members of the Mission did indeed indicate possible avenues of improvement. But they added, "all measures designed for the increase of Australia's wealth production and power of absorbing new population tend to be defeated if there are strong forces within her which operate to so raise her costs of production that she cannot sell her products in the markets of the world, and is restricted within the limitations of her own home market. Here we approach the most vexed, and the most important of all Australian questions, that of the combined effects of the protective Customs tariff and of the legislative enactments, both of the Commonwealth and of the States, for the fixing of wages and conditions of labour, which we will call for brevity, the Arbitration Acts." It will be convenient to defer discussion in these pages of the economic effects of the Australian tariff until after the publication of the report on the subject already referred to. But recent events have drawn the almost alarmed attention of the whole Australian people to the second factor mentioned above—the public regulation of industry. This should therefore be considered in some detail.

It should be apprehended at the outset that there is a fundamental difference between the British and the Australian conception of the proper State policy in industrial matters. The British conception may be summed up, as by Professor Henry Clay (1926 "Public Administration," p.189; The Problem of Industrial Relations, 1929, at pp.184, 188 et seq.)

> My thesis is that the State in England has consistently avoided the fixing of the value of labour in the form of rates of wages, by act of Parliament or administrative order, leaving it to be settled by bargaining between the buyers and sellers of labour . . . The State imposes on industry such conditions as public opinion is convinced are socially necessary. Parliament, with the advice of the Government department that will have to administer the legislation, decides what public opinion demands (or will stand), and how effect shall be given to its demands. Among other things Parliament has interpreted public opinion as demanding that there shall be minimum rates of wages in certain trades in which the wage-earners have been unable to establish such minima unaided; but what the minima are to be Parliament has left to the representatives of the trade. Similarly Parliament has taken the view that the Government should do everything possible to prevent, and when it cannot prevent, to terminate trade disputes; but it has not taken the view that it, or any Department on whom it delegates its authority, should take the fixing of rates and conditions out of the field of bargaining and settle them for industry. In a word, the State regulates the general conditions under which industry shall be carried on, constantly extending its network of regulations as the consensus of opinion in the community on the necessity of new conditions extends; but it always stops short of the valuation of any kind of labour, because to undertake the responsibility of that would involve it in the *direction* as well as the *regulation* of industry.

There is the British experience, put as in a nutshell. The British

Government, under the stress of war conditions, did depart from the conception that underlies it, and undertook the responsibility of fixing rates of wages—and was glad to lay it down again at the end of the war. At first the position in Australia was not so very different. Industrial legislation in the Australian colonies began along lines made familiar by the English shop and factory acts. It was the great industrial upheaval of 1890-1 that first aroused real public interest in the prevention and settlement of industrial disputes. During the nineties, legislation was hammered out in all the States, and with some modifications the schemes then adopted are still in existence. They are of two types—the Wages Board type and the Industrial Court type. The principle of the Wages Board system—to which Victoria has remained faithful ever since 1896—is that the State should prevent "sweating" by facilitating and in the last resort compelling collective bargaining between the employers and the workpeople in any given industry. The minimum wage thus fixed, the State will enforce it. The British Trade Boards system is a later but better known application of the same principle. The principle of the Industrial Court system—which is to be found in all the States except Victoria and Tasmania—is that the State should set up tribunals to hear and consider the claims of the parties to an industrial dispute and make an award determining the matters in issue between them. There is usually associated with the industrial court system some conciliation machinery, but it is always over-shadowed by the compulsory arbitral functions of the court. It is here that the industrial court system ultimately differs from the wages board system: in the one the State assumes ultimate responsibility for determining the conditions on which an industry is to be carried on; in the other the responsibility is thrown upon those who are carrying out the industry.

It is however in the Commonwealth arbitration system that the arbitration court idea has found its clearest expression. The development of that system has been so extensive, so unforeseen, and so far-reaching in its effects upon Australian industry that a brief account of its history should be given. In most of the colonies, legislation in respect of industrial disputes was already in full operation at the time of Australian federation. But in the discussions out of which the federal constitution of 1900 grew, it was pointed out that there were some industries—shearing and shipping were the only examples cited—whose operations were Australia-wide, and the employees in which passed from one state to another. No single state, it was said, could hope to deal with a dispute in which the whole of such an industry was involved. It would be a useful thing to give the new Federal Parliament the power to make laws for the purpose, even though the power might never be put into operation. The Commonwealth Parliament was accordingly empowered to make laws with respect to "conciliation and arbitration for the prevention and settlement of industrial disputes extending beyond the limits of any one State." Partly because successive High Court decisions made it easier to prove an "industrial dispute extending beyond the limits of any one State," partly because more industries came naturally to be organised on a national scale, and partly because the decisions of the late Mr. Justice Higgins, who was President of the Commonwealth Court of Conciliation and Arbitration from

1907 till 1921, were on the whole more favourable to employees, more and more unions obtained Commonwealth registration and the Commonwealth arbitration system came first to compete seriously with and finally to overshadow the State systems for preventing and settling industrial disputes. At the present time there are 27 employers' organisations and 149 trade unions registered with the court, with a membership of some 700,000—something like 85 per cent of the trade unionists of the whole commonwealth.

The principles underlying the work of the Commonwealth Court were very clearly enunciated by Mr. Justice Higgins. "Industrial relations," he said graphically, were to become *"a new province for law and order."* The awards of the Court were given the force of law, strikes and lockouts were prohibited. The "might of the State" was "to enforce peace between industrial combatants as well as between other combatants." For a generation, that has been the characteristic Australian view of the proper relation of the State to industry. It is scarcely too much to say that in England the State facilitates the making of a contract and is even prepared—within limits—to enforce contracts when made. In Australia the State has been prepared to dictate the terms of the contracts themselves.

The whole system of public regulation of wages in Australia has been assailed by criticism from its very inception. There has, of course, been disgruntled dissatisfaction on each side of industry when awards or decisions have favoured the other, and tribunals of all kinds have been more or less continuously (and not perhaps always unjustly) accused of partiality by one interested party or the other. But over and above this kind of attack—which is probably inevitable—four distinct criticisms among many others may be specially noticed, directed respectively to (i) the principle on which the "basic wage" has been fixed, (ii) the fact that the Commonwealth's powers extend only to "conciliation and arbitration, for the prevention and settlement of industrial disputes," (iii) the unduly small sphere of conciliation as distinct from arbitration, especially in the Commonwealth jurisdiction, and finally (iv) the amount of overlapping between the State and Federal jurisdictions.

(1) *The Basic Wage.* It was at the outset of his Presidency of the Commonwealth Court in 1907, in the now famous "Harvester Case" that Mr. Justice Higgins declared the fundamental principles upon which the whole of Australian wage fixing has since come to be based. For the unskilled labourer, a "fair and reasonable basic wage" or "living wage" was to be determined, such as "to meet the normal needs of the average employee, regarded as a human being living in a civilised community." The "average employee" was regarded as a married man, supporting a household of "about five persons." For ascertaining the wages of skilled workpeople, the Court "relied mainly on the existing ratios found in the practice of employers." The wages thus determined were in all cases to rise and fall in accordance with the cost of living. It is a simple system, it should operate with few administrative difficulties, however many heartburnings are engendered. But the system does tend to fasten undue attention upon money wages as distinct from real wages, and, as the members of the British Economic Mission pointed out, it tends by making the operations of tribunals automatic as far as wage rates are concerned, to deprive the employee of any real and

lively interest in the prosperity of his industry. For if by increased production the cost of living falls and the community prospers, wage rates will fall. Some system wherein the productivity of an industry may be more freely reflected would seem to be desirable, as tending to unify the interests of employer and employed. A committee of economists who reported on the method of fixing the Queensland basic wage in 1925 recommended a method in which productivity elements found expression, but the proposals did not at that time commend themselves.

In the second place the rapid extension of Commonwealth industrial powers, already noted, has emphasised the importance of the limitations on those powers as expressed in the constitution. The power is to make laws with respect to "conciliation and arbitration for the prevention and settlement of industrial disputes extending beyond the limits of any one State." To begin with, this is interpreted to mean that the Commonwealth cannot set up general conciliation machinery. It seems for instance that the Commonwealth has no power to make provision for a system of shop committees. It has been objected over and over again that a power conceived in such terms approaches the problem of industrial relations from the wrong end altogether. The real problem, it is said, is not so much to find terms on which to settle disputes as to find means by which the common interests of all those who make their living in an industry may most easily and beneficially be realised. But the Commonwealth cannot with its present powers make any considerable contribution there.

Further, however liberally "arbitration" may be interpreted, its nature is ultimately limited to the determination of issues between parties. The High Court has striven—within the limits imposed by that unyielding core of meaning—to facilitate the making of an award which has general operation. But it has consistently denied to the court set up by Parliament the power to make a "common rule"—i. e. to make an award binding throughout an industry on all employers and employed whether parties to the actual dispute before the court or not. It is a limitation productive of much vexation, uncertainty, expense and delay.

In the third place, the Australian system has been a system predominantly of arbitration rather than of conciliation. It is probably true that there always has been more conciliation than has appeared on the surface, and a rather half-hearted attempt to increase the amount has been made in recent amendments to Commonwealth legislation. But perhaps conciliation has been treated in Australia too much as a function of the Court—it has never been very successful. In general, parties to a dispute have been unwilling to prejudice their chances of success in the possible court proceedings by being really conciliatory in earlier stages. The consequent predominance of arbitration has meant not only that the parties have tended to lose their own proper sense of responsibility for finding a settlement, transferring it easily to the Court, but also—in the particular circumstances of the Australian system—that the settlement when reached is eminently a *legal* settlement: the judge, be he ever so thorough and able, can scarcely be an industrial and economic expert.

In the fourth place, the system has been criticised because of the amount of overlapping involved in it. Altogether astonishing examples may be given at will. "Over 30 awards apply to the McKay Harvest-

ing Works at Sunshine," the Commonwealth Attorney-General told the House of Representatives a year ago, "and they contain differing provisions relating to holidays, hours of labour, rates of pay and the like." Some of this kind of overlapping of awards is no doubt due to the simple fact that the trade unions are organised some on a "craft" and some on an "industrial" basis. But the mischief is enormously enhanced by the fact that industrial regulation has been in the hands not of one tribunal but of seven, and industrial organisations have even been astute to increase it by "playing off" one tribunal against another.

Thus the Commonwealth, dividing the sphere of industrial relations with the States, has worked unsatisfactorily with limited powers. The measure of its success or failure is not by any means agreed. But it can scarcely be regarded as either a triumphant success or an unmitigated failure. In reply to extremists on the employers' side, who have urged the abandonment of all attempts at the public regulation of industry, it has been pointed out that Australia is not really (as the overseas cables would sometimes suggest) a land perennially distracted by industrial stoppages. The Commonwealth Attorney-General could fairly claim a year ago that most of the 176 organisations registered in the Court "are working in peace and satisfaction under the awards of the Court . . . . The troubles which have occurred in Australia have been practically confined to the transport, mining, and engineering industries. These troubles have in some cases been serious . . . and . . . the effects have been far-reaching. But similar troubles in these particular industries are occurring to-day in every country of the world . . . . If we compare the position of Australia with that of England, we find we are very fortunate indeed in relation to strikes." The position is not quite so satisfactory to-day. A disastrous strike in the timber industry has just been concluded, and part of the New South Wales coal mines have been involved in a stoppage for nearly six months. But there is much justice in the claim made by many trade unionists (and by the late Mr. Justice Higgins) that the Court has met with substantial success in the "prevention and settlement of industrial disputes."

On the other hand it is idle to "explain away" the frequent industrial disturbances in "key" industries, in express defiance of the Court. Waterfront stoppages for instance shake the whole economic life of Australia, and the timber-workers' strike in the present year was a heavy blow at the entire system. The Commonwealth Parliament had attempted in 1928 by using its constitutional powers "to the limit," as the Attorney-General said, to cure some of the defects already indicated. The amending Act also attempted to secure closer observance of the "general principle that those who appeal to the arbitrator must observe his awards." It was contested bitterly by the Labour opposition in Parliament, and it has been anathema to the unionists in the country. When early in 1929 Judge Lukin made an award in the timber industry which (inter alia) reduced wages in some places and extended hours in others, the timber-workers declined to work under the award, and were very widely supported by other unions. Not only the extremists but moderate and responsible leaders encouraged the men to strike, claiming in the name of freedom the moral right to defy an unjust law. The government did put the penal clauses of the new Act into operation both against the organisation and against individuals. But it shrank

from the hopeless task of extracting the payment of the penalties inflicted. That is the other side of the picture. It may have been this which nerved the Government, during the Parliamentary recess, to a sudden and dramatic resolve. But we should first retrace our steps a little, to glance at earlier and other attempts to find a remedy.

The most obvious—and indeed the only obvious—line of improvement lay in the extension of Commonwealth powers in respect of industrial relations. Federal jurisdiction was powerful enough to paralyse State action, but not wide enough to make possible the establishment of a really efficient system. But since the Commonwealth powers are derived from the constitution itself, an amendment of the constitution would be necessary to extend them. The Australian people seem no less averse to constitutional change than the American, and four times a bill to extend the industrial powers of the Commonwealth has been defeated in the referendum stage. Additional powers were refused to Labour governments in 1911 and 1913, to Nationalist governments in 1919 and 1926. That road being apparently closed, Mr. Hughes' Nationalist Government attempted in 1922 to induce the States to surrender full powers to the Commonwealth—a proceeding sanctioned by the constitution. The States nibbled at the proposal, but on second thoughts drew back. A fresh avenue was explored by Mr. Bruce's government in the following year (1923). It was proposed that an agreed and revisable line of demarcation should be drawn between Commonwealth industries and State industries so as to avoid all overlapping and confusion. But no acceptable line of demarcation could be found, and the negotiations came to an unsatisfactory and indeterminate end. It was the Bruce-Page Ministry's first attempt at a solution. It has had a valiant record since, recurring in turn to each of the expedients of the past. In 1926, it tried a referendum without success. In 1928, it tried to make the utmost of the existing powers, with discouraging results. At the Premiers' Conference in May of this year it sought to gain full power by State surrender, as in 1922. Again, the States declined. The Prime Minister at once declared an entirely new and unexpected policy. The Commonwealth could not get full powers; nor could it satisfactorily divide its powers with the States; then it must withdraw and (except in the shipping and waterside industries in respect of which it has under the constitution full powers of legislation) leave industrial relations to State control. There is to be a transitional period during which the States may perfect their plans for taking over control. But the Ministry will invite the Federal Parliament on its resumption in August to take immediate steps for the evacuation of the field by the Commonwealth.

The factors that have determined this step are complex and a little obscure. It may be that the failure of the Arbitration Court as at present constituted, even with the amended powers given it in 1928 or perhaps because of those powers, to gain the confidence of the labour movement and to secure observance for its awards has been the chief element in forcing the Ministry to such a decision. Indeed a passage in the Attorney-General's speech on the second reading of the amending bill might be thought to suggest some such course. "If," he said, "it is found that organised industry on either side is not ready to recognise this obligation (to keep industry going) the Government will have to

reconsider whether it is desirable to maintain the system." It may well be that the timber strike following hard on a maritime strike has proved decisive. On the other hand it is also possible that the Ministry's present policy is merely a result of the oft repeated principle that industrial relations cannot be adequately dealt with by an authority with only limited powers. If the Commonwealth cannot get full powers itself then it must allow the only authorities that do have full powers a free hand in industry. This explanation however would seem to be rather the counsel of despair. Only a year or so ago the Attorney-General declared that to abolish the Federal Arbitration system would not solve Australia's industrial problem but only create fresh ones. For good or bad, a very large proportion of Australian industry is now organised on a federal scale, and the attempt of six separate authorities to regulate an industry so organised is almost bound to lead to the kind of conflict, confusion, uncertainty and discontent out of which the preeminence of the Commonwealth Court originally grew. So amazing is the decision from this point of view that it is commonly believed that the Ministry's policy is nothing more than an attempt to coerce the people of Australia into restoring federal powers, this time without their fettering limitations—to pave the way to a new and successful referendum. Some colour has been given to this view by the Prime Minister himself, who, even since the Premiers' Conference, has trenchantly declared: "There is not the slightest doubt that industrial legislation and administration should be matters for Federal jurisdiction."

Be that as it may, the decision is likely to prove a turning point in Australian history. The Labour party, fresh from encouraging the timber workers in their defiance of the Court, has launched a vigorous and thorough campaign against the attempt to abolish it. The declared policy of the Labour party is to retain the Federal system in a modified form in which there will be less of the judicial and litigious atmosphere than in the present system and more of the "industrial councils" principle familiar in other countries. By employers generally the decision of the Commonwealth Government is applauded and the failure of the existing system is roundly declared. The States are busy in making their plans and in reviewing possible improvements in the machinery for dealing with disputes. It has become clear to them that some kind of inter-State cooperation is an absolute necessity if worse is not to befall the community. But there is as yet little sign of agreement, even in principle, as to the ways and means of improving and coordinating State industrial machinery. There is also for the States a serious financial question involved.

The issue is very uncertain. As these pages appear in print the question will be strenuously debated in the Commonwealth Parliament and there appears even to be some doubt as to the fate of the government's proposals in the House itself. Mr. W. M. Hughes has already declared himself against them, and the margin will doubtless be narrow. If the proposals become law it is impossible to foresee with what success the States will handle a problem that has become Australian in its scope. At the moment of writing the probable upshot of the whole matter seems to be that sooner or later full powers will be conferred upon the Commonwealth, but it seems unlikely that the Commonwealth system will in any event escape radical alteration. There is very little enthu-

siasm anywhere in Australia now for a system of compulsory arbitration dominated, as the Australian system has been, by a court and court proceedings. Too little is known of the experience of New Zealand, where conciliation and arbitration seem to have been very judiciously and satisfactorily blended. Whatever new machinery is devised it seems almost certain that a chapter in Australian history is closed and that the new system will be a system of conciliation rather than a system of "law and order." Neither party will re-build Jericho.

The Chinese Peasant

A Survey of Methods and Limitations in Soil Productivity

By Chu Yu-fen
Translated Specially for Pacific Affairs

The bugbear of famine has made many expensive visits to China. Not only have the inhabitants of the maritime provinces had to pay heavily for relief, but a considerable amount has come from abroad, and while the Chinese people can not but feel grateful, private and public relief by foreigners and Chinese cannot go on indefinitely.

In tackling the problem of famine, so far only palliative measures have been applied, with little attempt to analyze it from the very bottom. Instead of trying to understand the actual conditions under which the Chinese farmer must work, Chinese methods of farming are looked at through the spectacles of modern science and discussed accordingly. Modern students attempt to apply modern principles for the correction of the Chinese haphazard methods, but they fail to realize that this must be accomplished by slow degrees and cannot be done in one grand sweep.

With regret I must say that many Chinese youths, trained in more advanced countries and supposed to be more or less conversant with modern methods of farming, upon returning to China stay in the cities, refusing to go out to the farms where their work essentially lies. They consider doing so beneath their dignity and hardly worthy of their attention. Few agricultural students, to my knowledge, devote their lives to improving Chinese agriculture. If they are engaged in agricultural work they merely regard it as a stepping-stone to something better; they go into it with only lukewarm enthusiasm and their scientific knowledge is such as to move the most ignorant peasant to contemptuous laughter.

Unfortunately this is an all too common attitude of the agricultural student. He never attempts to live in the mud-house, which is cool in summer and warm in winter, and often far more comfortable than many stately mansions of the cities. He never partakes of the peasant's food. He never makes observations, and much less would he show to the peasant the superiority of many western methods and instruments. Seldom does he mix with the common laborer, nor take the pains to inquire about their well-being and that of the live-stock.

Many agricultural students have returned from abroad, but if inquiries were made concerning their activities after returning, it

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would be found that a large per cent had become politicians and bureaucrats. The writer knows many who are suffering the effects of this "mandarin fever," and today some actually do not know where to turn for their daily meal. Yet, on their return to China they were given the best opportunities, big positions, and much help from many sources. So much attention, however, merely served to enlarge their ego, and they looked down upon the common people. They became the leading aristocrats of the day; they were the elite of Chinese society. And on them, it was and still is supposed, devolved the task of regenerating old and sick China.

The backward state of Chinese agriculture today must be in part ascribed to the careless governments which have been in power and in part to the deadly aversion with which the modern agricultural student regards the fields. We can make no apology and express no acrimony when we say that the modern agricultural student, especially those returned from countries much more economically advanced than is China, whose hovels and farms cannot as yet provide the comfort and luxuries to which he has been accustomed, is an entire failure in the sense that he has done little or nothing for his country.

That the reform of Chinese political institutions is urgent no one can contradict. But no less urgent is the improvement of the soil, a problem which, it is generally considered, concerns China only and not other nations. However, this is far from true. It is a problem "primarily domestic in character, but which has important international implications and in which people of other countries have a lively and sympathetic interest." Today the most acute problem of the Pacific is where to get food for the yearly excess of a million Japanese. If this primary problem is solved there can be, at least for the time being, no cause for war in the Pacific; all other causes are insignificant by comparison.

Chinese soil, in its present state, produces only one-third of what it ought to. Animal husbandry, carried out on a large scale, should improve the soil to the extent that it will produce two-thirds of its maximum capacity. With the rapid assimilation of chemical fertilizers, which are not difficult to manufacture (except for potassium), the soil should return its maximum output or three times its present production. If, therefore, the food supply is three-fold increased, the present price of food-stuffs should diminish by two-thirds, assuming conditions at that time to be the same as at present. When peace, security and the authority of law extends to the far Northwest, followed in its train by steel tracks as a rapid means of locomotion, the grain supply would be three times the amount now produced by China Proper. For the Northwest is twice as large as China Proper. Allowance should be made, of course, for the great deserts which sweep it, but for that matter China Proper is no less barricaded by many rugged mountains covering considerable extent, thus rendering much land impossible of cultivation. The great Northwest, excluding the deserts, is one continuous sheet of plain land, hitherto untilled or badly exploited. Stories recounted by caravans from Urga and Ili are to the effect that the production of the tilled soil in terms of money does not nearly equal that of animal production on pasture land, which requires no labor for its upkeep. The truth is that animals are in great demand in China,

bringing in more money than the grain, for which there is no demand in such sparsely populated regions.

The position of China to Japan is similar to that between France and Great Britain: France supplied Great Britain with foodstuffs, Great Britain in return furnished France with many wares. Likewise China can feed Japan, while Japan in return can make many implements for Chinese use. Thus, also, the drop in food prices should immensely benefit the Japanese by lessening her population pressure. Also, as the cost of raw materials is affected by the price of food, a drop in the price of raw materials would not only be to the advantage of the Japanese but to that of the whole world.

So an increase in Chinese agricultural products has its repercussions far and wide. Surely, therefore, this is a goal worth striving for not only by the Chinese themselves, but by the foreigners, who should finance the enterprises for the production of chemical fertilizers. With the increase of the export of raw material, China would be able to increase her imports from manufacturing countries, and it is difficult to conceive of the tremendous figure that this trade would come to.

Why China's Peasants Remain Poor

A question often asked by Chinese and foreigners alike, is: What is the reason for the mass of China's peasants remaining poor, some often without even an adequate shelter? We cannot evade the fact that they are poor, but we can seek to analyze the cause which resolves itself to an analysis of farming methods. Unless the present methods are changed it is more than likely the peasant will remain poor forever. The following analysis relates particularly to the conditions existing in the Metropolitan area (districts surrounding Peking), though this may also be applied to the greater part of North China. Of conditions existing in South China the writer has no knowledge. As the Southern Chinese are more alert and progressive than the Northern Chinese in every walk of life, so too are they in agricultural pursuits.

The difference between the farmers of North and South China can be distinctly noted in the manner of their farming. The southern farmer uses lime and urine as fertilizers, while if we were to ask a northern farmer to use lime he would shrug his shoulders and say that to use it would render the soil alakline; and so while the northerners are still hesitating to employ methods that have long proved successful in the south, they suffer the consequences.

In China great landowners are few. In most instances each landowner possesses only 20 to 30 mow of land (six mow is about one acre). These lands are generally handed down from father to son for several generations. It is proverbially known that these good sons of Han marry early and that those without posterity mean failure in their filial piety. The result of early marriages and polygamy inevitably produces a large number of offspring, and the produce from twenty or thirty mow of land is, in the long run, certainly not sufficient to sustain a whole family, though it is generally assumed that five mow of land with an average good harvest will be able to support one person for a whole year. To have five generations living within the same walls and under the same roof is considered a great honor, consequently the surplus of boys are reluctant or are restrained by their elders from

going out to earn a living. They are compelled to stay at home and try to eke out a living in the best possible way from the local resources. Should Heaven favor them with an abundant harvest they could just manage to live, but if the crops fail almost certain starvation for the family is inevitable. To be able to store up a surplus, in anticipation of distress, is out of the question entirely. The result of all this is that the farmer has to mortgage a piece of his land at a heavy rate of interest, ranging from twenty to forty percent per annum. If in the following year the crop should fail again, which is not improbable, the farmer is obliged to sell at least a portion of his land. So, in this "procreative recklessness" we have the first reason for the Chinese peasants remaining poor.

Small landowners do not keep animals. When the time for tillage arrives they generally hire persons who possess the necessary outfits for ploughing the land. Those who have time on hand generally go out in the early morning, pick up what they can from the roads of the excretions of animals, which generally does not amount to much, however. Those farmers who have the means of buying manure, have not the means of transporting it. But most peasants are unwilling to part with what means they have; they believe in Heaven and fatalism and put their trust in Heaven too much, reasoning that without the addition of fertilizers Heaven would supply them their daily bread just the same.

Old and New Farming Methods

Chinese agriculture is solely based on experience. No Chinese peasant knows the whys and the wherefores of his practice; it is what thousands of years have taught the people, and is not to be questioned by him. Because of this he can in no wise compete with the modern farmer, all conditions being equal, for he has no knowledge of the different plant foods required by different plants, lime, phosphoric acid, nitrogen and potash being the four fundamental ones. In the winter time the Chinese farmers bring virgin soil to their land, knowing it has a good effect, but not realizing they are putting new lime into their worn-out plot.

Recently Chinese farmers have commenced to use Chili saltpeter. Its use is invaluable in vegetable gardening which can well afford it, but for ordinary and staple crops it is too expensive. Potassium nitrate as sold by the Chinese Government Monopoly is still more costly though the large amount of potassium it contains must be taken into account. Anyhow its price is such as to make its use prohibitive. The only resource left to provide for the needs of the whole country is that resorted to by many countries which have not been favored by nature with deposits of saltpeter, that of erecting nitrogen-catching plants along the river rapids with sufficient motor power. The idea is to make use of water power to catch the nitrogen of the air, to be manufactured into a compound at the easy disposal of farmers. The manufactured article should be sold at cost price or at a very small margin of profit so that it may be within the reach of every peasant wherever he may be. For such a highly technical enterprise foreign capital and ability should be invited. Chinese capital may be employed but I doubt whether any Chinese engineer could undertake such a task. Anything

the Chinese Government can do along this direction in effecting a speedy accomplishment, will save more lives than a mere doling out of a miserable portion to the famished.

The most assimilable form of phosphoric acid is superphosphate of calcium finely powdered, containing from 16 to 20 percent of phosphoric acid besides fifty percent of calcium carbonate, which is by no means negligible. It is made by the action of sulphuric acid on the bony or earthy phosphates, so its manufacture can only proceed *pari passu* with that of sulphuric acid. In recent years Japanese have put up many machines to grind bones gathered from the inland to be shipped in finely powdered form to Japan, there to be transformed by sulphuric acid into superphosphate. We, therefore, suggest that the export of bones to Japan be stopped, as, until phosphate mines are discovered, there is no raw material at China's disposal for the manufacture of superphosphate.

Geological expeditions will have to be organized for the search of phosphate and potassium mines, the former for the transformation into superphosphate and the latter for the making of potassium chloride and carbonate, both very useful for plants. The Chinese Government must accomplish this, for it is too large an undertaking for private capital. Phosphate mines may be easy to find, but potassium mines are few in number. When Alsace-Lorraine was a part of the German Empire, Germany had the monopoly of potassium for Stratfurt. With the retrocession of Alsace-Lorraine to France the monopoly was shared between France and Germany. Resourceful as are the Japanese, and abundant as are the natural resources of the United States, both have to import potassium from Germany and France. As far as my knowledge goes there are no other important sources of potassium. That from wood-ashes and wool is too small a quantity to be taken into account.

Chinese ploughmen generally till the soil not to exceed six inches in depth. They have a saying, "plough deep, sow shallow," which unfortunately they never put into practice, for a reason not far to seek. Namely, the existing Chinese livestock have not the necessary strength to pull a plough that buries deep. To obtain maximum fertility the soil must be tilled deeper every year that the new fertility may come out. But under present conditions of working it is impossible to turn the deeper soil from underneath. The foreign plough is too heavy. Chinese agronomists are seriously trying to contrive a new plough which will be suitable for local conditions, and until they succeed we cannot expect bigger crops. Recently Chinese agronomists devised a new and better plow, but hardly movable by two or three animals, the number usually employed by farmers in plowing. But few Chinese farmers can afford five or six animals for ploughing, and for this reason the newly devised plow remained in the agricultural museum for exhibition and did not get further. Hence, relying only upon animal power for traction with no resources of motor power, as is the case with China, improvement of agricultural implements must proceed *pari passu* with that of livestock.

One of the greatest obstacles a Chinese farmer meets is the difficulty in weeding out grass and also the loosening of the soil by hand. A man can work only two, or at the most three mow of land daily.

Cultivation time is a busy season, and where labor is scarce a large landowner, even if he possesses the means of cultivating on an extensive scale, dares not plant more than the amount of labor at his disposal warrants. Of modern implements (which are very costly to obtain in China) they know nothing; and it would be unbelievable to them to learn that with one modern implement, aided by a horse, or better still a mule, twenty times the amount of work can be accomplished that one man could do in a day. Under such difficulties of cultivation many landowners refrain from acquiring more land, thus explaining why the Chinese farmers possess so little in comparison to their brethren in other countries. While in other countries the use of machinery has revolutionized agriculture, Chinese methods are so slow that they can be well compared to the fast modern method by the simile of a turtle trying to catch up with a hare. This will also explain why foreign flour is sold in the Chinese markets with a profit.

The state of agriculture in China today is in many respects similar to that of France before the Revolution. Few animals are kept, as the aristocrats and gentry thought it beneath their dignity to till the soil. There are, of course, many other causes to account for the scarcity of animals. The main one, perhaps, being that 99 percent of the Chinese do not eat meat. It is regarded as such a luxury that they can afford it only three times a year—the Dragon festival, the Mid-Autumn festival and the Chinese New Year. With such small demand for meat the fostering of animals as a business cannot be a success.

The most important animal of the modern farm is undoubtedly the dairy cow; but Chinese seldom drink milk and perhaps never use butter. Hence cows are reared only for traction. The meats that are preferred, when they are used, are pork and mutton. Sheep raised in China proper, in view of the high price of fodder and grain, can hardly compete with those reared in the free grazing lands of Mongolia. From the north, likewise, come many pigs, though no small number are produced locally, but at a very small margin of profit or at no profit at all. The Chinese keep them more as a means to consume waste materials: what they gain is no more than the little manure that is excreted. Chinese farmers also keep a few hens to pick up what would otherwise be wasted, the few eggs laid being a source of profit, but the manure excreted is too scanty to be of much use.

Diseases and plagues of animals are the bugbears of Chinese farmers. When his animals are sick he is, except for the little medicine that a veterinary quack may happen to give him, absolutely helpless. When his animal is out of temper he always, without exception, attributes it to "shang-fo," which literally means "fire coming up," or fever. A large number of animals die every year of disease, due to lack of expert veterinary treatment. This problem, of devising measures to help the farmer, is up to the Chinese Government, for private means can do very little in such a matter.

Wells and Moisture Conservation

Another frequent cause of famine in China is drought. This will have to be fought by digging deep wells and conserving moisture. A well that does not go beyond twenty-five feet deep costs, all told, about seventy dollars. This suffices not more than three acres of land. It is

evident, then, that such a well is quite insufficient for large extents of land, and something else must be used. The water-wheel is the next solution, though this is far too expensive for any but the more well-to-do farmers who have large lands. And even with the costly outfit of the water-wheel, the farmer still runs the risk of drought, for two animals are required to run it, and the unscrupulous militarists commandeer every horse and mule they can get hold of. Besides the genuine military requisition, the unruly soldier (whether genuine or feigned, no one can tell) many times steals any animal he may come across, thus inflicting untold hardship on even the well-to-do peasants. Some reports have it that the savage militarists let their animals graze upon the crops, and many poor peasants, left destitute, committed suicide.

The problem to be solved is how to get water cheap. It is hoped to do this by using pumps. The price of a locally-made pump ranges from one hundred to one hundred and forty dollars, and requires two laborers to work it (however, it actually requires four men, for no man can work a pump without rest). The maximum output is approximately two thousand gallons of water per hour. Locally-made pumps are heavier and more costly, and their output much less than foreign-made pumps. An American pump can be bought for $60, including duties and freight, which will do the same amount of work as the one described above. Pumps have a decided advantage over the water-wheel, not only because they do not require animals (which can be annexed at any time by the military), but because the men required to run them can be employed in other ways in case of rain, when the pump is not needed. The Government should undertake the manufacture of pumps on a mass production scale and sell them at cost to the peasantry. If at present it is impossible for the Government to take this over, it should be handled by a private company for a specified period, and the pumps sold at a small margin of profit.

For the conservation of moisture foreign farmers apply many measures, by no means unknown to the Chinese who are, however, rather too indolent to execute them, thinking that it is a sheer waste of labor and believing that by that time Heaven would favor them with showers. This undue reliance upon Heaven is undoubtedly a curse, not only to the Chinese farmers but also to Chinese of every walk of life. The National regime, forcing fortune-tellers to seek some other means of livelihood is, we believe, a move in the right direction.

The Chinese peasant is generally selfish, self-confident, conservative to the extreme and proof against all change. To move against such inherent prejudices is certainly a herculean task. However inert this opposition may be, it nevertheless must be overcome, for today many agricultural operations require coöperation. As this is proven in foreign countries, so, too, does it hold good in a country like China.

Flood Prevention

Almost next to drought, floods cause a great deal of famine throughout China. Inundations, due to the overflow of the rivers not properly embanked, are not problems that peasants can fight single-handed, but fall to the Government. Against the torrents of the monsoon, however, coming as it does in definite seasons, the private indi-

vidual can make early provisions, and he who is not provident and industrious enough to take into account a certain contingency is bound to starve. In this respect many Chinese peasants are to blame; their deep-rooted credulity in fatalism is undoubtedly one of the causes of their hopeless poverty; their inherent dependence on Heaven for good crops is a big reason for their want when the elements are unkind. It is no wonder that the Chinese peasant starves for the most part of his life. Still further is it no wonder that he seldom, if ever, becomes opulent. This unfortunate state of affairs discourages those higher in the social ladder to choose agriculture as a career. It is also responsible for the present chaotic state of the country, for the intelligentsia all swarm to the government to clamor for a livelihood and leave production in the hands of a few ignorant people.

It is to be hoped that the Chinese Government will soon awake to the importance of the problem, for famine has been and is a cancer in the Chinese body politic and, like cancer, must be tackled immediately, or soon it will spread to the whole body.

A Crop Experiment

Experimentation with introducing the potato as a staple food crop and as a safeguard against famine has been suggested and played with to a certain extent. Europe had frequent visits of famine before the planting of the potato, particularly prior to the French Revolution. The condition of the soil there at that time was similar to that of China today, the haphazard methods employed being very much the same as China's. But with the development of science in agriculture, and the transplanting of the potato from America to Europe, we see one of the greatest events in economic history.

There is one serious handicap however, in introducing the potato in China. While the potato has already become popular in the Northwest, where there is little rain, it cannot withstand great moisture and the yearly inundations of China Proper offer a great handicap—at least until that time when they shall be controlled. There is also the initial expense of seed for the first year, which would make the Chinese farmer shudder. So in China Proper the potato is rarely sowed, not only because of climatic conditions, but also because any slight departure from the routine scares the Chinese farmer. However, along the Tientsin river it is gradually gaining popularity, because it brings a higher price than other crops, undoubtedly due to foreign consumption.

Banks and the Peasant

Another line of alleviation in the farming and famine situation could be followed through bank aid. There are many banks in China, but few do any business with the peasant. They will not lend on prospective crops nor can the peasant mortgage his land. What happens is that under duress the peasant is loaned money by his neighbors, at exorbitant rates of interest amounting sometimes to fifty percent per annum. Then, if by chance his crops fail, he has to sell a portion of his land; otherwise the accumulative usury, plus the principal, would be unbearable. For this the Chinese Government is to blame, as it should make extortion illegal.

Another reason for the reluctance of banks to make loans to the peasant is the faulty system of registration of title deeds and land marks. The dread of the work required to inspect title deeds and measure land tend to keep the banks from making mortgages on land, preferring to deal with Government loans. Strange to say, Chinese banks have no regular business at all—their one ambition seems to be to afford accommodation to the Government, the disastrous results being well known. Within the short space of one year no less than four reputable banks have closed for the reason that the Chinese Government has failed to honor its debts. The banks either take the Government at its word, or accept worthless bonds as security, when land security would pay them 20 percent.

Yet the banks themselves are not the losers—on the contrary the heads remain opulent and are in no way indicted for consequent disasters; and the law sits silent while a few unscrupulous manipulators milk the people dry. The real sufferers are those who are fascinated by the high rate of interest offered, ignoring the fact that such a high rate is incompatible with the security of principal, and who believe that the banks can make more than the interest given elsewhere. Of course it would be by far a safer and wiser policy, though it entailed a little more trouble, if the banks would lend a helping hand to needy farmers.

A change will have to come, and it remains to be seen what the Government will do, for ninety percent of the Chinese population is engaged in farming. If the weal of an overwhelming majority is not entitled to its consideration, as it certainly has not been in the past, the people must look out for themselves.

This Human Family

Problems of Population and Migration

As Discussed at the Harris Institute, University of Chicago, 1929

By Griffith Taylor *

In 1923 a trust fund was presented to the University of Chicago "for the promotion of a better understanding of the peoples of the world." The first institute held in 1924 centered about problems of European reconstruction. Other topics considered since include "Problems of the Far East," Mexico, the British Empire and Foreign Investments. This year the institute devoted a fortnight's study to Problems of Population. Professor Quincy Wright acted as Chairman throughout the Institute.

Four eminent students of these topics were invited to give public lectures (on eight occasions) on special aspects of population. Professor Kuczynski from Berlin dealt with Future Population. Professor Nasu from Tokyo lectured on Standards of Living and on Eastern Populations. Professor Gini from Rome on the Birth, Evolution and Death of Nations, and Dr. Baker (Economic Geographer in U. S. Dept. of Agriculture) on the Trend of Agricultural Production.

* Dr. Griffith Taylor was Professor of Geography at the University of Sydney, and is now on the faculty of the University of Chicago. He is Research representative of the Australian group of the Institute of Pacific Relations.—Editor.

To those participating, the round-tables, held each afternoon and evening, were even more interesting. About thirty people were present on each occasion. The topics and leaders are given in the following list: Raymond Pearl, Probable Future Population; Shiroshi Nasu, Food and Natural Resources; Alonzo Taylor, Increasing the Food Supply; H. P. Fairchild, Migration; Mrs. M. Sanger, Preventive Checks; R. R. Kuczynski, Statistical Methods; W. F. Ogburn, Differential Fertility; C. B. Davenport, Quality of Population; Griffith Taylor, Nation and Race; Conrado Gini, Policies of Different Nations; W. S. Thompson, Distribution of Population; F. G. Tryon, Mineral and Energy Resources; L. I. Dublin, Social Problems; O. E. Baker, Optimum Population.

It would be impossible in a few pages to give any adequate account of the many topics considered at the lectures and round-tables. Some of the main principles advanced and debated should however be of interest to the Institute of Pacific Relations.

Professor Kuczynski considered Population from the point of view of a statistician of the widest experience. He objected to the adoption of any figure for the world's total population, since we know little except that it lies between 1,700 and 1,956 millions. For the same reason there may be from 45 to 75 millions born in the world each year and from 35 to 60 million deaths. East's assumption that 2½ acres are needed to feed one person for a year is not true, for instance in Germany, where 1½ acres is nearer the real figure. Hence the total future population of the world may be five thousand million or ten thousand million, according to which of the two factors mentioned is used.

All discussions assume too great a figure for the present rate of increase. In Northwest Europe the fertility is so low that the population is no longer reproducing itself. It can be shown that the number of mothers is falling off in each generation. He also discussed the age-constitution of the population. This varies greatly from decade to decade according, for instance, as conditions favor the preservation of mature folk to greater age, or as the number of children per family declines. The Slav nations, however, show very different population-data from those of the Nordic nations and are increasing relatively rapidly.

Professor Nasu pointed out that differences in standards of living caused the country population to migrate to the cities—and for the same reason caused peoples of poor countries to try to migrate to those which were better endowed. He urged that index numbers dealing with varying cultures and countries should be collected for international study, and not only for the benefit of local department policies. Dr. Pearl led a very valuable discussion on the use and abuse of extrapolation as applied to population curves. He explained his "logistic" curve, in which data derived from experiments on the increase in numbers of various insects and lower animals are applied to human populations. Professor Nasu in his round-table pointed out that long before all the crop-lands are occupied, there is likely to be a shortage of fuel and power. He was not hopeful of future food supply from the sea, and he looked forward to the suggested survey of the world's arable lands to be discussed in 1930 in Rome.

Dr. Griffith Taylor described his method of deducing (by graphical

methods) the habitability of the 76 natural regions of the world. Dr. Baker emphasized the possible results if a nation changed its diet materially. He also stressed the importance of the limited supplies of phosphorus and potash. He doubted the crop-value of such tropical lands as those of the Amazon Basin. Their soils were heavily leached and much less fertile than was generally supposed.

Doctor Alonzo Taylor led the discussion on increasing the food supply. If machines replaced men as farm laborers, then not only would less crops be needed for working animals, but also much less for the mechanics who would not be dissipating calories in manual labor. It was pointed out in the discussion that preventive medicine could not greatly increase its work in lowering the death rate in many countries. It was doubtful if the span of life was increasing.

Dr. Baker gave a most illuminating lecture on the trend of agricultural production in the United States of America. He emphasized the fact that in the last few decades the astounding increase in agriculture in the United States was paralleled by the astounding increase in the asiatic population. In Western Europe and America the population was hardly progressing. In Russia, China, India and Japan it was growing from 1 to 3 per cent per year. He showed the effects of a shift in diet in the U. S. A. in recent years from cereals toward milk and pork. There followed a most interesting survey illustrated by many maps of the shift-over of agriculture from the Cotton States in the south to the Corn Belt and Great Plains of the North. Tractors were a large factor in this change in agricultural distribution. He believed that it would be quite possible to treble agricultural production in the United States. This enormous food supply was produced by relatively few farmers and would be much more than the U. S. A. would need for food. Dr. Baker looked forward to a time when Europe and Asia would help the American farmer by purchasing his food products to an amount hardly creditable at present.

Professor Gini in his lecture developed the thesis that populations move in natural cycles of rise and decline like organic forms, instead of steadily upward until checked by the inadequacy of the food supply, as supposed by Malthus. The causes of decline he found in the psychological effects of culture and inbreeding, while revival and increase in population he thought might sometimes be induced by race mixture. The normal course however was for senescent nations to be gradually supplanted by the infiltration of youthful nations, thus perpetuating the culture, while the racial stock gradually passed away. If, he suggested, this infiltration was artificially obstructed the senescent nation would at a certain stage be invaded, conquered, and suddenly destroyed with no opportunity to pass its culture to its successors. (This is an interesting theory, which however to the present writer seems to be contradicted in history as often as supported. Ripley tells us that the Goths, Vandals, Lombards etc. made no permanent differences to the population stocks of the countries they invaded. The Egyptians of today are the same race as those who lived along the Nile 6,000 years ago.)

The round-table on Migration (led by Dr. H. P. Fairchild) was largely a discussion of the well-known theory that emigration makes little difference to the ultimate population either of the country losing or that gaining the migrants. It was suggested that no overpopulated

country can claim the right of emigration until it has demonstrated its ability to maintain a stationary population without emigration. Mrs. Sanger gave an interesting account of the spread of knowledge regarding birth control since 1887. She described the variation in the laws in the different state and the procedure at various clinics. It was pointed out that there had been a remarkable growth of commercial advertising concerning this technique within the last few months. Ellsworthy Huntington described his research which showed that successful professional men had more children than less successful members of the same group.

In the discussion of Statistical Methods Dr. Kuczynski showed that the effect of the Great War might be expected to be visible in the statistical graphs of the future for generation after generation. Professor Ogburn discussed the reasons which produce more offspring in less successful social groups than among the more successful groups. It was however not at all certain that the more successful groups had greater inherited ability. Dr. Davenport referred to certain biological factors such as the small number of live animals produced in comparison with the number of ova. With strong hybrid strains the proportion born was much larger. This might have a direct bearing on human populations. Professor Nasu's second lecture stressed the belief that the future would see a mingling of eastern and western civilizations. The white races controlled eight-ninths of the world's area, and could send their excess population to empty regions. This was almost impossible for eastern peoples. He thought that the possibility of some emigration was stimulating to a crowded country even if the actual decrease in pressure was not large. He contrasted the pressure due to Malthusian factors—as shown in Oriental peasant countries, with that due to Marxian factors as shown in western industrial communities. In the latter unemployment was much more of a problem than pressure due to restricted agricultural lands. He predicted a future struggle between the communistic ideals of the Soviet Republics and the democratic ideals (founded on a religious basis) of the United States. In the round-table led by Griffith Taylor he stated that the roots of the population problem go down into a racial foundation. In so far as we can make it clear that animosities which are believed by many to be racial (i. e. biological) are essentially national (i. e. cultural and relatively temporary) the cause of international amity will be advanced. For instance, the five antagonistic nations in the former Austrian Empire were all of the same race. He pointed out that in his opinion the aboriginal populations of Europe, Asia and America were composed of the same major ethnical strains. Dr. Huntington discussed at length the possibilities of the evolution of a white population inured to tropical conditions. Dr. Sewall Wright emphasized the value of blood-groups in regard to the classification of the races of the world.

Dr. W. S. Thompson opened his discussion on Distribution of Population by a table showing that the per capita cultivation of land varied vastly in different countries, from Austria with approximately 4 acres to Britain with approximately one-third acre. A very interesting discussion arose as to whether it was practicable for regions with large territories to hand over certain areas to countries like Japan. The geographers present suggested that we would advance more quickly if more

time were given in conferences to the collection of quantitative data as to the relative value of various types of land, and less time to inconclusive discussions of other factors controlling population growth.

Professor W. F. Willcox gave an interesting account of the reasons underlying the recent laws regulating immigration into the U. S. A. He stressed the difficulties in obtaining accurate data as to the national composition of the American population in various decades. Several speakers were strongly of the opinion that the quality of the immigrants was even more important than their numbers. Professor Gini's second lecture dealt primarily with the apparent dying-out of the northwestern Europeans. He suggested that it might be better to encourage the immigration of the less senescent population from the south and east who would thus share in the demographic evolution of the northern people. Such a migration would provide for the levelling out of those differences in the pressure of population present in Europe.

In dealing with Japanese Problems, Professor Nasu first described the occupations of the Japanese people. Some 50 per cent were engaged in agriculture and 20 per cent in manufacturing. Of the former about 70 per cent were each cultivating less than 2½ acres. As regards the birthrate, its increase had been insignificant in the last 20 years, and it appeared to be decreasing since 1920. However the curve of natural increase is still ascending. Arable land has increased 36 per cent in the last 45 years and there were now 15,000 factories in Japan with two million operatives. Migration made little difference to the problem. Only 670,000 people had left Japan in thirty years. There were only about 18,000 emigrants in 1927. This amount, though small, has a great psychological effect on the national spirit, while external curbing of migration leads to great resentment. Emigration to Mongolia and Manchuria is impossible owing to the lower standard of living of the Chinese immigrants. The second possibility is to speed up industrial development, but already the manufacture of silk and cotton goods is meeting with great competition elsewhere. The third suggestion is to obtain more food, but it is difficult to see how this can be done. On the other hand the population increase is showing the same trends as in the western cities.

The round-table on Mineral Resources was initiated by Mr. F. G. Tryon who devoted most of his talk to the coal industry. He showed that the greater output per miner in the U. S. A. was largely due to the ease of mining coal there. In Britain and Germany the coal seams were much deeper and harder to work. Considerations governing the future use of water-power and oil were set forth. Mr. Kiessling showed that the U. S. A. was wonderfully endowed with almost all important resources, but lacked antimony, tin, potash etc. He showed that improvements in technique were greatly extending the chances of finding petroleum. Oilshale was not a very promising future source of oil. As fuel became scarce more and more workers would be needed to obtain the supplies vital for civilization in cold countries. Professor E. A. Ross led the discussion on Population Pressure and War, while the last round-table was initiated by Dr. O. E. Baker on the Optimum Population. It seemed probable that the population of the U. S. A. would only grow to about 150 millions in 1950 and then remain stationary for much the same reasons as obtain in France.

Pacific Items

Manchurian Situation

On the first of August Chinese and Soviet representatives met in Manchouli preliminary to negotiations over the settlement of the Chinese Eastern Railway dispute. On the 2nd of August the Soviet government announced three conditions for the solution of the problem: First, the liberation of the Soviet workers and civil service men held in Manchuria; second, appointment by the Soviet government of a manager and assistant manager of the disputed railroad; and third, a conference to be called immediately for negotiating the questions arising from the conflict. On August 5th, Foreign Minister Wang declared that the Nationalist government of China would accept no conditions for the opening of negotiations. On August 8th it was reported that negotiations had been entirely broken off between the two governments. Since then reports have come in of fighting along the Manchurian border, both by the Chinese and Russians, and of the advancing of troops by both armies. The latest United Press dispatch says: "Despite the earlier peace trend, pro-war propaganda is increasing, with the outlook in Manchuria growing darker daily. Martial law has been proclaimed throughout the Chinese Eastern Railway territory. The Harbin correspondent of the Tachung news agency declares: 'The situation is grave. Both sides are preparing for war.'" On Aug. 23, according to a United Press report, Minister Wu, before leaving Washington for Europe, threw out "a hint that China would welcome the mediation of the United States or some other powers."

Increase in Chinese Consulates

At a meeting of the Executive Yuan on July 16, a decision was reached to increase the number of Chinese Consulates in various foreign countries to meet the demand of overseas Chinese. This decision was in accordance with a proposal of the Minister of Foreign Affairs, who stated that the number of overseas Chinese in various foreign countries at present is over nine million, with but forty consulates to take charge of their interests.

China's New Rail System

According to reports from the International Chamber of Commerce which met at Amsterdam, Chang Kia-ngau and his associates told the conference that China is projecting seven groups of railways, to consist of 106 main lines and 12 important branches, with a total trackage of 100,000 miles. American engineers are now surveying the route Nanking-Shantung via Fukien to cost $165,525,000; Fukien-Kangtung (Foochow and Schiuchow via Nanchang), to cost $75,230,000; Kangtung-Yuannan to cost $167,640,000; Changsha-Yunnan, $153,213,000. In order to facilitate construction of the first 25,000 miles of railway China's delegation proposes the issuance of two categories of bonds, one to be guaranteed by the Boxer Indemnity Fund returned to China by Great Britain, Russia and Italy amounting to $138,520,000 and the other secured by customs duties estimated at $270,000,000. It is rumored that China will attempt to float these bonds in New York. It is also reported that this railway construction program has given a tremendous impetus to the Philippines lumber industry.

China's First Air Mail

On July 8, the first air mail was started in China between Shanghai and Nanking, with a Stinson Detroiter plane piloted by Americans and carrying 350 pounds of postal matter. Special air mail stamps have been issued. Air mail was to be delivered at Shanghai to and from Nanking once a day, excepting Sunday, for a period of two weeks. If the experiment proved successful arrangements will be made for the delivery both of mail and passengers twice daily.

Revision of Swedish Treaty

In view of the fact that the second term of ten years of the Sino-Swedish treaty of Peking of 1908 has already expired on June 14, of this year, Dr. C. T. Wang, minister for foreign affairs, has addressed a note to Baron Carl Leijonhufvud, Swedish chargé d'affaires in China, suggesting revision of the old treaty and requesting that the two governments should each appoint their plenipotentiaries to enter into immediate negotiations for the conclusion of a new treaty on the basis of equality and reciprocity.

Dominion Day in Japan

In honor of the Hon. Herbert M. Marler, Canada's newly appointed envoy-extraordinary and minister-plentipotentiary to Japan, Dominion Day was observed in Japan for the first time on July 8. Its observance will be an annual event now that Canada is directly represented by a legation in Tokyo.

Alien Labor in Canada

During the last ten years, according to a report by the Winnipeg Trades and Labor Council, 847,044 immigrants entered the Dominion but during the same time 940,617 left Canada for the United States. Low wages are given as the chief reason for Canada's inability to hold its people. The report declares that it is not the new arrivals who migrate to the United States, but native-born Canadians. The report of the council advocates a restricted immigration similar to that which now prevails in the United States.

American Business Delegation to the U.S.S.R.

Leaving Berlin on August 15, a delegation of American business men, organized under the auspices of the American-Russian Chamber of Commerce, will make a tour of four weeks through the European portion of the U.S.S.R. About eighty firms and individuals are represented in the delegation. The tour is under the business management of the American Express Company.

Filipinos to Study Arms Making Abroad

A bill providing for the sending of two pensionados annually to Germany, England and France to study the manufacture of modern weapons of warfare was introduced into the Philippines legislature by Representative Pecson. "We need men trained in the manufacture of modern weapons of warfare if we mean to be an independent people," said an explanatory note that accompanied the measure.

Reflections

Editorial Opinion on the Pacific

These reprints are chosen as reflecting diverse points of view in and around the Pacific upon problems uppermost in the news of the area. They are not selected, in any instance, as indicative of the editorial attitude of Pacific Affairs.

RUSSIA—THE AGGRESSOR

From the *China Critic,* Shanghai, July 25, 1929

Soviet Russia has threatened us with war. The Russia that condemns imperialism has become more imperialistic. The Russia that proffers friendship for China has turned out to be the worst enemy. The Russia that should hide its sinister face as a plotter and conspirator against Young China now comes out as the aggressor under the disguise of the aggrieved. Russia's challenge is unmistakable. It has been accepted by Young China. It has been answered by General Chiang Kai-shek. In his circular telegram to the officers and soldiers of our national army General Chiang urges all to rise and defend our country.

POOR PROPAGANDA

From the London *Times,* July 16, 1929

. . . That Soviet Russia would risk any serious campaign in Manchuria at present seems highly improbable. Apart from the risks of eventual collision with a first-class military Power on its chosen battle ground, the Soviet Government knows that its economic and financial organization could not stand the strain of an expensive war, and that the Russian peasantry are unlikely to be enthusiastic at the prospect of renewing the experiences of their fathers in 1904. Moreover the contradiction between Communist professions and friendship with Asiatic Nationalism and an armed conflict with the most ancient and populous nation of Asia could not be easily explained away, even by the dialectic of a Bukharin. Nor would the resumption of diplomatic relations with this country—the first step to which was announced by Mr. Henderson on July 15—be furthered by a display of militarism in Manchuria. Campaigning in China would certainly be the worst propaganda in this country for the resumption of diplomatic relations with the Soviet.

DISCHARGING THE COOK

From the New York *Times,* August 3, 1929

Minister Wu's explanation at the Institute of Politics in Williamstown that China has not "seized" the Chinese Eastern Railway, coupled with reports from Moscow of Russia's demands, indicates that the Russo-Chinese quarrel in Manchuria is by no means without remedy. . . . Were China to have full control of the railroad, as the Chinese Minister of Communications advocates, or were Russia to have the right to name the administrators, as Foreign Commissioner Karakhan proposes, the spirit as well as the letter of the treaty would be broken. . . . A compromise is obvious, resulting ultimately in the return to the status quo ante, with adequate safeguards against Russian Communist propaganda. The situation is not altogether in accordance with the ingenious analogy suggested by Dr. Wu. He likened China's forcible discharge of the Russian propagandists from the Chinese Eastern Railway to the discharge of a cook who has a partiality for putting poison in the soup. It might be a more accurate comparison to say that the master, discovering the cook's proclivity for poison, forthwith divorced his wife.

WELCOME INEFFICIENCY

From the *Japan Weekly Chronicle,* Kobe, July 18, 1929

It is reported that Japanese advice has pressed upon Russia the necessity of keeping the line going efficiently, for the sake of international business. But it may well be believed that a certain measure of inefficiency would not be altogether unwelcome, showing, as it would, that it is a great advantage to have a foreign ele-

ment concerned in the management of railways, especially when it gives no trouble by its propaganda. The Powers, in short, would be very glad to see Russia "done in the eye," but would not like the action to be used a logical precedent for a similar exhibition of China's sovereign independence where their own interests were concerned.

GENEVA'S STRENGTH

From the *New Republic,* New York, July 24, 1929

The dispute over control of the railway has been bitter and long, but there is no inherent reason why it could not be settled amicably through negotiations. The allied subject of communist propaganda is a vexing one, but China's problem in this regard does not differ from that of the other powers which have recognized Russia. The quarrel is, as a whole, precisely the sort which the League of Nations was created to solve. China has long been a member of the League, and Russia in recent years has shown an increasing disposition to use the facilities available at Geneva. Under the terms of the Covenant, either China or any other member of the League can institute negotiations for the use of its good offices. It has sometimes been said that the League is not afraid to intervene in quarrels between the smaller countries, but hesitates to step in when any of the major powers are involved. Here is a chance to show that this accusation is false, and at the same time perform a most useful service for the peace of the world.

RIGHT THING AT THE RIGHT MOMENT

From the *Nation,* New York, July 31, 1929

Secretary Stimson did the right thing at the right moment when he reminded Russia and China that they were under pledge as signatories of the Kellogg Pact to settle their dispute over the Chinese Eastern Railway by peaceful means. War over such a justiciable dispute is foolish in any case and it is doubly inexcusable just after the quarreling nations have signed an agreement to renounce armed force as a method of action. The uneasy suspense after the seizure of the Chinese Eastern by Manchurian authorities reveals how inadequate our present international machinery is for handling such a crisis.

THE MOST FOR THEIR MONEY?

From *Labor,* Washington, July 13, 1929

Two bits of news from foreign parts, which came in the same day's dispatches, deserve to be put together for the sake of contrast.

The Nationalist government of China is going to build a new navy, with the ships, or most of them, built in British yards and the officers trained by British advisers.

The Parliament of Iceland—that remarkable little country which is about to celebrate the one thousandth anniversary of its free institutions—has just authorized the government of that island to raise a loan of $3,200,000 to establish an agricultural bank, a herring oil factory, a radio station and a new ship for coastal trade.

Which country will get the most for its money? One guess.

Iceland is using her collective credit to develop her meager natural resources in such wise that all her people will share in the benefits.

China, at the moment when a great number of her people are on the edge of starvation, is putting her money into warships which probably will be half-obsolete by the time they are ready for use.

A few railroads, started at once and pushed as fast as possible, would add ten times as much to China's military strength as any navy she is likely to get, and go far to avert famine beside.

CHINA'S FINANCES

From the Honolulu *Advertiser,* August 14, 1929

The resignation last week of T. V. Soong as finance minister of the Chinese government, and his resumption of the post yesterday, as reported by the United

Press, offers a singularly acute commentary on the financial troubles of the Nationalist government.

Militarism is the source of those troubles. The never-satisfied maw of the military commanders, eternally calling for money and more money to keep abnormally large armies in food and uniforms and, when possible, pay, keeps the harried finance ministry eternally on the jump to gather funds for purposes with which Soong, personally, is wholly out of accord.

It was Soong's insistence which was primarily responsible for the army disbandment conference last winter. Beautiful paper plans were drawn up to cut down the armies. They have, however, never been carried out. Sixteen millions a month Soong's department has been raising to farm out to military commanders. He insists that thirteen millions should be enough. He has been insisting on this for months. But the army men continued asking for the larger aggregate sum. And Soong quit.

Now, it would appear, they propose seriously attempting to cut down military expenditures. Soong's threat to resign appears to have done some good. Which is an excellent commentary on the regard in which this young finance minister is held.

There is no man in any post who cannot be replaced. But it remains true that there is little material in the Kuomintang for replacing Soong as finance minister. He combines an excellent knowledge of old-style Chinese financial practices and a thorough acquaintance with modern finance methods, gathered from his years at the Harvard School of Economics. He is a man of one idea—finance. He is little interested in politics. His contempt for the militarists is largely born of the fact that their rapacity is constantly interfering with his projects for instituting a sound national financial system.

If he shall continue to wield his undoubted influence for good by occasionally threatening to run out from his job he will be doing a notable job of work for his country.

NEW CHINA POLICY

Translation from *Tokyo Asahi,* July 12, 1929, in *Japan Times*

The revision of the Chinese-Japanese Treaty will be the first test of the diplomatic ability of the Hamaguchi cabinet. The Tanaka cabinet declared its positive policies, but failed to accomplish anything, and furthermore relations with China were farther strained because of the Tanaka diplomacy. The Three Eastern Provinces of China disliked the Tanaka cabinet and refused to discuss any question with it. . . .

The difficulty of settling pending Sino-Japanese problems is caused by the conflicting interests of the two nations as well as the Chinese desire to regain lost national rights. This tendency has already been seen in the Manchurian questions and the negotiations for revision of the treaty. But it requires diplomatic skill and foresight in solving this difficult question. It is interesting to watch how Foreign Minister Shidehara will solve this difficulty.

ARMS REDUCTION

From the *Osaka Mainichi,* July 16, 1929

National defence is a matter of supreme importance to a country like Japan. The coveted Utopia where all nations can absolutely dispense with armament seems as remote as ever. That is the reason why out of relatively meagre public funds we have been paying out a large annual expenditure for national defence. At the same time, the indispensability of armament does not justify wasteful spending. The extent of defence, moreover, ought to vary in accordance with the shifting international circumstances. Facing as we do a steady consolidation of pacific ideals throughout the world, we should be committing an anachronism were we to enlarge our armament, either military or naval, at this particular time.

Precisely in view of such circumstance, the nation has been acclaiming the curtailment of army forces contemplated by the new Hamaguchi Government. We commend the courage of the new government to extend the policy of general financial retrenchment into the realm of the Army known for its zealous independence. To not a few cabinets in the past has an attempt at meddling with the

affairs of the Army proved fatal. In having induced the military authorities to abide as much as possible with the wish of the government, Mr. Hamaguchi has vindicated at once his valour and statesmanship.

NEW MARKETS

From the Manitoba *Free Press,* July 8, 1929

Hon. Herbert M. Marler, who has been appointed as Canada's minister to Japan, will leave shortly for Tokyo. His going to this new post has taken on greater importance since the Government decided last year on the policy of sending a minister to Japan. Canada is faced now with greater necessity of finding other markets for her products which the United States shows an increasing tendency to exclude, and there are very great possibilities of developing trade with the Orient.. . . .

Our trade with Japan has grown from $5,000,000 to $55,000,000 in the last 15 years, and we export to Japan three times as much as we receive from that country. Mr. Malcolm believed that big developments were coming in the Orient and that, since Japan was the gateway to the Orient, Canada should have a minister there.

The prospect for greatly increased trade between Canada and the Orient is based on two considerations—the certainty of increased consumption and increased demand in the Orient for products of all kinds, and the capacity of this country for a vastly increased production. Our agricultural production can be greatly enlarged, our mining development is only well begun, our hydro-electric power is not nearly all developed and industrial development is capable of great expansion.

MAORI REPRESENTATIVE

From the *New Zealand Herald,* Auckland, July 19, 1929

Under the present government, for the first time in the history of New Zealand, the Minister of Native Affairs is a member of the Maori community and dependent for his seat in Parliament on the votes of Maori electors. The House of Representatives was reminded of this yesterday by Sir Apirana Ngata himself. . . . .

The new minister suggested that from his special position it might be feared he would emphasise only the things affecting the Maori people, instead of holding the balance evenly between the two races. It is true that he has been outstanding as an advocate of the interests of his own people. During the years in which his party was in opposition, his voice for long periods was to be heard only when their affairs, or those of their fellow Polynesians of the Pacific, were being discussed. He never pretended that while he sat as a private member representing a Maori constituency Maori interests did not come easily first with him. Nevertheless, Sir Apirana need not fear that the whole community will not trust him to do the duty which rests on him.

HOPE OF INDEPENDENCE

From the *New Zealand Herald,* Auckland, July 18, 1929

There has happened again one of those periodical reminders to the people of the United States that all the peoples dwelling under the American flag are not content with that destiny. Again there has been a stirring appeal for the independence of the Philippines, voiced by Manuel Roxas, who has been identified with the movement for many years. The United States is being asked, in fact, to give effect to the principle laid down in the preamble to what is known as the Jones Act of 1916. There is the promise of a bill in the Congress of the United States, supporting the Filipino desire for separation. One reason given in support of it is peculiarly naive. Mr. King, of Utah, sponsor of the measure, contends that the growing competition between sugar from the Philippines and the home-grown product will force the United States to grant independence to the islands. The sequel, of course, will be operation of the tariff against the Philippine

sugar. It is a curious commentary on the way the responsibilities toward colonial possessions are viewed that commercial competition should be expected to achieve more than the sacred principle of self-determination, which the United States preached to the world. That, however, is the business of the American people, as it is their business to deal as they think best with the aspirations of the Philippine people.

MEXICAN IMMIGRATION

From *Labor,* Washington, July 6, 1929

At a recent conference on social work in San Francisco, an experienced expert declared that there are now 2,000,000 Mexicans in the United States.

Almost at the same moment, a friend of *Labor* picked up in California and forwarded to this office a poster calling for "500 Filipinos or Mexicans, single or with families, to work in beet fields in Minnesota and Iowa."

Here are two testimonies to a menace which Congress ought to meet without delay.

Mexicans who are swarming unchecked into this country are exploited without mercy.

They are used in gangs for casual labor, breaking down wage scales and demoralizing working conditions, and when the immediate use for them has passed they are dumped on the community, homeless and helpless.

Immigration from Mexico should be put on a quota basis, and the restriction rigidly enforced.

HAWAII CONFERENCE OF NEW AMERICANS

From the Honolulu *Star-Bulletin,* July 31, 1929

Perhaps the most gratifying feature of this conference is that the New Americans—citizens of Japanese ancestry—are endeavoring to help themselves. They are ready and eager to take responsibility. They are not asking favors or gratuities in their civil life. They are not seeking subsidies in their economic life. They want to move forward, and win success, on the basis of their own capabilities.

And that is as it should be. In an American community, race should be neither a bar to advancement nor a factor of favoritism. In Hawaii it is being proved every day that individual ability and effort count more than any other factor in winning success. And it is also being proved every day that the golden door of opportunity is wide open for individual ambition, irrespective of race, family, wealth, politics or any other form of "pull."

These young people, and the frank and serious manner in which they go about their self-imposed duty of becoming better citizens, make about the best possible answer we know to the doubters, scoffers and skeptics who sometimes indulge in the generalization that "you can't make an American out of an Oriental."

Books of the Pacific

RACE ATTITUDES IN CHILDREN
By Bruno Lasker
Henry Holt & Co., New York, 1929. G $4.00

Some few books are so well done that no one will need to rework their fields. This is one of them. As far as observation, experience and wisdom, in a wide variety of situations may go, Bruno Lasker has gone. The situations brought together for organization and critical appraisal have come from the experience of many persons of varying social groups representing all sections of the United States. When better books appear they will be based upon new techniques of measurement and personality analysis.

Some questions can be answered authoritatively out of the data covered by this book. Of even greater value may be the hypotheses and practical suggestions for education in race attitudes. The incidents brought together make it probable beyond any reasonable doubt that some children react to members of a different race with curiosity, some with indifference, many with appreciation, but many others with fear, cruelty, combativeness, ridicule, condescension, rivalry, and class consciousness. The origin of these attitudes is still very largely a matter of conjecture. Even where vivid experiences seem to have given birth to a permanent mind-set, there are apt to have been other contributing factors. It seems clear that the attitudes of parents, other adults, and comrades of school age all play some part, but the relative strength of these influences remains unmeasured. Personal observation and experience, either brief and violent or long continued and almost imperceptible surely modified attitudes in some cases. It is regarded as not impossible that there may be an inborn sense of distinction, either of aversion or special attraction to persons markedly different in physical characteristics. However, so many forms of "first response" appear, and so many assumed instincts have been demonstrated to be mixed up with early training, that the author wisely leans toward the hypothesis that race attitudes as observed are usually learned responses.

One of the major contributions of this study is the vivid and detailed presentation of ways in which children are influenced by casual contacts, parental behavior, institutionalized antagonisms, biasing pictures and phrases in school texts, all forms of segregation and limitation of opportunity. It is indeed a staggering weight of prejudices with which each rising generation is burdened. In comparison with these actual behaviors, verbal brotherhood is properly discounted. It is not the Golden Rule of his Sunday School but the sneer of the older boy, the gesture of the parent, the smile of derision, the customary jokes, the occasional exultations of race pride, the barriers to vocational and social eminence that the child perforce takes seriously.

Constructively the author points out the possibilities for parents, teachers of civics, history, geography, language, religion, athletics, reading, the fine arts, dramatics, and for agencies such as the moving pictures. Lack of clarity in aim, with conflicting ideals, interests and motivations, the author believes to be a fundamental difficulty. He believes it would be possible to go far with known tools and techniques if any community agreed upon where it wishes to go. "Liberal" organizations

which run counter to divisive community forces simply rob themselves of support. Those who believe verbally in justice in the abstract, often deny it in concrete reality. The author seeks to steer clear of hypocrisies in a program of relative progress, differentiating between situations within which the child *can* reasonably act, and those in which he is surrounded by deep feelings which he is practically powerless to modify. In some homes pleasant inter-racial contact may be possible, in others the objective will have to be more limited, perhaps an appreciation of some racial contributions, a desire for realistic fair dealing, and a sense of the value of facts in replacing superstitions. In every situation some such progress is possible. To seek too much may be to lose what might otherwise be attained.

"As we close the book, however, it is not so much of technical tasks that we think, as of a procession of boys and girls: Martha Lum, denied an education by the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States; a little boy deprived of his white playmate; a bewildered southern boy in a northern school; the Jewish adolescent who matured too quickly to retain the friendship of his pals; the Chinese child petted and subsequently neglected; the Mexican boy who fought himself into appreciative recognition; the Jewish and Italian gangs who could not come together on anything except 'to beat up niggers;' the innumerable children frightened by accounts of 'black men,' or pictures of bloodthirsty savages, and children crippled in mind and future experience by propagandist tools wielded for the benefit of selfish interest." "Children," as the author so well says, "given the stones of fictitious stereotypes when they ask for the bread of knowledge!"

—Goodwin Watson

MEN AND MACHINES
By Stuart Chase
The Macmillan Company, New York, 1929

The past, present, and probable future effects of machinery upon mankind is a many-sided subject upon which it is tempting to make generalisations and maintain theses. Perhaps the greatest merit of the present volume is that it avoids these pitfalls. Mr. Chase has clearly taken great pains to discover the actual facts, or the best available estimates, and to present them in very vivid and readable (if not always quite grammatical) English.

He begins with a most interesting account of the development and growth of machinery, from the lathes and looms and ships known to Ptah-hotep five thousand years ago in Egypt, down to Mr. Televox, the mechanical man of our own day, who is displacing the skilled watchers of dials in power houses. He proceeds to give a careful account of the machines that we now possess: what they are called, what they do, and how many there are. Finally, he considers their effect upon our lives.

Some sweeping statements can readily be shown to be false, or at best only half-truths. For example, it is not true that we are becoming a race of robots: slaves to the machine, engaged in repetitive work which calls for no initiative or control. Only five per cent, at the most, of the American population is in anything like that position. Again, the cry that machinery has abolished craftsmanship is quite false. In Europe, "machines, far from reducing the aggregate of handicraft work, have

increased it." Moreover, "the new Power-Age skills," such as engine-driving and camera work, far outnumber the old hand skills, such as spinning and weaving. Nor is machinery enforcing standardisation. It is true that mass production calls for standardised parts and measurements and symbols, but it does not standardise life as did the church in medieval Europe or ancestor worship in China. "The machine is probably the greatest destroyer of standards since the Goths sacked Rome."

Nevertheless, Mr. Chase concludes that, so far, machines have brought more evil than good. Apparently he takes happiness as his standard. The inhabitants of Middletown today are, he believes, less happy than, say, the inhabitants of a fourteenth century Rhine Village. Machinery has "saved labour" at the production end, but against that must be set the vast swelling of distribution and selling costs. New wants have been aroused and economic insecurity has arisen. The net result is, he believes, bad.

But we must distinguish between what necessarily follows from machinery and what has happened to accompany it. A wiser social control could undoubtedly cut down the present enormous waste in distribution and selling, could lessen unemployment and could abolish economic insecurity. How, then, would the balance-sheet stand?

On the credit side would be the lengthening of life, higher living standards, the levelling of class distinctions, the realisation of world unity, the potential increase of leisure, the decline of superstition, and (the present reviewer would add) a wider range for creative activity.

On the debit side stands, first of all, the menace of mechanised warfare. Mr. Chase's account of how London could be wiped out in an hour, against all known methods of defence, by airplanes carrying bombs of diphenyl chloro arsine, is most impressive. Next comes the growing "tenuousness of connection and balance in the interlocked industrial structure." A handful of key technicians could destroy a great city. Thirdly, "natural resources are being exploited at a rate as alarming as it is wasteful." There follows a number of other evils, with which we have not space to deal. The reader will probably agree with Bertrand Russell that the outcome will depend upon the wisdom or folly with which Mankind handles the problems arising from the "billion wild horses" which it has brought into being.

Besides thanking Mr. Chase for an enthralling book we should be grateful to Mr. Murch for his striking and admirable illustrations.

—F. C. Benham

THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS
By W. Cameron Forbes
Houghton Mifflin Company, New York, 1928, 2 vols., G $10

A well documented and fairly complete history of the Philippines since 1898 by an American whose official service in the Islands began in 1904, when he was "called from his counting-house in Boston" to be a member of the Commission in control of the Philippine Islands, where he was given also the portfolio of Commerce and Police with supervision over several important bureaus and activities of the government. This service extended continuously through his incumbency as Vice Governor in 1908 and four years as Governor-General beginning with 1909. During this time, he says, "he made a practice of preserving significant clippings and having copies made of the most important docu-

ments that reached his eye, and these, classified, annotated, and indexed, together with copious journals and correspondence, form much of the basis of this work." Also, through the courtesy of the Secretary of War "the archives of the War Department have been made available and the late Governor-General Leonard Wood authorized the collection of information from the various bureaus and offices in Manila." Frank W. Carpenter, who had served for twenty-five years in the Philippines in many governmental and private capacities, devoted himself to the work during the period of the volumes' preparation, with the aid of a corps of trained assistants. The text is voluminously supplemented by footnotes, bibliographical and documentary references, a separate detailed map prepared by the U. S. Coast & Geodetic Survey, and 150 pages of documentary appendix, and is well cross-indexed and illustrated.

The first chapters are devoted to the geography of the islands and a brief backward glance at their early history. Under separate headings are handled the American occupation, government, public order, finance, justice, health, public works, education, the tribal peoples, church and state relations, political parties, etc. The author discusses at some length, and refers several times to the subject of Aguinalda's claim that he had been definitely promised immediate independence for the Philippines by the American Consul at Hongkong and by others in authority, in return for the help of the Filipinos against the Spanish, he having been brought back to the Philippines on a United States naval vessel to assume command of the insurgent troops. It was the later denial by American authorities of any such agreement after the capture of Manila, and the refusal to allow the Filipino soldiers to enter their own city following the victory that aroused the resentment and hostility which led to prolonged warfare between United States forces and the Filipinos.

Though his own presentation is full of party bias, yet the author's severest criticism is levelled against the "partisanship" of the Democratic party and its administration in the Philippines, an administration which dismissed large numbers of "American patriots" who had for years been doing "God's work" in the government service and replaced them with Filipinos who were, strangely enough, "pro-Filipino." His account of Harrison's administration (under Wilson) is not so full as that of previous ones, including his own, being mainly concerned with the increased power granted the Filipinos which proved greatly "embarrassing" to the Republicans when they came into power again under Harding. But, he admits, whatever mistakes had been made during Harrison's term, they had not been sufficient to arrest the steady rate of progress which his quoted figures proved had taken place.

There is nothing to show to just what extent the Filipinos are now participating in their own government, nor is it clear just what positions, filled by Filipinos during the Democratic administration, were later handed back to Americans. His story of the Friars' land transactions is far from full or clear, and the whole land question is left in a haze, as are economic problems in general. There is no real discussion of the tariff problem from the Filipino's standpoint, except in-so-far as his interests are bound up with those of American business; and no mention of the effect of the United States tariff policy on the relations of the Philippines with the rest of the world, practically cutting off as it does other and nearer markets.

Forbes' comparison of United States colonial administration with that of other countries long experienced in the business, mostly to the advantage of his own country, is the sort of thing we have come to expect from our politicians. Almost the only feature he finds to commend in the colonial practice of other countries is the continuity of individual service and the selection of "strong men" who can keep the colonies once they have been acquired.

Obviously this is a record written by a partisan with a case to prove for his party, though he tries to be fair and give something of the other side of the picture. However, by his own presentation, and in spite of his own contrary opinions, one is left with the feeling that there was in the beginning no plan to take over the islands as a colonial possession; that the Filipino leaders at least believed they had been promised freedom; that the Filipino people as a whole have consistently desired, fought and worked for independence; that they have abundantly demonstrated their fitness to govern themselves and that foreign political and economic interests alone have prevented and are preventing the attainment of independence.

The volumes are full of valuable information and are well worth reading by any student of the Philippines.

—B. G.

IMPRESSIONS OF SOVIET RUSSIA
By John Dewey
New Republic, Inc., New York, 1929. $1.00

Here is an unusual book about the Russian experiment. It is refreshing precisely because it does not attempt to encompass as its subject matter that vast, vague entity—"Russia." And for this same reason it is probably one of the most illuminating books yet written on the spirit and driving power of that "Great Experiment," as Dewey calls it.

Here was no attempt to cram into a brief visit the materials for an encyclopedia on the present-day Soviets, or to include within the covers of one resulting book the usual hodgepodge of hastily collected information on government, politics, economic policy, industry, finance, foreign trade, agriculture, education, art, science and international intrigue. In all we find not more than 18,000 words, devoted entirely to the recording of the progressive impressions of a trained philosophic observer in the special field of his training—and constantly we find the results of those impressions leading him away from his own materialistic preconceptions into the unexpected realm of an amazing spiritual drive, a renaissance of vigor not merely intellectual but visionary.

When John Dewey went to Soviet Russia to study education he found himself at the very core of what he describes as the achieved revolution—"the revolution of heart and mind, this liberation of a people to consciousness of themselves as a determining power in the shaping of their ultimate fate." For there the new spirit of education is not housed in schools merely. It is to be found everywhere in the widespread essence of that liberation he speaks of, and is being manifested through innumerable state activities—in fact it permeates, implicitly if not explicitly, the majority of such activities in Russia today. So it was that his study of "education" led him into an appraisal of the fundamental philosophy of this transition stage and of its visible or sensible effects upon the people subject to its influence.

Throughout these recorded impressions one is struck by his insistence that this *is* a stage of transition, of flux—quite contrary to the common notion of rigidity and harshly patterned living. Toward what, exactly, this flux may be trending does not to this educational philosopher so much matter: that is—whether or not it be toward the communism now "non-existent in any literal sense," or toward some quite different goal of experimental social relationship. What does matter, in the eyes of the observer, is his own conviction, most unexpectedly arrived at, that in this experiment now being carried on by the sternest of Marxian dogmatists, the most insistent followers of the "materialist" interpretation of history, after all the significant thing is not the effort at economic transformation, but the determination to work through this toward the "developing of a popular cultivation, especially an esthetic one, such as the world has never known." He has never, he says, found a country where this aim so dominates all things educational, and where every avenue is being transformed into an approach to the "creation of a new collective mentality."

This is the aspect of the new experiment which fascinates Dewey—this conscious, collective determination, quite apart from any economic theory, which, in its comprehensive social purpose, is promising "to provide a new and fruitful method of sociological research."

Russia occupies half of the volume, which includes "Mexico-1926," "Turkey-1924," and "China-1920"—earlier essays on earlier travels. One questions the wisdom of including these latter, interesting as they originally were. Following the vivid account of Russia today they pale into an unimportance intensified by their dates, which give them only a fragmentary historical significance beside the pulsing vitality of the first half of the book. —E. G.

ONWARD
A Study of the League of Nations and the Principles of Intellectual Cooperation
By Willis Airey
L. M. Isitt, Ltd., Christchurch, New Zealand

An introductory study to the work of the League of Nations such as this little book presents is a timely contribution to the literature of New Zealand where modern international problems, perhaps owing to their distance, are not always envisaged in their true proportions.

The first three chapters, tracing the efforts towards international security since the days of Athens in the fifth century B. C., are valuable in helping one see the League in its true historical perspective. The last three chapters deal with contemporary international issues and are chiefly valuable when considered as the author's effort to awaken a sense of New Zealand's national significance not only in the British Commonwealth of Nations of which she is now an autonomous member, but in the nations of the Pacific basin.

The book is in no sense propaganda or a handbook of the League. Weaknesses and difficulties such as those involved in disarmament policies, sanctions, the scope and effectiveness of the Kellogg Pact are all frankly faced. There is appended a useful list of documents and notes regarding the League's constitution and activities, but there is no index or bibliography.

PUBLIC INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE, THE
By Norman L. Hill
Stanford University Press, Cal., 1929

A handbook for conference directors, setting forth the details of organization and conduct for various types of international conference, formal and informal, official and unofficial. Important conferences of the past are reviewed and their technique and results studied and evaluated. The future of the conference method in international affairs is discussed impartially. Texts of invitations, agenda, rules and procedure used in certain famous conferences are given as samples. The volume is one of the Stanford University's series on World Politics under the general editorship of Graham H. Stuart, and the author is Associate Professor of Political Science in the University of Nebraska.

THE SHADOW OF THE WORLD'S FUTURE
By Sir George Handley Knibbs
Ernest Benn, Limited, London, 1928. 10s 6d

The author is appalled by the shadow that coming events in the realm of world population are, to his mind, unmistakably casting before them; and he is at the same time inclined to be hopeful that by determinedly facing these shadows rather than shrinking away from them, mankind may in time learn to dispel or at least lighten them to a considerable degree.

One of the few unmistakable and indisputable known facts which stand out in the hazy history of man's occupancy of this earth is the fact that from earliest time his numbers have been steadily increasing. The progress has been slow, but it has always been progress. The ever more complex demands of civilization are making even this slow rate of increase a menace; for man's habitable quarters on this globe cannot expand indefinitely, and on the contrary his opportunities for occupation and sustenance are constantly shrinking. Furthermore, the comparatively short era of civilized existence, with its new systems of environmental stimuli and checks, has immensely increased the chances for life beyond infancy and lengthened the life span of adults, thus raising the increase-rate tremendously over the earlier known ages of the earth's inhabited period. The author sees no possibility of the future operation of the uncontrolled population checks—pestilential and otherwise—which operated so drastically in past eras. Man must consciously face his future and devise checks of his own; and not only must he "face at once a study of the world's possibilities of population, he must . . . . face also the question of the migration of populations."

What the possibilities for the future may be, in the realm of both human and agricultural fecundity and distribution, and in the field of checks and stimuli for both, forms the subject matter for the twelve chapters of this treatise. —E. G.

COOK AND OTHER ISLANDS
(Annual Report)
New Zealand Parliamentary Paper, A-3. Wellington, 1929.

The report submitted by the Minister for the Cook Islands and Niue Administrations generally reveals a satisfactory condition in the islands. The Cook group contains 14 inhabited islands dispersed over some 850,000 square miles of ocean, most of them with no regular communication with the outside world. With general good health the population

has increased over the past six years at an average rate of 11.16 per thousand. An education system is extended throughout the group, teaching being in the hands of the native pastors of the London Missionary Society under the supervision of a Superintendent of Schools. Thanks to the radio stations which are being erected at various points in the islands and to the development of a more regular shipping service with the Government motor vessel, communication with the rest of the world is easier and there is a prospect of a profitable fruit trade being developed between the islands and New Zealand.

The report includes financial statements and statistics of the various islands and a memorandum on the state of the shipping service with the group. —W. L. H.

THE HOJOKI and Selections from THE HEIKE MONOGATARI
Translated by Professor A. L. Sadler
Angus and Robertson, Limited, Sydney, 1928 6/

While Diogenes, a cynic Greek philosopher, lived in a round tub and rolled it any where to suit himself, Komo Chomei, a pessimistic philosopher, dwelled in a ten foot square hut on wheels and moved here and there as his heart desired. The Hojoki and the Heike Monogatari are the representative work of the Hoji era in the thirteenth century in style and thought.

Professor A. L. Sadler has translated those two books most ably without losing the color and fragrance of Japanese literature of that period. His translation is very minute, rendered almost word for word and sentence by sentence. And yet this verbatim translation does not disfigure the beauty and elegance or the force of the original. I cannot help note the painstaking labor of the author in choosing such suitable English words and phrases to express Japanese thoughts and idioms accurately. As I read through the book I fancied I was reading the original Japanese manuscripts. I felt the sorrows and thrills which I felt years ago when I read them.

The book is indispensable to the student of Japanese literature and history who cannot read the original. It gives to any reader valuable aid in understanding the Japanese spirit and appreciating her culture of old.

—K. C. Kondo

PAMPHLETS

A BRIEF ACCOUNT OF DIPLOMATIC EVENTS IN MANCHURIA
By Sir Harold Parlett, C.M.G.
Published under the auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs
Oxford University Press, London, 1929

The monograph on the recent diplomatic history of Manchuria which is contained in this volume has been prepared specially for the bi-annual Conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations which will be held at Kyoto.

COMMERCE AND ECONOMIC RESOURCES OF OUR OUTLYING TERRITORIES AND POSSESSIONS
Foreign Commerce Department
Chamber of Commerce of the United States, Washington, 1929

Data upon the Territory of Alaska, Territory of Hawaii, Philippine Islands, Porto Rico, Virgin Islands, Guam, American Samoa and the Panama Canal Zone.

ADULT EDUCATION IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
By Morse A. Cartwright and Mary Ely
American Council, Institute of Pacific Relations, New York, 1929

Data paper prepared by the American Council for the Conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations to be held at Kyoto.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE SECOND CONFERENCE ON THE PROMOTION OF CHINESE STUDIES
The American Council of Learned Societies, Cambridge, Mass., 1929

Contents: Inclusion of Chinese studies in undergraduate curricula; Demand for Chinese studies; Departmentalization of Chinese studies; Approach to universities and colleges; Oriental students and sinology; Libraries; Appendix.

INDUSTRY, GOVERNMENT AND LABOR
Reprint from "The Economic Record," Vol. IV, No. 6, May, 1928
World Peace Foundation Pamphlets, Boston, 1928

A 231-page pamphlet classified into three divisions: Origin and Establishment; Structure of the Organization; and Record of Results.

THE BANKING SYSTEM OF AUSTRALIA
By D. B. Copland, Prof. of Commerce in the University of Melbourne
Reprinted from "Foreign Banking Systems"
Henry Holt and Company, Inc., 1929

LABOUR MOBILITY IN AUSTRALIAN INDUSTRY
By F. R. E. Mauldon
Reprint from "The Economic Record," Vol. IV, No. 6, May, 1928
Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, 1928

THE PROBLEM OF AUSTRALIAN COAL
By F. R. E. Mauldon, B.A., M.Ec.
Reprint from "The Economic Record," Vol. IV, No. 7, Nov. 1928
Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, 1928

THE ANGLO-JAPANESE ALLIANCE
By Alfred L. P. Dennis
University of California Publications, Bureau of International Relations
University of California Press, Berkeley, 1923

Divisions: The Alliance of 1902; The Alliance at Work, 1902-10; The Present Treaty of 1911 and the World War; The Alliance Today, 1919-1921; The United States, Great Britain, and Japan; The Anglo-Japanese Treaties; The Four Power Pact; Reading List.

MEXICAN LABOR IN THE UNITED STATES IMPERIAL VALLEY
By Paul S. Taylor
University of California Publications in Economics, Vol. 6, No. 1
University of California Press, Berkeley, 1928

Contents: The Background; Labor History of Imperial Valley; Mexican Population; Economic Aspects of Valley Agriculture; The Labor Market; Labor Relations; Housing of Agricultural Labor; Non-agricultural Labor; The Socio-economic Ladder; Property Ownership; Mexican Clerks and Business Men; Education; Domiciliary Isolation; Social Isolation.

MEXICAN LABOR IN THE UNITED STATES VALLEY OF THE SOUTH PLATTE, COLORADO
By Paul S. Taylor
University of California Publications in Economics, Vol. 6, No. 2
University of California Press, Berkeley, 1929

Contents: The Background; Labor History of Northeastern Colo-
Worker; Mexican Societies; Leasing and Ownership of Property; Education; Domiciliary Isolation; Mexicans and Spanish Americans; Social Isolation.

THE STATISTICAL MONTHLY (In Chinese)
The Bureau of Statistics
The National Government of China, Nanking

SYLLABUS ON EXTRATERRITORIALITY IN CHINA
Published by the Citizens' League for the Abolition of Extraterritoriality in China,
rado; Mexican Population; Economic Aspects of Sugar Beet Culture; The Labor Market; The Movement of Seasonal Labor; The Resident Labor Supply; Wages and Earnings; Labor Relations; Housing of Beet Laborers; The Socio-Economic Ladder; The Credit of the Beet
Nanking, 1929

Contents: Historical Analysis of the System of Extraterritoriality; Passing of Extraterritoriality Outside of China; Defects of the Present Practice of Extraterritorial Jurisdiction in China; Movement for the Abolition of Extraterritoriality in China; Appendix; Bibliography.

PUBLIC FINANCE IN RELATION TO COMMERCE
The Joseph Fisher Lecture in Commerce
By Professor R. C. Mills, LL.M., D.Sc. (Econ.)
Published at the Hassell Press, Adelaide, 1929

THE PURPOSE OF AN INSTITUTE OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION
By F. R. E. Mauldon, B.A., M.Ec.
The Institute of Public Administration, Victorian Regional Group, Melbourne, 1929

CHINESE UNDER BRITISH RULE IN MALAYA, HONGKONG AND WEIHAIWEI
The Royal Institute of International Affairs, London, 1929
Prepared as a Data Paper for the Conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations at Kyoto, 1929

THE UNITY OF CIVILIZATION
By Charles E. Martin
Occasional Papers No. 7
Published by the University of Hawaii, Honolulu, 1929

VICTORIA REPORTS
Australian Government Printer
Melbourne, 1928-29

Reports of Victoria State Electrical Commission detailing the extension of the electric supply system in Victoria in accordance with the national production scheme. Less recent annual reports are available, dealing with specific hydro-electric schemes, brown-coal carbonization, etc. There is also a comprehensive booklet: "Electricity for Victoria," Tait Publishing Company, Melbourne and Sydney, 1927. Price 5s.

INTERNATIONAL LABOUR CONFERENCE
TWELFTH SESSION, GENEVA, 1929
Report of the Director (Second Part)
International Labour Office, Geneva, 1929

A 227 page League of Nations official report.

WAGES AND HOURS OF LABOUR IN CANADA
Issued as a Supplement to The "Labour Gazette," January, 1929
Department of Labour, Canada (Report No. 12)

REPORT OF THE PRESIDENT AND FINANCIAL STATEMENT 1927-28
National Research Council
The Honorary Advisory Council for Scientific and Industrial Research
Dominion of Canada (Ottawa, 1929)

In the Magazines

Note: All the following references to magazines published in the Orient are for English language publications. National ownership of such publications is indicated.

CHINA—GENERAL

American Interests and the Abolition of Extraterritoriality; unsigned; the *American Chamber of Commerce Bulletin* (American), Shanghai, June, 1929.

"The question of extraterritoriality is so serious and involves to such a large extent the protection of American life and property in China that the Chamber feels that any hasty action can only result in unfavorable commercial relations between China and the United States at the present time. The Strawn recommendations afford a procedure for the gradual abolition of a system to which so many Chinese take exception, but which has come into existence out of necessity."

Case of Private Price and Extrality, The; editorial; the *China Weekly Review* (American), Shanghai, July 13, 1929.

An examination of the records of the various foreign consular courts in China over a number of years would undoubtedly show that it is a much more serious crime for a Chinese to kill a foreigner than for a foreigner to kill a Chinese. . . . And while it is impossible what is likely to happen after the abolition of extraterritoriality, it probably would be safe to say that the conditions will be reversed, that is, after the abolition of the consular courts it probably will be a greater crime for a foreigner to kill a Chinese than for a Chinese to kill a foreigner.

China and Reparations; unsigned; the *Commercial,* Manchester, July 4, 1929.

"The fifth biennial congress of the International Chamber of Commerce will be held next week at Amsterdam. Since its congress at Stockholm two years ago the International Chamber has grown considerably, and probably the most interesting feature of this growth is its geographical spread. For the first time a congress of the Chamber will be attended by properly delegated representatives from India, China, Canada, and Egypt. This incursion will help to arrest any tendency for the Chamber to become too European in its outlook, and it is to be hoped that before the next congress is held a successful effort will have been made to bring in the countries of South and Central America, and also the Dominions of South Africa and New Zealand. . . . This congress will also mark a departure from the usual practice of holding to matters which can be defined as strictly international. It will examine to what extent international assistance can be given to the economic restoration of one particular country—namely, China,—and in this it will be helped by a delegation of about fifteen Chinese business men and officials led by Mr. Kia Ngau Chang, Governor of the Bank of China. A good deal will have been achieved if business opinion in China can be consolidated and mobilised in favor of peace, and steps are already being taken to provide for the formation of a representative Chinese National Committee of the International Chamber."

China to Liquidate Her Debts; editorial; the *China Critic* (Chinese), Shanghai, July 4, 1929.

The formation of the Commission for the Readjustment of Domestic and Foreign Debts is another example showing the vigilance of the National Government over China's financial credit. . . . It may be pointed out that for all loans issued by the National Government reliable revenues are earmarked as the security for redemption and interests; and separate Sinking Fund Boards of Trustees, independent of the Government, are provided to take charge of the sinking funds and repayment of the loans. All the actions of such Boards, as well as their monthly receipts and disbursements, are made known to the public. So far, all the payments have been made regularly and promptly. . . . Now the Government is apparently contemplating similar measures toward liquidating the indebtedness of the former Peking regime. Such action to re-establish China's credit is indicative of the new era in Chinese public finance.

A Chinese Navy; editorial; the *Manchester Guardian Weekly,* Manchester, July 5, 1929.

If the announcement of a British naval mission in China really meant that the Chinese Government intended to build a substantial fleet, it would be deplorable. It is an ironic and not very happy sign of friendship to aid in arming those with whom one has lately been at blows. And there are already too many fleets in the world, not too few. China is a member of the League of Nations, and she is more likely to find safety in hastening the moral and physical disarmament of other countries than in attempting to construct weapons of destruction for herself. . . .

Development of Extraterritoriality in China, The; by Edwin L. T. Fang; the *China Critic* (Chinese,) Shanghai, June 27, 1929.

Extraterritoriality and Its Gradual Relinquishment; by Dr. Jacob Gould Schurman; the *American Chamber of Commerce Bulletin* (American), Shanghai, June, 1929.

"Sentiments and ideas rule the world. Contact with the western nations has stimulated and quickened in China the nascent sentiment of nationality. We must not, therefore, be surprised that the Chinese people are beginning to claim what all other nations in the world demand—the right to manage their own affairs."

In Memory of Sun Yat-Sen; by George E. Sokolsky; the *Far Eastern Review* (American), Shanghai, June, 1929.

". . . I have met numerous Chinese leaders and officials during the decade that I have been reporting on men and events in China, but few of them even approximated the magnetic appeal, the instant conviction of sincerity, the sturdiness of character which elevated Dr. Sun above his associates. Mr. Tong Shao-yi possesses perhaps a broader culture and a more human approach; Dr. Wu Ting-fang was endowed with a keener sense of humor and a greater worldliness of wit. But Dr. Sun was a dynamo. He breathed action, force, fight. He turned every friend into a disciple and even if one doubted the practicality of some of his programs, no one who knew him, could doubt that only a deep sense of patriotism inspired his every thought and motive."

Provisional Court, The; editorial; the *China Critic* (Chinese), Shanghai, July 11, 1929.

Whatever be the opinion of the foreign "diehards," it may be reasonably assumed that the Chinese will do away at any cost with the Shanghai Provisional Court before the end of this year. It is interesting to note that in their communication to the Senior Consul, Mr. E. S. Cunningham, the Chinese authorities did not ask for negotiations. The note simply notified the foreign consuls that the abrogation of the court will take place before January 1, 1930. Hitherto, in discussions concerning the Provisional Court the Chinese have maintained that no negotiation for its abrogation is necessary, as the agreement upon which the status of the present court is based and which will expire at the end of this yaer does not stipulate for renewal.

Realities of Chinese Life; by K. A. Baird; the *Dalhousie Review,* Halifax, N. S., July, 1929.

"The average Canadian, when he thinks of China and events there, does his thinking with a background of Canadian experience. Propagandists have played upon this fact. When they speak of the Chinese people, for example, many a Canadian thinks of a literate, self-governing population, not realizing that the vast majority in China are neither literate nor self-governing. When people speak of 'Unequal Treaties,' he easily thinks of treaties that are unfair, because he does not know that the 'inequality' was and is quite as much a matter of choice with the Chinese as with the Westerners."

Recommendations of the Commission on Extraterritoriality in China; unsigned; the *American Chamber of Commerce Bulletin* (American), Shanghai, June, 1929.

Steps Taken Towards Abolition of Extraterritoriality; by Edwin L. T. Fang; the *China Critic* (Chinese), Shanghai, July 11, 1929.

"While China has gained little or nothing dealing with the foreign Powers collectively, she has been very cautious in contracting new treaties with the foreign nations that no more limitations on her political entity would be again granted, and has taken every opportunity possible to abolish the old

treaties or at least to modify them." (A table follows showing the existing situation of Sino-foreign relations so far as extrality is concerned.)

WHAT NEXT IN CHINA?; by Nathaniel Peffer; the *New Republic,* New York, July 31, 1929.

"Whatever comes in China in the next few years will come through the agency of the Kuomintang. Yet, to conceive of the Kuomintang as a completely definite entity is a mistake. It is too inchoate, too lacking in cohesion, composed of too many irreconcilable elements, and too unstable in its policy and program. In this respect, it also represents the country, for under all the shifting of principles and leaders there remains an inflexible purpose: to free China of foreign control and establish it on a basis of modern social and economic organization. This is the one point of unity in the Kuomintang, as it is in all of intellectually conscious China."

COMMUNICATIONS

AERONAUTICAL PROGRESS IN CHINA; unsigned; the *Far Eastern Review* (American), Shanghai, June, 1929.

"Public interest in aviation evinced recently in China has justified the observation that in transportation China may skip the water and land stages of communication and enter directly into the aerial stage. This trend is supported by recent rapid progress made in aeronautics. The planning of various air routes, the around-China flights by two aviators, the construction of aerodromes at important centers, and the completion of 'Made-in-China' airplanes bear testimony to the rapid development of commercial aviation in this country."

CIVIL AERONAUTICS IN JAPAN; by Vice Consul George J. Haering; *Commerce Reports,* Washington, D. C., July 1, 1929.

"Japanese civil aeronautics is under the handicap of two adverse conditions—first, the probability that, for several years to come, the attention of the Japanese will be concentrated on development of their automotive communications and that aeronautic activities are not likely to be undertaken by any significant number of private individuals; and, second, the lack of airmindedness, the majority regarding civilian airplane flights as stunts or as a means of employing and training aviators for national defense."

DOLLAR GRANTED RIGHT TO BUILD RADIO STATION; editorial; the *China Weekly Review* (American), Shanghai, July 13, 1929.

A further move in the fight of the Chinese Government as well as private commercial companies in the Far East to obtain relief from the so-called British-Danish cable monopoly, was made this week when it was announced that the Chinese National Construction Commission had granted the Dollar Steamship Line the right to construct a short-wave radio station at Shanghai which will be capable of communicating directly with San Francisco and with steamers of the Dollar line anywhere in the Pacific area.

RADIO CONTROVERSY ENDED, THE; editorial; the *China Critic* (Chinese), Shanghai, July 4, 1929.

The development of radio in China has made rapid progress during the brief period since its initiation. There are stations in almost all principal cities and towns of China, and the foreign service is also functioning exceedingly well. Among other notable results, the opening of the fast radio service between Shanghai and the United States, via Manila, has made possible the operation in Shanghai of two leading American news services,—the United and Associated Press Associations. It is estimated that through these two agencies about 1,500 words of American news is being brought into China daily, and similarly, an increasing amount of Chinese news is being supplied to newspapers in America. While this may be of special interest to the newspaper world, the fact should be emphasized as a factor toward bringing about closer understanding between the peoples in the two continents. For all this much credit is due to the Chinese Government Radio Administration, which is responsible for making the radio service in China an efficient enterprise.

RADIO IN THE SOVIET UNION; unsigned; *Soviet Union Review,* Washington, D. C., July-August, 1929.

"The radio is becoming one of the most potent factors in the spread of education and culture in the Soviet Union. The development of radio is comparatively recent, the first broadcasting station having been established in 1924. By October, 1928, there were 326,286 receiving sets in use in the Soviet

Union—282,045 of them in the cities, 44,240 in the villages. These figures, however, give only the barest indication of the actual extent of the radio audiences, since the radio is used on a collective rather than an individualist basis, most of the sets being in clubs, auditoriums, parks and street corners. One radio set with a loud speaker in a village will draw hundreds of peasants nightly to the local People's House."

SOME RAILWAY PROBLEMS IN CHINA; by Sun Fo; the *Far Eastern Review* (American), Shanghai, June, 1929.

"Mr. Yeh said that, owing to the present political situation in China, the limited amount of rolling stock in the country had not been utilized to the fullest extent and advantage. Civil warfare had caused the destruction of much useful rolling stock, passenger cars, freight vans and locomotives. Not only did the railways suffer considerably, but the merchants suffered because their goods could not be sent to customers."

CULTURES

ASIATIC CIVILIZATION IN TRANSITION, THE; by C. C. Hahn, Ph.D.; *Sociology and Social Research*, Los Angeles, July-August, 1929.

"In Truth, the people of the Orient are now evolving a semblance of Occidental civilization from their own cultural foundations. No one, however, can foretell exactly what the finished product of this evolving civilization will be. Judging from the external phenomenon of this occidentalizing process of the Orient which has been going on for a half century throughout Eastern Asia, the ultimate result seems to be the displacement of the Oriental ways of life by those of the Occident. Even now, the predominant impression which one naturally gets in the Oriental World is the replica of Western society. No doubt, it is a crude copy of the Western civilization. It is a sure imitation of the Occidental life."

CHINA INSTITUTE OF AMERICA, THE; by Eugene Shen, Ph.D., *World Unity*, New York, July, 1929.

"As conceived by the Board of Trustees of the Foundation, there are four lines of activities which the Institute should undertake: (1) The dissemination of information concerning Chinese and American education. (2) The promotion of a closer relationship between Chinese and American educational institutions through the exchange of professors and students. (3) Assisting Chinese students in America in their educational pursuits, and also helping American students interested in the study of things Chinese. (4) The stimulation of general interest in America in the study of Chinese culture."

FUTURE OF SCIENTIFIC EXPLORATION IN CHINA, THE; by Arthur De C. Sowerby; the *China Journal* (British), Shanghai, July, 1929.

GEST CHINESE RESEARCH LIBRARY, THE; editorial; the *China Journal* (British), Shanghai, July, 1929.

The Gest Chinese Research Library was founded in 1925 by G. M. Gest, Esquire, of San Francisco and Montreal, who had long been interested in China, the Chinese people and their culture and civilization.

Mr. Gest wished to assist in some way to bring together the thinking people of China and North America by trying to acquaint the latter through Chinese literature with the culture of Chinese civilization. He felt that much had been done in the past, and was now being done, to acquaint the Chinese people with Western civilization, but that very little had been done in the opposite direction.

LUNACHARSKY ON EDUCATION; unsigned; *Soviet Union Review*, Washington, D. C., July-August, 1929.

"Primary education, which before the revolution was provided for only 50 per cent of the children of school age, now embraces 89 per cent. The number of children in the primary schools has increased by 45 per cent, and the number of literate children has increased by 31 per cent. The number of children receiving an intermediate education has increased by 54 per cent. In the schools for peasant youth which have developed since the revolution, and are our main type of higher schools for the peasants, we have at the present time almost a million students. . . .

"Through the campaign against illiteracy and semi-literacy, centers and schools have been developed where there are always a million adults studying. We have about 15,000 village reading rooms."

My Attempt to Interpret Some of the Negro Poets to My Class; by Mary W. Heffernan; *Opportunity,* New York, July, 1929.

"This article, written by a teacher of the eighth grade in the New York Public Schools, should prove of great value not only to teachers in so-called mixed schools, but also for those who teach in separate school systems. As a force in better race relations the public schools have no equal—hence the importance of the proper approach to the contributions of the Negro to American life.—The Editor."

Some of the Usages and Customs of the Natives of the Philippines and Their Marriages, From "Voyage Dans Le Mer Des Indes"; by M. Le Gentil; *Philippine Magazine,* Manila, July, 1929.

Usury, Trade, Weapons, Marriage, and Children's Rights cover the divisions of this interesting article.

Study of Maori Mind, The; by I. L. G. Sutherland; the *Journal of the Polynesian Society,* Wellington, June, 1929.

"The purpose of this paper is to examine some recorded opinions and current assumptions regarding Maori mentality, to discuss briefly present-day theories of native mind and to outline a mode of approach to the scientific study of the mind of the Maori."

Teaching English in Japan; by Ernest Pickering; the *Spectator,* London, July, 13, 1929.

"In sheer desperation, I have become, almost flamboyantly, the apostle of the 'Learn through error' philosophy. I have rallied them to make fools of themselves, to rush boldly into the net of English, in the faith that I shall rescue them as wiser and better men."

DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS

Chinese-American Relations; by Hon. Chao-Chu Wu; the *Annals,* Philadelphia, July, 1929.

"The Chinese people have always had the most friendly feelings toward foreigners, particularly when they are friendly to us, and we number the Americans among those most friendly to us. . . . We are at present at a very difficult period of our history. We are trying to do nothing less than to convert a medieval country in certain material and economic aspects such as China was until, say, twenty or thirty years ago, to a modern country. . . . But we Chinese have gone through crises in our history before and we are sure that we will go through the present crisis."

Foreign Relations of the Soviet Union; unsigned; *Soviet Union Review,* Washington, D. C., July-August, 1929.

"Mr. Alexey Rykov, chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R., opened his report to the Fifth All-Union Congress of Soviets with a review of the policy pursued by the Soviet Government during the past two years. . . . 'Entirely unfounded,' he declared, 'are the hopes of those politicians and journalists who suppose that after the rejection of the Soviet proposal by the Preparatory Commission of the League of Nations, we shall cease our efforts for peace. We shall continue to strive for peace, and with increasing vigor.'"

International Law and International Policy; by Henry Kittredge Norton; the *Annals,* Philadelphia, July, 1929.

Making the Peace Pact Effective; by Arthur Capper; the *Annals,* Philadelphia, July, 1929.

"We have traveled far, indeed, from the days when an American Secretary of State could say that 'we have no concern' in a war between great European powers. The Kellogg Peace Pact recognizes our concern, our vital interest, in the wars of others, and our concern and vital interest in the peace of the world."

Nanking Takes Our Stand; editorial; the *China Truth* (Chinese), Canton, June 22, 1929.

No matter what kind of constitution a nation has or what national characteristics its people possess, the existence of foreign concessions and courts within its gates would be nothing short of an affront to that country. Certain foreign interest has argued that large business has been built up in good faith by aliens on the foundation of the unequal treaties and that to cut away those foundations before new ones are laid would be grossly unjust. If this argu-

ment is sound, it may also be said that large sums of money were invested in good faith by the liquor merchants in the United States before prohibition and to destroy their trade by the Eighteenth Amendment would be obviously unfair.

NEW ROAD TO DISARMAMENT, THE; by Isaac F. Marcosson; *The Saturday Evening Post*, Philadelphia, August 5, 1929.

"Premier MacDonald is to preside over the coming London meeting to confirm the Young plan which will finally liquidate the indemnity and constitute a logical approach to a world conference to scrap naval rivalries and competitions. It means that if the negotiations now initiated reach the final objective, he will go down in history as the Premier of Peace."

SHIDEHARA DIPLOMACY; by Baron Kijuro Shidehara; the *Week in China* (American), Peking, July 13, 1929.

"Unequal treaties are the result, not the cause of defective domestic administration. There is something unnatural in the attempt to put an end to the existing regime, without removing the cause which gave rise to it. If China completes all her arrangements for the adequate protection of foreign residents as well as natives, the system of extraterritoriality and of other privileges for foreigners, will be readily relinquished. It is not my intention to urge the Chinese leaders upon the unqualified adoption of the example set by this country, but sincerely wishing as I do to see China speedily installed in a proper place among the family of nations, I would invite the attention of her leaders to the importance of cooler judgment and more deliberate action."

SOME BASIC FACTS IN OUR INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS; by William C. Redfield; the *Annals*, Philadelphia, July, 1929.

"One thing is peculiar about a factory; you do not deal with opinions there, but with hard facts. No opinion will stop a hammer from crushing you or any machine from rending you. Facts and only facts count.

"Is there one code for men and another code for nations? Are the rules of courtesy that you all recognize as binding on yourselves not binding as between great nations? Are the rules of practical wisdom that you all recognize in your own activities not in force as between nations? I call your attention to one fact, that in our international discussons (and this is a good specimen of them of the kind I mean) we deal habitually with a single thing or phase and we rarely or never take it in its relations. It is the relations which concern me most.

". . . . These two great powers, (the United States and the British Empire) interdependent every hour of every day, taken on the basis of a ten-hour day doing an interchange of business of over a million dollars an hour between each other, these two great powers, speaking one language,—both of those facts unique in the history of the world heretofore,—can at any time that they choose to act together, instantly and immediately cause to stop any war throughout the world without firing a shot, merely by refusing supplies or credit or transportation or all of these."

ECONOMICS IN PACIFIC—GENERAL

ABOLITION OF NIGHT WORK, THE; unsigned; the *Japan Weekly Chronicle* (British), Kobe, July 11, 1929.

"From July 1st of this year there is supposed to be no night work for women and young persons in Japan. According to a statement supplied by the Tokyo office of the International Labour Office, the original restriction was to be eleven hours during which no work might be done, and these to include the hours of 10 p.m. to 5 a.m., but it says that 'to Japan's great sorrow,' the Washington Labor Treaty cannot be ratified because this restriction has been whittled down to a simple prohibition of work between 11 p.m. and 5 a.m. Nothing is said about the tens of thousands of women employed in licensed brothels. These, apparently, do not share in the benefits of any humane legislation that is instituted, though it might be well, as a test case, for some of the social reform societies to initiate prosecutions against the slave-drivers under the factory law. As a matter of fact, the new law appears to affect only the women engaged in the textile mills."

AGRICULTURAL COOPERATIVE MOVEMENT IN CHINA; by Chunjen C. C. Chen; the *China Critic* (Chinese), Shanghai, July 11, 1929.

"The cooperative societies under the administration of the Relief Commis-

sion have two main departments of business, namely, the loans and the deposits. For the deposit department, the business of savings, fixed deposits and current deposits are being carried on. Loans are issued on the basis of trust, guarantee, and mortgage. It is reported that the condition of the cooperatives' business is good, as the bad account has so far seldom occurred."

AN ANTI-JAPANESE CATECHISM; by Tadaichi Nakamura; the *Trans-Pacific* (American), Tokyo, July 18, 1929.

". . . . the Chinese boycott is a very serious affair, nothing like the thing it was ten years ago. It is a system, an organization kept up in good working order just like the army and the navy. It is directed and controlled from a center, the Kuomintang, which practically controls the Nationalist Government. Unless therefore the Kuomintang Party itself takes up the problem in all seriousness with the sincere intention to check it, it would be simply stupid to hope for improvement."

CHINESE FIRMS ENTERING FOREIGN TRADE; by Consul Samuel Sokobin; *Commerce Reports,* Washington, D. C., July 1, 1929.

"Although the number of American firms in China increased from 11 in 1842 to 24 in 1888 and to 600 by 1925, Chinese firms handling foreign imports and exports direct remained negligible for three reasons. First, the economic organization peculiar to China offered greater inducements to Chinese traders when they confined their activities to domestic trade; second, there were few Chinese who could cope with business correspondence in English or other Western languages, not to mention cabled communications; and, finally, there were equally few Chinese with any comprehension of the machinery and processes of foreign trade."

COPPER BANKNOTES IN CHINA; by E. Kann; *Chinese Economic Journal* (Chinese), Shanghai, July, 1929.

A brief history of copper banknotes in China.

COST OF LIVING OF CHINA'S MASSES, THE; by Boris P. Torgasheff; the *China Weekly Review* (American), Shanghai, July 13, 1929.

"An excess in offer of labor compared with demand forces countless millions of unskilled common coolies to live on the edge of starvation on an average annual income of about Mex. $100, that is, about Mex. $8.33 a month, if we exclude Shanghai and two or three other especially advanced industrial towns of China."

ECONOMIC GEOGRAPHY OF THE HAWAIIAN ISLANDS; by Otis W. Freeman; *Economic Geography,* Worcester, July, 1929.

"The Hawaiian Islands contain only 6,454 square miles, yet for their size are one of the most valuable parts of the United States; 400,000 acres, about 10 per cent of the total area, is under cultivation, and from this small area the territory has exported an average of $110,000,000 worth of products each year for the past seven years."

INTERNATIONAL PROBLEMS OF THE TARIFF; by Harry T. Collings; the *Annals,* Philadelphia, July, 1929.

"Canada is today our best single customer. We need protection against certain Canadian products, perhaps even an increase in the present rates. Discussion of higher rates on certain Canadian exports to the United States, however, has aroused a storm of opposition. Reprisals have not only been threatened; they have been carried out. Suppose Canada should refuse to continue to sell us newspaper pulp; that is not merely possible, they have already threatened it. Suppose Canada should close all our branch factories there for automobiles, agricultural machinery and for many other products. That is food for thought."

JAPAN'S CHINA TRADE STILL AFFECTED BY THE BOYCOTT; by Emile Widler; the *China Weekly Review* (American), Shanghai, July 6, 1929.

"The activity of British, American and German commodities in China's market at the expense of Japanese goods is becoming pronounced, according to a recent report in the Japan Advertiser, the American paper in Tokyo. This tendency has been evident especially since last March, despite the fact that the Tsinan affair was settled between Japan and China in that month. The Anti-Japanese Boycott Society, organized by the professional Chinese boycott agitators, has changed its name to the All-China Unequal Treaty Expulsion Society and has been resorting to anti-Japanese movements without let-up. . . . The market situation has thus failed to assume a turn for the better for Japanese articles while foreign articles are more heavily in demand

than ever. Foreign commodities now virtually threaten to encroach upon the sphere of Japanese market."

MUTUAL INTERESTS OF MEXICO AND CALIFORNIA; by James Hoffman Batten; *Pan Pacific Progress,* Los Angeles, July, 1929.

"When we come to apply to Mexico this theory of the promotion of mutual interests through the activities of selfish interests, we shall find that primarily both the Mexican and the American have not entered, each the country of the other, from any merely altrustic motive. The Mexican peon enters the United States because he expects to increase his economic standing through larger returns for his labor. The American capitalist enters Mexico, not primarily because he is interested in the development of Mexico, but for the reason that he is seeking large returns upon his capital. Both the peon and the capitalist enter these respective countries physically, but remain in their own countries nationally. They enter as aliens and fully intend to remain aliens. However, both contribute to the mutual interests of the two nations commercially, ethically, and culturally."

SOME THOUGHTS CONCERNING ECONOMICS IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF CHINA; by Dr. J. A. L. Waddell; the *Far Eastern Review* (American), Shanghai, June, 1929.

Contents: "Development of a Spirit of Patriotism in China; Dissemination of Current News, Information Concerning World Progress, and General Knowledge; Economics of Labor for China; Home Manufacture versus Purchasing Abroad."

WHEAT POOL, THE; by W. A. Irwin; *MacLean's Magazine,* Toronto, July 1, 1929.

"No longer does the farmer deem himself a man ill-starred by fate, for he knows that in the wheat pool he has achieved what wise men declared was impossible."

MANCHURIAN SITUATION

CHAINING THE DOGS OF WAR IN THE FAR EAST; editorial; the *Literary Digest,* New York, August 3, 1929.

. . . . And yet, when all is said and done, editors throughout this country and press correspondents all over the world seem convinced that the Russo-Chinese crisis is now likely to pass without actual serious war. Naturally, the grounds of dispute remain, and outbursts of popular feeling may upset the most pacific intentions of governments; nevertheless confidence grows that the war-cloud in the Far East is breaking rather than darkening.

CRISIS IN MANCHURIA, THE; editorial; the *New Republic,* New York, July 31, 1929.

It would be a calamity if the arbitration or conciliation which Mr. Stimson proposes were merely to result in putting things back where they were. The Manchurian question, and every other aspect of the relations between China and the rest of the world, can only be finally solved on a basis of justice for the Chinese. Russia in the past has gone further than any other power in giving formal recognition to this principle. When the time comes, we hope she will not permit the persuasions of expediency, or the bitterness left by the failure of the Communist campaign in China, to make her a cat's-paw for a type of capitalistic imperialism which she ought to be the first to repudiate.

HOW WE STAND WITH MOSCOW?; editorial; the *China Truth* (Chinese), Canton, June 22, 1929.

In a recent interview by the press in Nanking, Foreign Minister C. T. Wang stated that at present Sino-Russian relations are extremely grave. . . . Such strained feeling arises out of the recent raid of the Russian consulate in Harbin by Chinese police who, it is stated, found a group of Russians holding a conference in the cellar of the consulate. . . . As a retaliation, the Soviet government raided Chinese consulates in Russia and detained several Chinese consular officials. . . . Of course they could not find anything in the Chinese consulates that might be deemed detrimental to Soviet interest, besion and do not conduct any 'white' propaganda against the cause of Communism.

cause Chinese diplomatic officials in that country are strictly on official mis-

MANCHURIAN CRISIS, THE; editorial; the *Japan Weekly Chronicle* (British), Kobe, August 1, 1929.

A monograph, published under the auspices of the Royal Institute of In-

ternational Affairs, giving British students of current affairs an idea of what has and is going on in Manchuria from the standpoint of an opportunist, has become available to the public. The monograph was prepared for the Kyoto conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations. The author is Sir Harold Parett, former Japanese counsellor to the British Embassy in Tokyo.

PEACE AND WAR; editorial; the *Japan Weekly Chronicle* (British), Kobe, August 1, 1929.

The dispute between China and Russia illustrates the impossibility of legislating against a struggle. Both sides profess that they will not resort to arms unless the other side attacks. But somehow guns go off when they are kept ready loaded.

WHAT NEXT IN CHINA?; by Nathaniel Peffer; the *New Republic,* New York, July 17, 1929.

"Quite rightly it has been generally recognized that behind all the recent tension between Japan and China lies the rivalry over South Manchuria, but too much importance can be attached to Japan's recent measures in that area. They do not represent any new aggressive policy. They are simply a formal notification on the part of Japan that China may unify if she wished, but that South Manchuria must be considered outside the scope of unification. There is nothing new in this; recent developments have merely compelled Japan to be more explicit. As a matter of fact, Japan has regarded South Manchuria as Japanese in all but name and diplomatic fiction since it first won the territory from Russia in 1906, and at no time since then could the powers have returned the province to China without first crushing Japan's army. This is still true. South Manchuria will become Chinese again only if China defeats Japan in war, or some other nation does so for her and returns the province, or if China forges some non-military weapon that will have the same effect."

MISCELLANEOUS

AMERICA, JAPAN AND CHINA; by Frederick Moore; the *Far Eastern Review* (American), Shanghai, June, 1929.

An interesting chapter taken from the writer's book: "America's Naval Challenge."

ANGLO-AMERICAN OPPORTUNITY, THE; by C. K. Webster; the *Nation and Athenaeum,* London, June 29, 1929.

". . . . There is a widespread and highly organized naval propaganda, but it produces but little effect on the mass of the people. Americans are almost unanimous in demanding 'parity' with the British fleet and a superiority over the Japanese fleet. But once these principles are granted there seems to be no reason why they should not accept, not only limitation but drastic reduction of naval armaments, if only Britain will agree. Here lies the great opportunity, for, if the fleets not only cease to grow but are reduced in size, many of the other aspects of the whole problem of the 'Freedom of the Seas' are made less difficult and dangerous."

CONTROL OF RACE RELATIONS IN THE COMMUNITY, THE; by Norman M. Kastler; *Opportunity,* New York, July, 1929.

"If we rest the problem of race adjustment entirely with the law, Negroes will probably fight legal favoritism for the whites even more bitterly than they now do. With other fields of conflict closed by the priority of legal action, the Negro may well be expected to raise questions of constitutionality of laws discriminating against his race. The restriction of race conflict entirely within the field of legal action would undoubtedly intensify the bad feeling of each race towards the other."

FILIPINO INVASION OF THE UNITED STATES, THE; by Geo. W. Missemer; the *China Weekly Review* (American), Shanghai, July 6, 1929.

"Whatever else American occupation has or has not accomplished for the Filipinos, it certainly has drilled into them the dignity of labor. The gospel of honest work has been preached to them for a quarter of a century. On all sides one hears from their lips the question, 'What kind of a job do you think I can get?' Such a question would have been unthinkable having been uttered by a Filipino twenty-five years ago, when a Filipino's idea of a well spent life was to sleep under a banana tree and when wakened by hunger to reach for a few bananas, eat them, and then calmly fall asleep again."

FILIPINOS AND BRITISH INDIANS IN SHANGHAI; editorial; the *China Weekly Review* (American), Shanghai, July 6, 1929.

. . . . Although accurate figures are not available, it is said that there probably are 500 Filipinos who reside in Shanghai. They are engaged in all kinds of activities ranging from business, to musicians in local orchestras, stenographers, etc. These Filipinos occupy a rather curious status here as "wards" of the United States, in that they are subject to the jurisdiction of the U. S. Court for China in the event they get into trouble. However, very few of them ever get into trouble, confining their fighting so to speak, to the prize ring where they have given an excellent account of themselves as boxers. As a matter of fact the American authorities pay very little attention to the local Filipino colony which attends to its own business and manages to get along peaceably with the Chinese and everybody else. They maintain their own organization and from the standpoint of national politics they probably are about 100 percent "independencia," meaning by this that the local Filipino colony is probably 100 percent in favor of independence for the Philippine Islands. It probably has never occurred to any American official in Shanghai to "spy on" the local Filipinos for the purpose of determining whether they are "seditionists" from the standpoint of the authority of the United States over the Islands.

INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS; unsigned; *Stead's Review,* Melbourne, July 1, 1929.

"The Melbourne branch of the Institute of Pacific Relations has adopted 'Stead's Review' as its organ for information, and those interested in the Institute and in the problems of the Pacific will find in 'Stead's Review,' from month to month, news of the doings of the institute in Australia, and frequent discussions of Pacific problems, in which Australia is so vitally interested."

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS; unsigned; the *Japan Weekly Chronicle* (British), Kobe, July 18, 1929.

"One of the good effects of the Great War has been the growth of a more widespread and intelligent interest in foreign relations, and among the publications which endeavour to promote that interest none is better than the annual surveys issued by the Royal Institute of International Affairs, in the composition of which Mr. Arnold J. Toynbee is the chief worker."

JAPAN TAKES TO THE AUTO; unsigned; *Commercal Osaka,* Osaka, March, 1929.

Interesting figures showing the remarkable growth of popularity of automobiles in Japan.

JAPANESE ASSOCIATIONS IN AMERICA, THE; by Michinari Fujita; *Sociology and Social Research,* Los Angeles, January-February, 1929.

"The Japanese Associations in America are a group of social, political, economical, and educational organizations extending throughout the United States, found in the larger Japanese quarters, but chiefly on the Pacific Coast. Almost all are incorporated under state laws. There are four central associations, located in San Francisco, Los Angeles, Portland, and Seattle. Affiliated with these four central branches are approximately eighty local branches. In New York, Arizona, Texas, Utah, and Colorado there are eight other independent groups. There are also three main branches in Hawaii, and similar organizations in Chicago and Nebraska, but under a different name."

STORY OF THE RACES IN HAWAII; by Max G. Linder; *Pan Pacific Progress,* Los Angeles, July, 1929.

"In these islands are settled a third of a million people of many races, estimated at 328,444 on June 30, 1926, an increase of 72,532 since the census of 1920. Hawaii has been suitably named the 'cross-roads of the Pacific.' It might just as aptly, from the racial standpoint, be called the 'world's convocation place of peoples.' In no other part of the world are as many races of people living and working so closely and harmoniously as within the boundaries of the Territory of Hawaii."

Miss Chung Leaves

Miss Clara Chung of Honolulu, who was for a year and a half Acting Librarian of the Institute beginning with the library's inception, left Honolulu on August 8 for Peking, where she has accepted a position in the library of Yenching University. Miss Chung is Island-born, the daughter of Chung K. Ai, member of the executive board of the Hawaii Council of the Institute. She had library training at Simmons College, Boston, and is an M.A. graduate of Columbia University, New York. She acted as Secretary for the Chinese Group during the 1927 Institute Conference in Honolulu.

Associate Secretaries

Mr. Keichi Yamasaki, Associate General Secretary, left Honolulu on August 6 for Tokyo, where he will work closely with the Japanese Council on conference preparation.

Dr. Hawkling Yen, Associate General Secretary, who has been travelling in North America and Europe, is on his way via Suez to China and the Kyoto conference.

Visitors at Central Headquarters

On August 8 Dr. Wang Tso-yang and Mr. Yeh Pi-liang of Mukden were visitors at the Institute, being en route home following an Economic and Educational Mission to Europe and America. Dr. Wang was formerly associated with Dr. John Dewey in educational research at Columbia, and is now Professor of Education in the North Eastern University of Mukden. Mr. Yeh is personal secretary to Governor-General Chang Hsueh-liang and an official in the civil government of the province.

Professor J. Lossing Buck of the University of Nanking stopped off in Honolulu to confer on research matters before continuing to the United States for preliminary consultation on the project: Land Utilization in China, which he is to direct.

Dr. James T. Shotwell, chairman of the International Research Committee of the Institute, was in Honolulu August 20 on his way to the Orient, where he will travel for a month in advance of the Kyoto Conference sessions.

Dr. T. Z. Koo, en route home from a year in London, Roy Akagi of the Japanese Student Alliance of America (member of the Japan conference group), and Dr. Edwin R. Embree, of the Julius M. Rosenwald Foundation, were visitors at Headquarters during the month.

Executive Secretary in Japan

Mr. Shunzo Sakamaki of Hawaii, who has been a teaching fellow at Doshisha University, Kyoto, was named Executive Secretary of the Japan Council's Tokyo office, to fill the vacancy left by the death of Mr. Shin Saito, brother of Soichi Saito, the Honorary Secretary.

Observers at Kyoto

Dr. Manuel Gamio, a leading anthropologist and sociologist of Mexico, will be present at the Kyoto Conference as an observer from his

country. This is the first instance of Mexican participation in an Institute conference.

Dr. Edouard Lavergne of the University of Paris, now in America, Fellow in Social Sciences under the Rockefeller Foundation, will also attend the Kyoto sessions as observer for an interested group of students of Pacific affairs in France. No French observer has previously attended.

As in 1927, the League of Nations and the International Labour Office at Geneva are sending observers. These are to be H. R. Cummings of the League Information Section, Setsuichi Aoki, of the League's Tokyo Office, and J. M. N. Romein, a Dutch member of the Geneva Secretariat. M. Louis Varlez of the International Labour Office and probably one other from his organization will attend.

To Kyoto Via Moscow

A group of American and Canadian conference members, headed by Jerome D. Greene and Edward C. Carter, chairman and secretary of the American National Council, sailed from New York on August 16, planning to reach Kyoto via an extended journey through Russia, Manchuria and China proper. The party will probably be joined in London by representative members of the British group.

Canadian Conference Members

Information from the Canadian National Council lists the following members who are going to Kyoto: the Hon. Newton Rowell, K.C., chairman; John Nelson, honorary secretary; Sir John Aird and Colonel C. S. MacInnes, K.C., of Toronto; Gerald Birks and W. M. Birks of Messrs. Henry Birks and Sons, Montreal, and Dr. Best of McGill University, Montreal; Lawrence Burpee and Tom Moore of Ottawa; General Victor Odlum, Christopher Spencer, Professor H. F. Angus of the University of British Columbia, T. W. B. London of Balfour, Guthrie and Company, and H. R. MacMillan of the MacMillan Export Company, all of Vancouver; Dr. John A. McKay of Manitoba College, and E. J. Tarr, both of Winnipeg; Dr. Wallace, a resident of Shanghai.

Conference Documents

The Central Secretariat has issued a memorandum to conference members explaining its proposed device for handling data material submitted at Kyoto. The requisite forms will be furnished in quantity to the group secretaries in Kyoto for compliance with the following plan.

Official Conference Documents

A. (Pink form) Printed or mimeographed material certified by the Executive Secretary of the National Council submitting the document and approved by the General Secretary. Material in manuscript form presented too late for mimeographing and general distribution may be submitted in the above manner for acceptance as an official conference document.

B. (Green form) Material prepared for the use of national groups but which merits wider distribution may be submitted for approval as in A above.

C. (Yellow form) Data papers prepared for the day by day use of the round tables or other conference meetings may become official con-

ference documents upon certification by the Chairman of the Program Committee and with the approval of the General Secretary.

Non-Official Material

(Blue form) Informational material originating from sources outside the conference must be presented to the General Secretary for approval before being distributed through conference channels.

Dr. Akagi's Study

Dr. Roy Akagi, of the Japanese Christian Student Alliance of America, who passed through Honolulu on August 6 en route to Japan, has been engaged in a fascinating study on the Pacific Coast of the United States, a study for which he gave up his national work with the organization.

His survey had as its objective a study of the possibilities of practical work to be done among the problems of young citizens of Japanese descent. He undertook to investigate several phases, as follows:

(1) The problem of making Americans aware of the existence of a "second-generation Oriental" problem—an understanding which is fundamental to any attempted solution. (2) The possibility of opening up avenues of future employment for well-trained Japanese boys and girls—a work in which, Dr. Akagi believes, only Americans can successfully take the initiative. (3) The problem one step behind the employment problem, namely vocational guidance, of which a definite need was demonstrated. (4) The problem of "parental education," of bridging the gap between the two generations by stimulating the parents' comprehension of their children's social and vocational problems outside the home. (5) The big need for some direction for young people in the social field, to replace the parental control which has lapsed—a mechanism badly needed. (6) The possibilities of young people's political groups, and the importance of American cooperation with them. (7) The value of some medium of expression for the young people and their peculiar problems—for which there is no place in the American periodicals. (8) The church problem—where is the place of the young American of Japanese ancestry? Not in the American church, and not in the Japanese.

Dr. Akagi's investigations into these problems lead him to say that if nothing is done, if the situation is left to drift, the young people in question who are now more American than Japanese in their thinking will be forced by American intolerance back into the strictly Japanese community—a possibility fraught with many dangers for the harmony of any locality in which it occurs.

Research Preparation

In this issue of *Pacific Affairs* there appears an article on research preparation relating to the conference agenda. This is the second by Dr. Condliffe on the discussion program for Kyoto, the first, "An Experiment in Diagnosis," appearing in the March issue, this second being named "The Technique of Diagnosis." They are published in the journal as part of our program of conference preparation.

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1641 S. Beretania St., Honolulu, Hawaii

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ELIZABETH GREEN
Editor

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The object of the Institute of Pacific Relations is to study the conditions of the Pacific Peoples with a view to the improvement of their mutual relations.

PACIFIC AFFAIRS

No. 10 OCTOBER 1929

Rural Cooperatives in China

By Paul C. Hsu*

Although the coöperative societies are entirely a new thing to most Chinese farmers, yet it is not uncommon to see coöperative practices of one kind and another in almost every rural district in China.

A few of the more common organizations are: (1) "Yao Hui," the coöperative loaning and savings society. The members meet at certain intervals and each member pays a certain sum, then on throwing dice the one who gets the highest figure receives the whole collection on that throw. Those who receive money on early throws pay interest, while those who receive money on later throws pay a less amount at each turn; that means interest is deducted in advance. The society disbands after every member has received one collection. In this way, one who receives money on an early throw loans money and one who receives money on a later throw saves money. (2) "Lao Jen Hui," the coöperative funeral society. The chief rule of the society is that when a parent of any member of the society dies, all of the other members must come to help to give service and send a certain sum of money and meat to the family, who can thus be relieved of a too great burden. The society terminates when the family of every member has been thus helped in one funeral. (3) "Ching Miao Hui," coöperative crop protection society. The farmers of the whole village put up money, in proportion to their land, and hire a man to give some economic help to the farmers concerned, through simple or temporary organizations. But the benefits derived thereby are confined to a few limited members within a small area and the organization does not last long. In most cases they do not have written regulations but observe their unwritten rules very strictly. It is hoped that with this traditional practice of coöperation Chinese farmers may come to enlarge the scope of their coöperation and realize the need of well-organized societies of one kind and another to relieve their economic distress in a very definite way.

These coöperative practices do safeguard their crops from being trampled by animals or stolen by others. Very strict rules and severe punishment are laid down for those who break the rule.

THE NEED

Most small and middle class farmers have a shortage of capital, and rather than borrow capital at exorbitant rates of interest they prefer to follow inferior farm practices. Interest rates of 36 per cent per annum are very common and rates of 80 to 100 per cent per annum are not infrequent. Profits from farming are small and, therefore, make it impossible to pay such high rates on loans for productive purposes. It is because the profits of farming fail to meet high interest rates that farmers when once in debt can never redeem themselves unless through special assistance.

* Head of Department of Agriconomics and Farm Management, College of Agriculture and Forestry, University of Nanking.

If, on the other hand, loans for productive purposes could be obtained at a low rate of interest the profits from farming would easily pay the interest and at the same time provide a surplus which could be used for better living, for liquidating old debts, for putting money back into the farm business, or for other good purposes.

The high rates of interest in rural districts are caused by the insufficient supply of capital. The money lender's monopoly could be easily dealt with by legislation. Capital could be attracted to rural districts if the farmer's credit could be improved. The organization of rural coöperative societies is the best and most practical way of meeting the situation.

Immediately after harvesting most of the small and middle class farmers have to sell a large part of their produce to pay for labor, debts, etc., when the price for the produce is very low. It is very common to find that barely one or two months after harvesting the price of grain has been raised 20 to 25% over that immediately after harvesting. The over-supply of farm produce in the market and the monopoly of the grain dealer are the chief causes for the low price at harvesting time. It is only necessary to grant farmers short term loans, secured by the farm produce which is to be sold, in order to solve this problem. The practice of adulterating farm produce is also a common feature in marketing. This not only adds to the cost of transportation but also affects the quality and increases the cost of the manufactured products. This is not a practice of the farmers but of the local middlemen who buy the produce from the farms and sell it to the outside middlemen.*

Produce that is purchased directly from the farmers is in first-class condition. It is the farmer's ignorance of outside market conditions, and the middleman or factory agent's ignorance of the village market conditions, that accounts for the present unsatisfactory marketing system. Factories such as cotton, flour and oil mills, silk filatures, etc., are quite willing to pay a much higher price for the uncontaminated raw materials than for inferior goods. The organization of coöperative marketing societies would be a very good solution for this problem. Such a society can grant to its members short term loans which will help them to have a more even seasonal distribution of crops on the market, rather than a sudden rush soon after the harvest, and this will avoid exceptionally low prices. The enforcement of pure goods and proper grading will bring a higher return to the farmers. The application of modern machinery, such as cotton gins, wheat threshing machines, cocoon drying machines, etc., will not only improve the quality of the goods but also reduce the cost of production. There are a good many possibilities of combining coöperative marketing with coöperative production. Other forms of coöperation such as irrigation and drainage schemes, purchase of supplies, insurance of farm animals against epidemics, etc., are also needed in many places in China.

Certain Accomplishments

In China it is the same as in earlier periods in Western countries:

* The local middlemen are natives who buy farm produce at different village markets and ship it to the city market where they sell through the grain hong (the commission merchant) to the outside middlemen or local consumers.

The outside middlemen are merchants from outside who, having larger capital, purchase their goods at district markets through the grain hong and ship them to destination markets where they are sold to factories or exported abroad.

the organization of rural coöperative societies has been promoted by persons other than farmers. As far as the writer can tell, the first such society organized in China was the Feng Ren Coöperative Credit Society of Nanking in September, 1923. This society consists for the most part of vegetable growers, and was organized under the direction of the Department of Agricultural Economics of the College of Agriculture and Forestry of the University of Nanking, financed by the China International Famine Relief Commission, which appropriated $5,000 for ten experimental coöperative credit societies, the Feng Ren Society being one of the ten. Another society was organized in North Anhwei under the same conditions.

In July, 1926, a capital fund of $5,000 was granted to the University of Nanking's Department of Agricultural Economics from the China Famine Fund Committee for the study and organization of different kinds of coöperative efforts. Since then the coöperative activities of the University Department have extended much more rapidly than before. During the period from January, 1924, to June, 1929, the Department has loaned out $1,408.00 to twenty coöperative societies. The percentage distribution of the loans for different purposes are given as follows:

Loans for productive purposes such as the purchase of seeds, fertilizer, farm implements, farm stock, etc.	47.4
Purchase or redemption of land, liquidation of debts, and paying "land tax," rents, etc.	31.1
Purchase of consumer's goods when the price is cheap	3.8
Coöperative enterprises, such as marketing, irrigation, etc.	10.7
Rural supplementary industries, such as making bean curd, pressing oil, etc.	7.0

The rural coöperative credit societies in China are of the Raifeisen type, i.e., the payment of a membership share is low and the members assume unlimited liability. The principle and method of the organization of the society is described as follows:

Organization

According to the rural social conditions in China, the village is the best unit area for coöperative credit societies, because the people in the same village are well acquainted with each other's character as well as with their economic conditions. This is very essential for members assuming unlimited liability and for careful management in granting the loans. The need of a coöperative credit society in a given locality is determined by whether or not the rates of interest paid for loans are high. If most of the farmers borrow money frequently and the rate of interest is high, then there is an indication of the need of a coöperative credit society in that region.

After determining that a coöperative credit society is needed, the next step is to find the right men for charter members. In accomplishing this, personal work is needed rather than the giving of public lectures. At the beginning one or two very reliable persons are found and convinced of the practicability of the principles of coöperation. These persons can then locate the right type of villagers for members because they are well acquainted with them. When the requisite number of charter members are found, they meet to formulate and pass upon the constitution of the society; then follows the election of the officers, i.e., the Executive Committee and the Council of Supervision, and the choice

of headquarters for the society. The choice of a centrally located headquarters is important in order to be accessible to all members. All of the officers, both of executive and supervisory committee, are unpaid except for the necessary expenditure in conducting the business of the society. The importance of keeping expenditures as low as possible is given special emphasis, because thrift is one of the important functions of the coöperative credit society.

It is essential that the activity of such a society be confined to the members only, except the raising of loans from the outside and the receiving of savings from non-members. It also should be clearly understood that the members of a coöperative society are limited to the natives of the locality, those who can really coöperate for mutual benefit. Rural school teachers or rural church pastors, even if from other localities, are in a very good position to assist in organizing and managing these societies, but they themselves must not become members. They are in a position to advise and help but not to run the societies. The society must be run by the members themselves.

The most essential qualifications for membership have been found to be: adult age and regular occupation, residence in the same village, good character (honesty, diligence, responsibility, etc.), understanding of and belief in the principles of coöperation.

Protection of Loans

Loans to members are confined to productive purposes, such as the purchase of seeds, fertilizers, farm implements, farm animals, hiring of labor, and land improvement schemes, such as irrigation or drainage. Loans for social purposes, such as funerals or weddings are granted in limited amounts. Such expenses are recognized as legitimate, if kept within bounds, and if money must be borrowed it is much better that it be at a reasonable rate and outside the clutches of the money lender.

The procedure for any member to make a loan from his society is as follows: The applicant submits an application for a loan to the executive committee of the society, stating the amount of loan wanted, the purpose for which the loan will be used, the duration of the loan, the rate of interest, the security, and the guarantor. The executive committee investigates the purpose of each loan as to its soundness, that is, whether the loan is really needed, for how long, when it can be repaid, and the validity of the security. The executive committee has the authority either to grant or refuse the request for a loan or to cut down the amount, shorten or prolong the period, accept or refuse the security, according to their judgment. The committee on supervision and the executive committee or any member of the society, has the right to watch the actual use of every loan made by any member to see whether or not it agrees with the purpose stated in the application. Any member who has used the loan for any purpose other than that applied for must refund the whole loan immediately with interest. By this plan, misuse of funds is safeguarded against.

Loans for productive purposes command better credit than those for consumption purposes because it is easier for the debtor to refund the loan. But a poor farmer with insufficient material security, even though he is an honest man with good character and ability and uses a loan wisely for productive purposes, is always a risk if loans are made to him as an individual. That is, if the borrower is sick or dies before

he carries out his productive project there is not much hope of repayment. To offset the handicap of farmers without capital the coöperative credit society has in its constitution the rule of unlimited liability of all the members. This means that every member is responsible for any debt contracted by his society. This provision not only helps to make members watch each other for misuse of the loans but also gives a protection to the lender against the risk which might arise from any accident to individual members. Thus as soon as a farmer becomes a member of a coöperative credit society, his credit is much improved over that of any individual farmer of good standing.

The Reserve Fund

The society earns a profit by loaning at a rate high enough above that paid for borrowed funds to more than pay all expenses. One-fourth of the annual profit is set aside and deposited in a reliable bank as a reserve fund of the society. The reserve fund is used only (1) for paying bad debts or special liabilities of the society and (2) for security of loans borrowed. This plan provides adequate protection for all loans to the society.

Management

The society is chiefly managed by the executive committee and the council of supervision. Both these committees and the council are elected in mass meeting by a majority vote. The executive committee manages all the business of the society, such as raising loans from the outside, extension of credit to the members, keeping all the books, calling meetings, etc. The council of supervision inspects all the affairs of the society. Its duty is to see whether or not the business of the executive committee has been properly conducted, whether the use of loans corresponds to the purpose stated in the application, and whether the security is sound. The council has the right to inspect all the books kept by the executive committee at any time. It also has the right to suspend members of the executive committee. The general meeting of all the members of the society has the ultimate authority in all matters relating to the administration of the society. In elections each member has one vote regardless of the number of shares he holds. The shares of any member are non-transferable, except to members by a three-fourths vote in the general meeting.

The admission of a new member requires a three-fourths vote in the general meeting by secret ballot.* The secret ballot is used so that any undesirable person may be voted against, thus securing the real opinions of all the members without embarrassment.

Other Activities

In a coöperative credit society it is very important to manage other agricultural coöperative enterprises so as to keep the members constantly interested in their society and thus maintain its vitality. It is

* In Kiangsu Province provisional legislation on coöperative societies requires a full vote of all the members for the admission of a new member into a coöperative society with unlimited liability. To those members who are absent from the mass meeting, the chairman of the executive committee may send out a mail ballot, and it is considered an affirmative if the member remains silent for a period of not less than 15 days.

difficult to develop a coöperative society strictly limited to credits. This is because, after a member has received loans from the society, he has got all that he can get from the society and though enjoying no more benefit still shares the liability. This affects vitally the member's interest in his society. In order to avoid this difficulty it is very necessary to undertake other coöperative enterprises, such as purchase, marketing, etc.

Some examples of what has been accomplished follow:

Feng Ren Coöperative Society: Since most of the members of this society are vegetable growers, fertilizers are an important factor in production. Because of the high price of fertilizer to farmers at Nanking, night soil is often diluted with water. This practice led the members of the Feng Ren Society to use one of their loans for renting a public water closet which they reconstructed on a more favorable site and in a more sanitary way. The night soil is collected by turn and the members are able to obtain better and cheaper fertilizer by this method.

Hsien Chia Pien Coöperative Credit Society: The main crops of the region are rice and wheat and the chief water supply for rice is the run-off from the slopes of surrounding hills collected in ponds. With the passing of time the ponds have been gradually filled with silt and organic matter thus reducing the water-holding capacity to a point insufficient for irrigation purposes, resulting in frequent rice crop failures. The members of this society used a loan to hire labor to clean out the ponds and to dig them deeper, at the same time using the pond mud for fertilizer. Not only has a greater supply of water been obtained but soil fertility has been improved and the example has resulted in most of the neighbors deepening their own ponds and using the mud for fertilizer.

The Coöperation Union of Shantung: Seven coöperatives of this region joined into a union to strengthen themselves. The chief project is the planting and growing of mulberries for rearing silkworms in order to diversify the farming of the district, chiefly rice, which often suffers from drought because of unavailable water supply. There is much uncultivated hill land not adapted to rice at all and this has been utilized for the establishment of mulberry orchards which can better withstand drought and still not interfere with the cropping system. The raising of silkworms does not interfere with labor required for growing wheat or rice. Altogether these societies have purchased coöperatively over 80,000 mulberry trees. Part of the work with these societies necessarily has been to teach methods of planting, cultivating, fertilizing and pruning mulberry trees.

Social Functions

It is generally recognized that the problem of rural improvement in China at present is an all-round one. In other words, that in the program of rural improvement all of the different phases, such as the economic, moral, educational, sanitary, recreational, and spiritual, should be emphasized in order to give the greatest benefit to the farmers. A coöperative credit society can improve not only the economic conditions of the members but also their education and morality as well. One of the qualifications for members is that only honest men with good character should be admitted. This will encourage men to be honest and will create an atmosphere in the rural community recognizing that it is worth while to be a good man not only for reputation and honor but also for material advantages.

Reports from reliable persons in the region of the Yien Chia Wei Coöperative Credit Society indicate that great interest has been aroused among the people round about. Although the society is not more than three years old yet there is marked improvement among the members. The following points are stressed: (1) The coöperative spirit among the members is very noticeable. (2) Non-members now show a very favorable attitude toward the members, although when the society was first established members were either laughed at or were objects of jealousy. (3) No member has been found in tea shops or gambling houses. Instead there has been a marked tendency for former habitués to change their habits and when asked why, they have answered, "Because I am now a member of our coöperative society." (4) Members are more interested in public affairs and participate in public construction; this shows a quite different spirit. The village has undertaken road repairing and dyke construction, and in these enterprises the members have shown a spirit of leadership.

In addition to the economic and moral functions, the educational function of the coöperative credit society is of no little value. In the general meeting the members learn how to vote, to conduct a meeting, to discuss problems, functions fundamentally important in rural self-government. This knowledge is not obtained either in people's schools or in public lectures, because the farmers would not be interested in listening to instruction on principles and methods of conducting meetings and voting; but in a coöperative credit society they have to learn it. In running the business, both the members and the officers have to learn how to compute interest, keep accounts, write loan contracts, etc. This greatly increases the members' knowledge.

Coöperative Societies and Agricultural Extension

Coöperative societies have a close relation to agricultural extension, because members of the society can be induced to conduct demonstrations which have a much greater influence than do public lectures or demonstrations conducted by outsiders. The Hsieh Chia Pien coöperative society of Chu Yung District, Kiangsu, organized by the Nanking College of Agriculture and Forestry, serves as an illustration. That region chiefly consists of rolling land and the main crop, rice, is entirely dependent upon rainfall and surface run-off collected in ponds, for irrigation purposes. Farmers in that region have suffered drought for three successive years. Certain members of the society obtained loans to deepen their ponds for the purpose of increasing the water-holding capacity and of using the pond mud for fertilizing the land. This practice greatly interested neighboring farmers and stimulated them to do likewise with their own money. This is one instance showing how the more progressive farmer members of the society may influence their neighbors in the use of improved methods.

The improved wheat seeds from the Department of Agronomy of the College of Agriculture and Forestry gave excellent results last year at the Yien Chia Wei Society about 50 li south of Nanking. The demonstrations were given through a coöperative credit society in that place. The wheat produced was saved for seed for the following year, and the supply is not sufficient to meet the demand.

The trial of a corn-sheller by members of the Feng Ren Coöperative Society attracted much attention among the farmers of that section. The result of the demonstration is that the society is buying one machine for coöperative use by members.

The above instances illustrate very well the position of rural coöperative societies in agricultural extension.

Coöperative Marketing

It has been said as before that coöperative marketing is widely needed in different places, and the College of Agriculture and Forestry of the University of Nanking has run such experiments to investigate their practicability in China. One of the coöperative societies directed by the College of Agriculture and Forestry of the University of Nanking is at Wukiang, Anhwei, and is named Wukiang Coöperative Marketing Society. The chief business done by the society is the coöperative sale of cotton. The cotton was sold to Shen Hsin Third Cotton Mill of Wusih. The cotton sold was graded into two grades and no adulteration of water or powder was allowed. The society raised three short-term loans, one of $500 and two of $400 each for advancing to the members a part of the value of the cotton to be sold. The following data show the profit from such coöperative marketing:

Price received for improved cotton sold through coöperative society	$42.00
Price for ordinary cotton sold through coöperative society	39.00
Cost of baling, transportation, rent of warehouse, insurance, etc.	3.16
Net profit for improved cotton	38.84
Net profit for ordinary cotton	35.84
Local price at Wukiang for ordinary cotton	30.00
Local price at Wukiang for improved cotton	32.00

This indicates an additional profit of $5.84 per picul for ordinary cotton and $6.84 per picul for improved cotton through coöperative selling. Five per cent of the net profit over local selling was turned over to the society by the members as a reserve fund against general expenses and for future development. As a result of this transaction, the cotton mill has placed an agent at Wukiang and offered a price of $4.00 higher for the improved cotton than for ordinary cotton. The society has decided to buy a cotton gin machine and to provide a piece of land for an improved cotton seed station.

Since the establishment of the Farmers' Bank and the passing of the Provincial Coöperative Legislation* in Kiangsu Province, the development of the coöperative society in Kiangsu is progressing very rapidly. The Farmers' Bank was opened in July, 1928. Its chief business is to extend loans to Rural Coöperative Societies only. A great deal of propaganda work has been done amongst farmers. They found that the approach to good local leaders before getting in touch with the farmers is very necessary. Because the more reliable farmers are usually the more conservative, a favorable introduction by good local leaders in

* The coöperative legislation includes 100 articles, and was passed at the 80th meeting of the Kiangsu Provincial Government Committee on July 3, 1928, and was amended at the 83rd meeting on July 6, 1928.

whom the farmers have confidence is very necessary. Tea shops, rural primary schools, village meetings by the road side, on the land, etc., are the places for getting in touch with farmers. In general, the ability of farmers is not sufficient to conduct the business of the societies so it is very necessary to get good leaders to help in this matter, until the ordinary members have received sufficient training to be able to conduct their own affairs. The organization of coöperative societies has drawn great attention from the farmers around. Any meeting or discussion within the society is always closely observed by non-members. They are interested to know what happens in the society. The general attitude of the non-members toward the societies, except those who have been refused admission, is favorable.

In the summer of 1928 the Bureau of Agriculture and Mines of Kiangsu Province opened a training course of directors of coöperative societies. There are eight directors' headquarters for rural coöperative societies in Kiangsu Province, and two directors at each headquarters to direct farmers how to start the organization, to get the governmental registration, to approach the Farmers' Bank for loans, etc. The present system is that the committee on coöperation of the Bureau of Agriculture and Mines of Kiangsu Province, to which the directors' headquarters directly belong, undertakes the propaganda and extension side of the rural coöperative work, while the Farmers' Bank confines itself to the business side, that is, grants loans to credited societies only.

At the end of November, 1928, the Kiangsu Farmers' Bank opened a training class for one week for the members of the executive committees of different coöperative societies in the Kiangning District. Forty-five members of twenty-two societies came for the training class. Instruction such as simple methods of bookkeeping, of compiling interest, essential points drawn from the Provincial legislation on coöperative societies, practical hints on different kinds of agricultural coöperation, were given in the class. The discussion of actual problems in those societies has been especially emphasized. This not only seeks solutions for the problems but also enables them to exchange their experiences and opinions, so that one society may get the advantage of the success of any other society.

The following data summarize the report on coöperative activities of the Kiangsu Provincial Farmers' Bank from July 1st to December 31st, 1928:

TABLE 1. LOANS TO 22 COÖPERATIVES IN KIANGNING DISTRICT

Amount of loan raised from the society in $	No. of persons making the loan	per cent of members making the loan
No loan	78	22.6
50.00 or less	99	28.6
51.00-100.00	114	33.0
101-150.00	33	9.5
151-200.00	15	4.3
Above 200.00	7	2.0
Total	346	100.0%

Note: One consumers' coöperative society of 100 members with a loan of $1,200.00 is not included in the above given table.

TABLE 2. DISTRIBUTION OF LOANS ACCORDING TO PURPOSE FOR WHICH THE LOANS WERE MADE

Purpose	No. of persons making the loan	% of total persons	Amount for this purpose	% of total amount
Liquidation of debts (cash)	166	45.1%	15,135.00	61.2%
Redeeming of land	12	3.3	1,880.00	7.6
Supplementary industry	17	4.6	1,740.00	7.0
Building or repairing ponds or damps	6	1.6	500.00	2.0
Coöperative enterprise	100	27.2	1,200.00	4.9
Producer's goods	34	9.2	2,272.00	9.2
Purchases consumer's goods when the price is cheap	33	9.0	2,010.00	8.1
Total	368*	100.0%	24,737.00	100.0%

* The total number of persons in Table 2 is 368, which is the difference of the total 446 minus 78 who did not make loans.

TABLE 3. DISTRIBUTION OF COÖPERATIVE LOANS BY PERIOD OF LOANS

Period of loan	No. of persons making loans	% of total persons	Amount of loans for this period	% of total amounts
7 months	15	4.1%	1,430.00	5.8%
8 "	19	5.2	935.00	3.8
9 "	48	13.0	4,890.00	19.8
10 "	159	43.2	6,770.00	27.3
11 "	34	9.2	2,402.00	9.7
One year	93	25.3	8,310.00	33.6
Total	368*	100.0%	24,737.00	100.0%

The above given table includes 22 societies and 446 members. So the average loan for each society is $1,124.40 and that for each member is $55.46. The maximum loan for one member is $360.00 and the minimum is $10.00. Most loans are between $51.00 and $100.00, which include 33% of the total number of members. It is also worth noticing in Table 1, that 78 members have not taken loans. This indicates that not all of the members who join the societies do so with the purpose of taking a loan immediately.

TABLE 4. SIZE OF FARMS OF MEMBERS

Size of farm Mow	No. of members concerned	% of total members
15 or below	176	41.3%
16-30	142	33.3
31-50	65	15.3
51 and above	43	10.1
Total	426*	100.0%

TABLE 5. FARM ANIMALS OWNED BY MEMBERS

No. of animals owned by each member		No. of members owning animals	% of total members
Cattle	None	80	18.8%
	2 families have one animal	133	31.2
	1 family has one animal	168	39.4
	1 family has 1.1-2 animals	39	9.2
	1 family has 2.1-3 animals	6	1.4
	Total	426*	100.0%
Hogs	None	66	15.5
	One	231	54.2
	Two	72	16.9
	Three	23	5.4
	Four and above	34	8.0
	Total	426*	100.0%

TABLE 6. MEMBERS' ANNUAL INCOME AND OUTPUT

Condition	No. of members concerned	% of total members
Income over expense	134	31.5
Income and expenses about equal	108	25.3
Expenditure over income	184	43.2
Total	426*	100.0%

TABLE 7. DEBTS BORNE BY MEMBERS

Amount of debts	No. of members	% of total members
No debt	44	10.3%
$50 or below	84	19.7
51 to 100	108	25.4
101 to 200	91	21.4
201 to 300	66	15.5
301 and above	33	7.7
Total	426*	100.0%

Note: Table 7. The total debt is $61,695, the average is $145.10 for each member, the maximum is $1,500, and the minimum is $5.

TABLE 8. DEGREE OF EDUCATION OF MEMBERS

Amount of Education	Members		Officers	
	No. of persons	% of total members	No. of persons	% of total officers
Illiterate	155	34.7	5	4.5
Able to recognize characters	101	22.7	30	27.1
Old fashioned schooling,				
1 to 3 years	101	22.7	14	12.6
3 to 5 years	26	5.8	19	17.1
Over 5 years	28	6.3	17	15.3

TABLE 8 (Continued)

Amount of Education	Members		Officers	
	No. of persons	% of total members	No. of persons	% of total officers
Primary school graduate	9	2.0	4	3.6
Higher primary study or graduate	5	1.1	5	4.5
Middle school and above	21	4.7	17	15.3
Total	446	100.0%	111	100.0%

Note: Table 8. The 111 officers are also included in 446 members.

* The total number of members in table 4, 5, 6, and 7 is 426, and not 446, because data for 20 members are not available.

The data in the above eight tables refer to the information up to December 31, 1928. A few remarks on coöperative activities, other than credit, directed by the bank, are also worth mentioning.

(1) The Tien Ming Rural Consumers' Coöperative Society. The society has 100 members and a share capital of $584.00. The members are of limited liability. The society ran its own business for about three months before obtaining loans from the bank. The daily business amounts to $40 to $50, and the chief commodities sold are cloth, oil, pork, etc.

(2) The Hsiu Ling Coöperative Marketing Society is situated not far from Nanking city. The chief business of the society is to market the salted vegetable (mustard), which is raised and manufactured by the members, to Hongkong and Canton. Great profits have been gained by the native merchants in previous years. Formerly under the military government, great pressure was put on the farmers who tried to ship their own goods to Canton jointly, because the leader of the merchant group was a member of the Kiangsu Provincial Assembly. Now since the national government is in power and coöperative movements are encouraged by the government, the farmers can very easily organize themselves into a coöperative marketing society and employ an efficient manager for selling the goods in Canton and Hongkong. A total amount of $24,000 worth of goods was shipped in the first year. Steps have been made to improve both the quality of the goods and the method of packing. Many attempts have been made by the native merchants to break up the society but in the end the society has been victorious.

(3) The coöperative rice storing societies in Changsu District. Seven coöperative rice storing societies were organized in Changsu District for extending farm loans secured by the stored rice. This is because the poor farmers in Changsu must pawn their rice every year from fall to winter, otherwise it would be a great loss to them.[1] So they are even willing to pawn their rice at an interest above 2% monthly. The members of the society assume limited liability. It might seem that this business could be conducted by a coöperative credit society. But because of the high cost of expenditure for warehouse and labor, and

[1] This pawned rice is for consumption of farmers during the next year, for if a farmer sells out, he has to buy rice when he needs it and pay the commission charged by the rice hong in both selling and buying, and the loss in weight and quality amounts to much more than the interest paid.

the limited area of coöperative credit societies in the early period, a coöperative credit society would not have enough business to make it self-supporting. Nor could the coöperative credit societies unite to form a union or federation to conduct the business because they are quite distant from each other. Therefor the coöperative rice storing societies were formed. Both members and non-members can pawn their rice or other farm produce with the society with the difference that an interest of .2% higher monthly is charged to non-members.

The societies use the farm produce they have taken as security to get loans from the Farmers' Bank and these sums are in turn loaned out to members and non-members to get more rice for security. In this way the society can continue to do business with a relatively small capital. The rice must be insured against fire, so good brick and stone constructed houses are used for warehouses. Up to the end of 1928 these seven societies had a total working capital of $46,416.00 of which $37,380.00 was loaned from the bank. A total of 4,770 tan of rice, 560 picul of cotton lint[1] and 20 tan of other farm products were pawned by 1,866 farm families. The societies also decided that in the first three years the whole surplus should be turned to a reserve fund for building up the insurance fund. A 70% of current market value could be pawned and an interest rate of 2% charged monthly for members. This forced the native pawn shops to lower their rate of interest from over 2% to the same level. Of course when coöperative credit societies increase in number, this thing can be easily done by federation of coöperative credit societies.

In North China

The International Famine Relief Commission at Peiping (formerly Peking) has done extensive work in promoting the rural coöperative credit societies in Hopei province (formerly Chihli) and in the metropolitan area of Peiping. Up to the end of September, 1928, the commission had loaned out $38,000.00 to over seventy coöperative credit societies.

Following the establishment of the Kiangsu Provincial Farmers' Bank, the Chekiang Provincial Government also decided to open a Farmers' Bank.[2] The difference is that in Chekiang, loans are granted to coöperative credit societies only, while in Kiangsu loans are granted to rural coöperative societies of different kinds, such as credit, marketing, consumers, irrigation, etc.

Conclusion

In summing up the matter of coöperative societies in China, it may be said first that the coöperative idea is not new to the rural districts of that country. Farmers have for a long time had simple forms of mutual help groups to aid them in times of special stringency, and while beyond these times of peculiar need the group has not functioned, still, the idea of banding together to help themselves has been one to which they are accustomed.

That there is great need for coöperative societies is at once apparent to one who observes the Chinese farmer. He has a real lack of capital.

[1] The cotton lint was pawned for a short period of 1 to 3 months and was sold out when the price was higher.

[2] Now changed to "Agricultural and Industrial Bank."

This means that he must sell his crop as soon as it is harvested at no small loss to himself, and later when he tries to borrow from the local money-lender the usual interest rates are so high as to involve him often hopelessly and for life. He needs to be able to borrow money at certain critical times of flood, drought, insect pests and the like, and he needs money also for constructive purposes, such as irrigation, control of diseases, the buying of fertilizers, and so forth.

Something has been done already in the formation of these modern coöperative rural societies, the work having progressed considerably since 1923, when the first society was formed. The requirements for the formation of these societies have been along several lines. In the first place it has been found that the best unit of organization is the old unit of rural life in China, the village. The leader for such organization must come from outside, however, since the farmers have first to be taught how to organize themselves, and how to maintain the organization. The function of the society should be limited, and loans should be as far as possible, if not exclusively, for productive purposes. There should be a reserve fund. The carrying out of the rules of the society should be the function of the executive committee and the council of supervision, who shall have all authority in refusing or granting loans. Members should only be admitted who are of sound character and give promise of being substantial citizens.

The purpose of the society is not complete, however, with the lending of money. It should study the special need of the village community and discover what particular thing would advance most materially the prosperity of the farmers. Societies in the past have thus supplied fertilizer, created new markets, promoted needed irrigation, planted mulberry orchards, and so forth. Outside the immediate community the society also has an influence, either stimulating other communities to improve themselves in like manner, or creating new markets by its coöperative production. Not only coöperative production but coöperative marketing is much needed in China.

There have been already some efforts made by various organizations to develop the coöperative society movement in China. The International Famine Relief Committee and the University of Nanking have for some years been helping farmers to form such groups. Recently some provincial governments have formed farmers' banks, where credit is given at reasonable rates to farmers; and even the national government has held training classes for directors of such societies.

It is scarcely possible to overestimate the fundamental importance of this movement to the new China. Not only is the Chinese farmer in dire need of capital, but he needs help in many ways to develop himself into a better human product. The training he obtains in the coöperative society is most valuable in this respect. He learns how to coöperate with others for the greatest good to all; he sees the practical value of good character and industry and progressiveness; he achieves self-respect. And beyond the immediate material and social benefit to the individual farmer and to the individual community there is the larger benefit to the nation. In the coöperative society the farmer takes the first steps in the great lesson of self-government, the lesson which, if he learns it rightly, will make China a true republic.

Further Developments of Race Contacts in Hawaii

By Romanzo Adams *

Hawaii has received much attention because of its unique experience in the establishment and maintenance of contacts among several racial and cultural groups including the people of the old Polynesian stock and several peoples of European and others of Asiatic origin.[1] Students familiar with the phenomena of race contacts elsewhere are impressed with the apparent absence of race prejudice or by the mild form of its expression. A sociologist who spent six weeks in the Islands wrote, "Humanly speaking, you have no race prejudice in Hawaii."

Some interest attaches to the shifting numerical ratios among the various groups. There are differential gains by excess of births over deaths and some groups gain while others lose by migration. The highest rate of gain by excess of births over deaths has been made by the part-Hawaiian.[2] This is explained by the increasing rate of marriage of Hawaiians with members of other racial groups and as a consequence, there is a loss by excess of deaths over births for the pure Hawaiians. The Japanese made the highest rate of natural gain of any of the pure groups, due to favorable age-sex ratios, but they lost about half of their gains by excess of departures over arrivals so that they occupy a less important numerical position than in 1920. The largest gains through excess of arrivals over departures is for the Filipinos—plantation workers—and for people of American birth—largely men in military and naval service.

CRUDE BIRTH RATES FOR RECENT YEARS

Year	1922	1923	1924	1925	1926	1927	1928
Hawaiian	28.0	26.1	27.8	27.7	25.8	25.1	20.2
Caucasian-Hawaiian	66.3	64.7	61.8	65.6	65.3	59.7	62.7
Asiatic-Hawaiian	81.7	81.8	72.8	75.7	77.4	74.3	75.6
Portuguese	44.9	38.0	40.2	40.0	36.0	35.5	34.5
Porto Rican	48.9	46.8	46.4	49.5	48.9	45.0	47.8
Spanish	40.5	30.3	36.6	38.6	38.0	26.4	34.1
Other Caucasian	13.1	12.8	12.9	13.1	11.7	11.7	11.8
Chinese	33.8	34.0	33.2	33.9	33.3	30.9	30.6
Japanese	48.2	47.9	47.3	48.8	43.4	43.9	38.6
Korean	40.3	41.8	45.2	41.3	38.9	37.9	33.9
Filipino	27.3	25.8	36.3	40.6	36.1	32.3	25.8
Others	34.6	50.6	80.9	52.6	47.0	67.8	58.1
All	40.1	38.9	40.1	41.6	38.1	37.2	33.8

No conclusions as to comparative fertility are warranted by the foregoing figures. The rate for "Other Caucasians" is abnormally low because of the large number of unmarried men—mainly men in military

* Professor of Sociology at the University of Hawaii.

[1] See Table I.

[2] See Table II.

and naval service. The Chinese and Filipino men are mainly unmarried. Children with only one parent a Hawaiian are classed as part-Hawaiian. The fall in the rate for the Japanese is mainly due to the emigration of families to Japan and to a less favorable age distribution. A further fall in the rate may be expected.

The following table shows the population as given by the Census for 1920 and as estimated by the Bureau of Vital Statistics for 1928 and the racial ratios for both years.

	1920		1928	
	Number	Per ct.	Number	Per ct.
Hawaiian	23,723	9.2	20,720	5.9
Caucasian-Hawaiian	11,072	4.3	15,948	4.5
Asiatic-Hawaiian	6,955	2.3	10,036	2.8
Portuguese	27,002	10.5	29,117	8.3
Porto Rican	5,602	2.1	6,781	1.9
Spanish	2,430	.9	1,809	.5
Other Caucasian	19,708	7.7	37,502	10.7
Chinese	23,507	9.1	25,310	7.2
Japanese	109,274	42.7	134,600	38.5
Korean	4,950	1.9	6,318	1.8
Filipino	21,031	8.2	60,078	17.2
All Others	658	.2	548	.1
Total	255,912	100.0	348,767	100.0

Hawaii's experience derives its importance because of its ability to throw light on the general subject of race relations. In our age race contacts are increasing throughout the world and antagonisms related to race tend to complicate social and political problems generally. If race prejudice as between two races manifests itself in different ways and with varying degrees of intensity, the conclusion would seem to be warranted that racial differences do not constitute the sole cause of the phenomena, but that there are other factors—factors which have their origin in the historic circumstances under which contacts were established and in the existing social situation. To the extent that the social factors are able to be understood and controlled, the phenomena of prejudice and conflict can be modified. If this view can be established we will have a basis for fruitful studies and for practical experiments in the betterment of race relations everywhere.

If the character of the social relations is assumed to be an inevitable outcome of the racial traits of the associated groups, there is little basis for improving existing conditions unless, possibly, by abolishing the contacts through wholesale migrations. As long as the variations in outcome are explained by the magic of the goodness or badness of supposed inborn racial traits the tendency will be to aggravate the worst situations. But if social factors which affect the character of race relations can be isolated and measured, it will be possible for all communities, by taking thought, to bring about readjustments for the better.

Hawaii's experiment in race relations is not concluded and will not be for a long time. In the case of most immigrant groups in Hawaii the experience of the past is fairly conclusive so far as the immigrants themselves are concerned. Most of them, the Filipinos excepted, have reached middle life or old age and their position in the community is

fairly well stabilized. Their future behavior is, in relation to the more fundamental aspects of life, fairly foreseeable on the basis of past experience. For this reason there is a marked tendency for interest to shift from the immigrants to their children and grandchildren. We know the immigrants, but what of their Hawaiian born children who are receiving an American schooling while yet living in a social environment influenced by the culture of their immigrant parents? What of these native born citizens whose behavior patterns are more and more like those of America while their physical traits identify them as representatives of a non-Caucasian race?

The only way to find a sure answer to this question is to wait and see what happens when sufficiently large numbers of the second and third generations have reached an age such as to warrant conclusions. In the absence of adequate data from experience there is some tendency to accept certain hypotheses. Among these, two need mention. The first is based on the assumption that the characteristic behavior of the various groups is mainly a matter of racial traits—of biological heredity. If this is true the fourth and fifth generations will manifest about the same behavior traits so far as they are of pure blood. Only in a superficial way will they respond to education and to a changed social environment. The proponents of this hypothesis tend to the view that the continuing differences will constitute a very serious obstacle to the maintenance of good will and to the proper functioning of the institutions of democracy.

The other hypothesis is that the present characteristic behavior of the various groups is the result mainly of social environmental factors in the historic past and at the present time. If this is true it is reasonable to expect fundamental changes in characteristic behavior as a consequence of their living together under one common economic, political, and social system. Many of the proponents of this hypothesis tend to believe that an early cultural assimilation is possible and that this assimilation will be so complete as to leave no serious obstacle in the way of successful coöperation in a democratic society. The more optimistic even believe that race lines as social factors may be obliterated. If things do not work out so well in any given situation it is a fault needing correction. There is need for more knowledge, better laws, better ethical standards.

Hawaiian data are cited most commonly in support of this latter view. Within limits, this is probably valid, but there are certain data now becoming available which may qualify our judgment to some extent. The progress of our second generation toward Americanization cannot be questioned, but it is probable that it has been misinterpreted to some extent through the fact that too much weight has been given to school-boy beliefs and attitudes and too little to the behavior of middle-aged representatives of the second generation. Until quite recently there have been too few of these middle-aged to affect the situation much and even yet this is true of all except the Chinese and Portuguese. A study of these two groups is, therefore, instructive.

The main body of the Portuguese immigrants and the largest section of the Chinese came to Hawaii at about the same time, 1877-1883. Perhaps the most marked difference in the early situation of the two groups lay in the fact that the Portuguese men were accompanied by wives and

numerous children while not over one in a dozen of the Chinese men brought wives. After annexation the American exclusion law operated to prevent the coming of Chinese women but it had always been difficult if not impossible for Chinese men to secure wives from their homeland. In the course of the next twenty years after their arrival both Portuguese and Chinese married native Hawaiian women to some extent. In 1896 there were 1,387 part-Hawaiian children of Chinese fathers and 542 of Portuguese fathers. Superficially this may seem to indicate a similar response to a similar situation but in reality the situation of the two groups was not similar. There were four times as many Chinese as Portuguese men in the Islands and the proportion of women among the Portuguese was not far below normal. If consideration is given to all factors it seems that the attitude of the Chinese was much less favorable to intermarriage with Polynesians than was that of the Portuguese. There has been much popular error in relation to this because too much weight has been given to the few hundred cases of Chinese outmarriage and too little to the case of the thousands who returned to China to marry and to the other thousands who remained single.

As late as 1920 fifty-one per cent of the adult male Chinese of Hawaii were unmarried and nineteen per cent had married in China where they were under the necessity of leaving their wives. That the Chinese family system exercised a powerful influence adverse to marriage with non-Chinese is evident if one compared the 11,223 who remained single in 1920 and the other thousands who returned permanently or temporarily to China in order to marry, with the 750 who married non-Chinese women in Hawaii.

In the four years, 1912-1916, 43.6 per cent of the marriages of Chinese were outmarriages as compared with 36.9 per cent for the Portuguese. For the Portuguese the figures fairly represent the attitude toward outmarriage but, for the Chinese they indicate not attitude but circumstances—the abnormal sex ratios and the Exclusion Act. In the years that followed, the further Americanization of the Portuguese has been accompanied by a steady increase in the ratio of outmarriages reaching 55 per cent in the four years 1924-8. While the Chinese have also made steady progress in Americanization their marriage experience has had an opposite trend due to the increasing number of available Hawaiian born girls of Chinese ancestry. It is possible for more Chinese men to marry Chinese women and so their present behavior is a better measure of attitude. The per cent of outmarriages has fallen from 43.6 to 33.7. Coincident with this general decrease there has been a small but significant increase of intermarriage with Japanese.

This tendency of the Chinese toward in-marriage is manifest chiefly in Honolulu where three-quarters of all Chinese in Hawaii live and where consequently they are best able to maintain group organization and control. In the rural districts the few scattering Chinese families are not able to maintain group standards effectively and the young people depend more on other groups for their social life. Perhaps there is some connection between this situation and the fact that rural youth of Chinese ancestry are coming to the city.

Comparing the Chinese with the Portuguese, a people of the Mediterranean branch of the Caucasian race, the data seem to indicate that

at a comparatively early date—within a few generations—the Portuguese will disappear through amalgamation and that the amalgamation will be mainly with other Caucasians. The number of births of children of pure Portuguese stock is decreasing due to out-marriages and the number will soon be insufficient to make good the loss by deaths. The pure Portuguese will go the way of the pure Hawaiian and from the same cause.

Not so the Chinese. With an increasing rate of in-marriage the births of pure Chinese children are holding up well and the group as a

MARRIAGE OF PORTUGUESE IN HAWAII

	1912-16	1924-28
Total marriages	1314	1655
Portuguese men marry Portuguese women	828	744
Port. men marry other Caucasian women	29	75
Port. women marry other Caucasian men	233	427
Port. men marry Hawaiian and part-Hawaiian women	73	190
Port. women marry Hawaiian and part-Hawaiian men	48	98
Port. men marry Asiatic women	1	11
Port. women marry Asiatic men	74	80
Port. men marry other women	12	5
Port. women marry other men	16	25
Port. men marry non-Port. women	115	281
Port. women marry non-Port. men	371	630
Percentage of out-marriages to all marriages	36.9	55.0

MARRIAGE OF CHINESE IN HAWAII

	1912-16	1924-28
Total marriages	497	764
Chinese men marry Chinese women	280	506
Chinese men marry Hawaiian and part-Haw'n. women	178	124
Chinese women marry Hawaiian and part-Haw'n. men	9	47
Chinese men marry Caucasian women	17	14
Chinese women marry Caucasian men	6	28
Chinese men marry other Asiatic women	3	17
Chinese women marry other Asiatic men	2	22
Chinese men marry other women	2	2
Chinese women marry other men	.....	4
Chinese men marry non-Chinese women	200	157
Chinese women marry non-Chinese men	17	101
Percentage of out-marriages to all marriages	43.6	33.7

group does not seem likely to disappear at an early date through amalgamation. As both Portuguese and Chinese become American in culture, it now appears probable that the racial traits that serve for identification will exercise an important influence in relation to amalgamation.

Differences in physical traits affect social relations most evidently just by serving for popular identification. When the average man cannot classify a person as to race, race does not mean much as a social factor.

Perhaps the most significant recent developments relating to the second generation Chinese comes from the fact that the number who have reached middle age and a position of economic and social stability is now large enough to be important. They have created organizations capable of expressing group interests. They are creating a public opinion for the group. More and more they are determining the status of their own members. A man of Chinese ancestry today cares more for his standing among the Chinese and less for the opinions of Caucasians than he did ten years ago.

There is a significant difference between this developing behavior and attitude of the middle aged and that of the youths of ten to twenty years ago. The years of high school and college are years of expanding personality, of enlargement of interests and sympathies. The Chinese youths, like youths of other immigrant groups, respond to the influences of their school life in a normal way. Coming from homes largely dominated by old country customs and standards and regarding the schools as representing America, they were strong for America. The boy who knows no background other than that of America never has so much enthusiasm for his country. It cannot mean so much for him. To these Chinese boys, America meant a wonderful gain in freedom and an enlargement of opportunity. They were thrilled by the fine ideals of America as exemplified in history and expressed in literature. They liked to write rhetorically about America and its achievements. When they wrote of "Our forefathers" they meant the same people that Daniel Webster meant.

Taught at home to study faithfully and to revere their teachers they were popular with educators. Friendships across race lines were by no means rare. Conscious of the paucity of opportunity enjoyed by their parents they had a keen realization of the value of the opportunity and freedom of America. They identified themselves with America and were loyal Americans.

There was no lack of sincerity. If any criticism is to be made it is that their beliefs and attitudes did not have an adequate basis in experience. In a sense this is always the case with youth, but in the case of these Chinese youth the deficiency extended to their parents and friends. Much parental counsel had a Chinese flavor which made it unacceptable to these young Americans. They were pioneers.

After-school life brought some disillusionment—more than is commonly experienced. There were jobs to be found. Sometimes these Americans failed to get the job or, getting it, had to accept lower wages than some Caucasian classmate—because they were Chinese. Sometimes they were wanted because they were Chinese—their knowledge of the language being useful. Sometimes they wanted to go to the mainland and they were annoyed by the necessity of proving their citizenship. When they registered as voters they had to present acceptable docu-

mentary evidence of citizenship while citizens of European ancestry were accepted on their personal statements. There was nothing sinister in this differential treatment. The business men were paying respect to the law of supply and demand. They wanted a certain proportion of Caucasians in their establishments and they had to pay a higher salary in order to attract good men. A sufficient number of Chinese were available at a lower salary. The immigration officials had to impose searching tests to make sure that they were not admitting aliens ineligible to entry. The situation was similar in the case of registration. Nevertheless it was something of a jolt for these young Americans to be regarded as Chinese and to find their opportunities somewhat lessened on account of race.

Probably they would not have discovered much adverse discrimination if they could have compared their opportunities with those of ordinary young men in typical mainland cities, but the preferred status in Hawaii of a few hundred young men of old American or British stock made ordinary opportunity seem poor.

But, after all, opportunities were pretty good and the young men of the second generation made good in the normal proportion. Gradually they made their adjustments and much of the time they did this by emphasizing their membership in the Chinese community. A Chinese merchant seeks the trade of Chinese. A doctor finds Chinese patients mainly. A lawyer depends largely on his fellow Chinese. Likewise the banker and bank employee, the insurance agent, the realtor and especially the newspaper man. Salesmen in Caucasian establishments are expected to draw customers from their own group. Being of Chinese stock has compensating advantages. The high school graduates who were ready to forget their Chinese ancestry ten or twenty years ago are now capitalizing their race.

During this early period of readjustment there was an ambiguity in the social situation. When there were only a few of the second generation who had completed their schooling they were in a position of isolation. Their education unfitted them for the old-fashioned Chinese social life. They wanted the American sort of social life which they had learned to enjoy in school. Now that they were out of school there was little opportunity for interracial social contacts. Even if young men of similar youth and economic status had been Caucasians they would not have enjoyed much contact with the Caucasians of Hawaii who are largely people of upper and upper-middle class economic status. These educated Americanized young Chinese were too young and too few to create a satisfactory social life on the American plan for themselves.

Under these circumstances they were prone to define the situation as one of unwarranted discrimination on grounds of race. What they seemed to want was a free social life with Caucasians. What they really did want was a satisfying social life with people of similar education and refinement and, just for the time being, these people happened to be mainly Caucasian.

Time is resolving the ambiquity. As the number of the American-educated have increased it has been possible for them to develop social organizations and activities of their own and with this increasingly satisfactory social life within the group there is a corresponding development of indifference to opportunities for interracial contacts. This auto-

matically raises their status with Caucasians and they enjoy wider social contacts than before. Prominent families are socially recognized in the best circles. An American of Chinese ancestry acquires his status in his own group and, for those of wider interests, this status is carried over. Other groups accept him at his own group's rating. This creates a more normal situation, one more favorable to stability and to good will.

Through the process of working out his economic and social adjustments and through marriage young Chinese men come to feel themselves as belonging to the Chinese Community. They begin to understand their parents better. If they did not study in the local Chinese language school they wish that they had done so. Perhaps they show more interest in China. They read its history and learn something of its culture, art and philosophy. They contribute to the Nationalist cause and to the Mass Education Movement in China. A few even go back to China for a career. In any case they acquire a new sense of dignity as representatives of a great race.

A professional man of Chinese ancestry in reply to my question as to the attitude of men like himself toward the broader contacts, said, "I've almost forgotten all this thing about interracial contacts. I was much interested when, in high school and in college, I had many Caucasian friends. Now I do not meet them often. My friends and associates are mainly Chinese."

Referring to the American Legion he said that although the ex-soldiers of Chinese ancestry were eligible to membership in the local post of the American Legion as organized mainly by Caucasians, only two or three Chinese joined, but when a Chinese post was organized there were sixty members.

In all this there was no manifestation of any spirit of unfriendliness toward non-Chinese. It seems to be just a case of there being a sufficiently large number of educated prosperous Americans of Chinese ancestry to create for themselves an interesting social life, and they are doing it. They have good will toward others but in the more intimate social relations they prefer each other.

One of the interesting results of this crystallization of second generation public opinion is found in the attitude of youth of high school and college age. More recently these young people give one the impression that they have their feet on the ground. They have more confidence in this new public opinion of their group than their predecessors had in the immigrant opinion. Consequently the group control and support are more effective. There is less disillusionment ahead.

Coincident with developments toward a normal economic-social situation among the second generation Chinese they have begun to take an active part in politics. Formerly they voted more as a matter of ritual than of politics. The vote symbolized citizenship. For a good many years a few have held appointive positions largely because their knowledge of the Chinese languages was wanted. In 1926, for the first time, a citizen of Chinese ancestry was elected to the legislature as a Democrat. He was reelected in 1928 and another Chinese man was elected as a Republican. In neither case could the Chinese vote have given the election since it was about fifteen per cent of the total in one district and only five per cent in the other.[1] A member of the Honolulu Board of Super-

[1] See Table II.

visors elected as a Democrat is of Chinese ancestry. These men did not run for office as representatives of a Chinese party or bloc but as representatives of community interests. They were Americans elected by Americans.

It is highly probable that considerable numbers of Chinese voters were influenced by the fact that these men were of their own race, but they did not receive all the Chinese votes. There was organized Chinese opposition to at least one of the men elected. In any case, a man who would run for office merely as the candidate of a particular immigrant racial group in Hawaii would be a total loss as a politician. The situation forces him to make his campaign in such a way as to secure outside support.

Perhaps it may be well to point out that from a political standpoint citizens of Oriental ancestry are not to be compared with the newly naturalized immigrants from Europe, many of whom are without any traditions of political activity and who are at the same time barred from the more important agencies of public opinion through their inability to speak or to read English easily.

The voters of Oriental ancestry in Hawaii not only can read but they do read newspapers and magazines, the same that the people of the old American stock read. They have learned some of the fundamental lessons of democracy in connection with numerous school organizations which are fostered, and through their very general participation in baseball and other sports. The Chinese have made a few political mistakes, but they are quick at self-criticism and are responsive to the opinion of other groups. In contrast to certain mainland cities Honolulu can be cited as a city in which all the voters speak and read the English language.

Recent developments among the middle aged second generation Chinese in Hawaii suggest some modification of earlier forecasts about as follows:

They will acquire American culture with sufficient rapidity, but they will not lose their identity as persons of Chinese ancestry at as early a date as the people best acquainted with youth have expected. This will result not only from the attitude of others, but from the attitude of the Chinese themselves. It is not apparent that this tendency to maintain their racial integrity will prevent their active and successful participation in the general economic and political life of the community. They will not be of one economic class or of one political party or bloc. They will not constitute a caste. While participating in ordinary social activities on a plane of equality and with good will toward people of all races they will, for the more intimate social relations, and especially, in marriage, prefer each other.

As larger numbers become prosperous, as the prosperous enjoy larger educational advantages, as cultural differences are obliterated, and as more men of Chinese ancestry rise to positions of responsibility and honor there will be more pride in Chinese ancestry. When the immigrants shall have passed away their achievements will be idealized by their great-grandchildren. Their memory will be preserved in literature and monuments will be erected in their honor.

To most people familiar with the experience of racial groups elsewhere this will seem to be a forecast of continuous conflict for an

indefinite period. It will be difficult for them to conceive of a society made up of several groups based on race without thinking of one as dominant and of the others as resentful of the status imposed on them. Under such conditions no true democracy could survive and social efficiency would be compromised by conflict and ill-will.

Nevertheless Hawaii confronts the future with much confidence. Its past experience warrants the hope that it will be able to develop a social system in which power and wealth and honor shall be shared reasonably by men of all races, a society in which merit shall be recognized in all races. May not equals in fact coöperate as equals in general community affairs and in business relations while the members of each race freely manifest their preference for their own so far as the more intimate social life is concerned? If the fact of the existence of several groups implies the existence of some sort of conflict, may not the conflict be lifted to a plane of reason and justice so that it will supply a stimulus to greater achievement? This may be envisioned as a possibility even if it is too early to make a definite forecast of this happy outcome.

REFERENCE TABLES

TABLE I.

Population of Hawaii, 1928, Classified by Ancestry and by Political Status

	American Citizens	Aliens	Total
Hawaiian	20,720	.....	20,720
Caucasian-Hawaiian	15,948	.....	15,948
Asiatic-Hawaiian	10,036	.....	10,036
Portuguese	26,145	2,972	29,117
Porto Rican	6,781	.....	6,781
Spanish	1,170	639	1,809
Other Caucasian	37,082	420	37,502
Chinese	15,058	10,252	25,310
Japanese	83,252	51,348	134,600
Korean	3,500	2,818	6,318
Filipino	8,208	51,850	60,078
All Others	376	172	548
	228,276	120,491	348,767

TABLE II.

REGISTERED VOTERS IN HAWAII

Classified as to Ancestry for 1924 and 1928, With the Ratio of Each to the Total

	1924		1928	
	Number	Per ct.	Number	Per ct.
Hawaiian and part-Hawaiian	16,685	48.0	18,952	41.1
Portuguese	5,203	14.9	7,057	15.3
Other Caucasians	8,274	23.8	9,786	21.2
Chinese	2,016	5.8	3,950	8.5
Japanese	1,711	4.9	4,839	10.5
All Others	850	2.4	1,474	3.2
Total	34,739	100.	46,058	100.

Chanoyu

OR

The Tea Philosophy of Japan

A Western Evaluation

By A. L. Sadler, M.A.*

For the last four hundred years there has existed in Japan a very definite point of view, or way of life, associated with the ceremonial drinking of tea. It is called Cha-no-yu, literally—Hot water for Tea; or Chado, the Way of Tea; and its Masters are known as Chajin or Tea-men. It might be called a household sacrament of esthetics, economics and etiquette. It has been and still is practised by a very large number of the most cultivated people in the land, statesmen, soldiers, artists and merchants, as well as by artizans and ordinary people. And so its influence has penetrated very deeply into every detail of the everyday life of all, even of those who do not study it. It is not known abroad, because nothing much has been written about it in European languages, with the exception of a short description by Brinkley, and some pictures of Tea Gardens and explanations in Conder's work on Japanese Gardens. But the importance of its contribution to the civilisation of the country would hardly be gathered from these writings.

By far the best description of its spirit is the short essay of Okakura Kakuzo entitled "The Book of Tea," a work of great charm of style very suitable to the elegance of the subject, but rather stimulating interest in "Teaism," the word he coined to describe it, than giving a detailed account of it. In the tea ceremony the Japanese owed little to China or India; as usual in such cases, the influence of the national spirit of Japan soon asserted itself, so that what was originally an imported taste before long became so completely naturalized and transformed that it now seems to us perhaps the most Japanese of all institutions. China only supplied the stand and utensils imported with the tea, and the method of grinding and infusing it, and these things still survive, associated with and almost hidden by their purely Japanese surroundings and adjuncts, and yet also quite consciously distinct from them, and as such used on occasions of special ceremony or when otherwise considered fitting, much as they were when first introduced from the continent. But the Tea-room and its garden and that typical accessory, the stone lantern, are entirely Japanese, partly inspired though they may be by the spirit of ancient India through the Buddhist Sutras.

Indeed Cha-no-yu may be considered an epitome of Japanese civilisation, for it is a well blended mixture of what is drawn from the two most ancient cultures of the Far East eclectically acquired by extremely able and critical minds capable of discerning exactly how they could best use it for the convenience and profit of the community they represented. And very completely were the Tea Masters justified of their creation, for it has kept the national taste more healthy and sensitive and potent than that of any other country, and this I think is now being

* Professor of Oriental Studies in the University of Sydney.

demonstrated in what is called "Modernism" in (Western) art, architecture and interior decoration. This movement can be called Modern only in Europe, for it is only a copying of the national outlook and taste of Japan in these things, and hardly an unconscious one, for though it may only lately have dawned on the continental artists and decorators that a house is a machine to live in and from which all superfluous and irritating ornaments should be banished, the contact between this part of Europe and Japan has been too close of late to allow of this discovery being entirely an independent one. And the necessity for strict economy in life and the lack of the means for ostentation which the post-war conditions have brought about, combined with the spirit of simplicity engendered by militarism may supply the reasons for such a departure from previous standards. And these reasons were also responsible for a similar feeling in the Japan of the sixteenth century, for this also was the end of an epoch of bitter and exhausting civil wars. But since, even in its smallest details, this "Modernist" work of today is identical with that long produced and regarded as ordinary in Japan, it would really only be a graceful compliment to the source of its origin to call it the Rikyu style. For Sen Rikyu did more than any other artist to stimulate and standardize that sort of architecture and interior decoration, and to expound the creed on which it is based, as may be seen from a perusal of the accounts of those things that he said and occupied his life in doing. And it would be well if the Modernist designer would keep some of the admonitions of Rikyu and his followers in mind, that they may be saved from those tendencies that already begin to show as a result of that attempted originality of the commonplace mind which needed all the conservative restraint of the Tea Masters to discourage.

So Teaism, from being a diversion of the upper classes and retired people, came to be a point of view and a way of life through the penetrating teachings of Sen Rikyu. It became the control of everyday affairs, the making of a house and living in it according to the dicta laid down by the most distinguished Tea Masters. It is therefore a kind of ancestor worship, for these great men are the esthetic ancestors of the nation whose traditions are handed down by their various schools and disciples to this day and are still alive and vigorous.

Thus the country was organized under Teaism as it was under autocracy and bureaucracy, and the result has certainly been a success, for life is principally composed of the details that the Tea Masters have studied and arranged and refined, and if harmony and etiquette are lacking in the meal that is taken three times a day, and in entering and leaving the room and making up the fire and so on, there is little likelihood of their being found elsewhere. What Teaism has done for Japan may be seen from the contrast in other lands where any such disciplined estheticism is unknown. The lack of taste and balance in decoration, the confused ostentation and want of any system of etiquette permeating all classes of society have been and are very noticeable in most western countries, and practically all visitors to Japan seem to be struck by the to them strange phenomenon that good manners are as natural to the peasant and workman as to the leisured classes. No doubt this is partly due to the antiquity of the civilisation and experience in the best way to live, since we find the same thing to some extent in the

more ancient countries of Europe, but equally at least it would seem that the control exercised by the Tea Masters is responsible. And this control was made possible and easy by the strong and centralized administration of the Tokugawa Shoguns.

Japanese historians observe in commenting on the culture of the Tokugawa period as distinct from those that preceded it, that in this era it was not the monopoly of a special class, noble or priest or soldier only, but permeated the ordinary people of both town and country. For more than two hundred and fifty years the land was without war, foreign debts or entanglements, and so, prosperous under a strong government, it had leisure and moderate means to devote to the quest of the most interesting way to live. Even without reading any of the large mass of literature of the Yedo period Europeans can see this in the profuse illustrations of the manners and customs in the books and colour prints of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Without the severe and restrained taste of those whose standard was that of Cha-no-yu these popular masterpieces would hardly have been possible.

If Teaism had only taught people that any display is vulgar and undesirable it would have been justified, for this is no easy thing to instil into any nation, since man is an acquisitive creature by nature, inclined to hoard and show off, and the most troublesome problems in the social and political spheres proceed from these egoistic qualities. Here its Buddhist basis is evident, for the chief theme of Buddhism is the abolition of the ego. An institution that made simplicity and restraint fashionable and at the same time kept itself accessible to all classes, providing a ground on which all could meet on terms of equality, thus combining the advantages of a Mohammedan Mosque and a cricket-field, and, some may feel inclined to add, also those of a Freemason's Lodge and a Quaker Meeting-house, was well qualified to temper very effectively the disruptive forces of society. And how much it came to represent the standard of the ordinary man is evident from the common expression "Mucha" or "It isn't Tea," used in Japan is almost exactly the same sense as we are accustomed to declare "It isn't cricket." And it is very apparent from the various anecdotes of the great Japanese generals that they regarded their battles as won in the Tea-room both literally and figuratively, for not only was it a first-rate training place for the disciplined mentality and resourceful observation so needed in a strategist, but it was also the most convenient one for a quiet discussion of the very disingenuous plans of campaigns such as the decisive one of Sekigahara. Hosokawa Tadaoki and Kuroda Josui who played such an important though not perhaps such a conspicuous part in the arrangements that led to this great victory, were both enthusiastic Tea Masters and it was in the Tea-room that they laid their schemes. Neither must we forget Ieyasu's valiant tea-merchant, Kamibayashi Chikuan, who defended one of the towers of the castle of Fushimi and conducted the parley with the enemy as well, and who held out to the last flying his banner made of tea-bags, and achieved the honour of having his head exposed beside that of Torii Mototada, the gallant commander and hero of one of the great sieges of Japanese history.

Art, says Sir W. R. Lethaby, in his *Form and Civilization,* is service and labour, and we have all no doubt heard that these are noble things, but practical demonstration is not so common. If the common domestic duty of serving a meal is shown to be not inferior to any other act by

the highest in the land performing it with his own hands quite naturally and without any affectation it is not likely to be regarded as humiliating, and the custom of going into domestic service for a few years before marriage to learn etiquette which is so characteristic of Japan is as much part of the spirit of Teaism as is the wearing on all ceremonial occasions by His Majesty the Emperor, of the insignia of the lowest as well as of the highest class of the Imperial Orders. Tokugawa Japan was organized entirely on a basis of labour and service. One rank served that above it and all ranks served their elders in the family and their ancestors who are their elders in the history of the nation. And naturally among these the Imperial Ancestors were supreme, for they were the origin of all. So it is not remarkable that Teaism should so often be described as only another version of Loyalty and Filial Piety. It is something like an artistic presentation of these things. And since Teaism is the art of making a house and living in it, the Tea Master was the architect of older Japan in the widest sense of the word. There was no such profession as that of architect as such in those days, for temples and mansions were designed by Buddhist priests, and built, like the houses of the rest of the population, by artizans and craftsmen, much as they were in the best periods of building in Europe. Chogen Shonin and Eisai Zenji in the Kamakura age, for instance, introduced Sung architecture to Japan and built and designed temples, much as Herbert de Losinga, Alan of Walsingham and Hugh of Lincoln did in England, and later on in the 16th century we find Mokushoku Shonin the priest of Koya appointed to design Hideyoshi's many temples and palaces, though Hideyoshi, Tea Master and amateur architect, played no small part in this himself.

But Chinese styles of architecture have affected the ordinary Japanese dwelling very little, if at all, for this has always preserved the ancient type of building of a much simpler order that we see exemplified in the Shinto shrines of Ise, undoubtedly the Imperial Palace of the earliest days of Japanese history before the residence of the Sovereign was modelled on that of the T'ang Emperor. Naturally this Chinese flavour was most evident in the mansions of the Court Nobility of Kyoto, whereas the military aristocracy preferred a simple thatched house more in accordance with their principles of frugality, self-discipline and restraint. But it was under the rule of Toyotomi Hideyoshi and Rikyu, his esthetic advisor, that there was worked out a blending of the two styles for ordinary dwellings, the finest examples of which are the residence called Hiunkaku which was part of the Taiko's mansion of Juraku, now preserved in the Nishi Hongwangji at Kyoto, and that exquisite building the Daigo Sambo-in, designed with its gardens by Hideyoshi himself. It was to the military nobility and their liking for Zen Buddhism that the Japanese house owes the type of room called Shoin, so characteristic of it since the Higashiyama epoch. This arrangement of the reception room with Tokonoma or alcove and window beside it was introduced by the Zen monks for greater convenience in their studies, for it threw more light into the room.

Whether the Japanese house would have developed differently if there had been no Tea Masters it is not easy to say, but at any rate since their word was law in all things that pertained to the house and every-day life and behaviour their principles of restraint and simplicity as exemplified in the Tea-room and its garden always acted as a correc-

tive to any tendencies to extravagance and ostentatious originality on the part of commonplace people whose only object would be to gain a little advertisement for themselves. And we must remember that the blots on the landscape likely to be made by such people in Japan are not so serious as in Europe owing to the impermanent nature of the buildings. It does not seem to have struck so many European observers that the Japanese house is a standardized one. There is not much need for any complicated design by an architect, for all rooms are multiples of one unit, the mat of six feet by three for area, and the ken of six feet, the width of two sliding doors or shoji, or the space between two pillars, for length. The arrangement of the rooms is strictly according to the convenience of the occupant, and there is not the least ornament of any kind, neither is there any concealment of construction. The only reason why a ceiling is used is perhaps to keep the room more free from dust, and it is rarely seen in the kitchen, where it would be a hindrance to the rising fumes. Everything is arranged so that the working of the house can be carried on in the most effective manner, according to Japanese views, of course, for it may be that some of these would not meet with the approval of outsiders, especially the lack of soft seats and a heating system. And this standardization is not confined to the house but extends to clothes also. Just as a house is assembled of materials of fixed dimensions, and comparatively little labour is required, so also all kimonos are made of bolts of material of the same length and breadth, and so simple is the way of putting it together that every house as a rule makes its own dress. Hence it is not easy for any commercial combine to dictate to the population either male or female, what kind of costume they shall wear for the next three months.

And yet, though there is this uniformity of pattern in both house and costume, there is an infinite variety of detail and arrangement that banishes monotony, and the evident judgment of discriminating Europeans, both in earlier ages and now, is that the Japanese house and garden is beautiful and harmonious, and the costume elegant and dignified, and especially suited to set off the wearer, of whatever age or figure, to the best advantage. A number of Japanese together always look well esthetically, whereas in the case of Europeans this is hardly ever so except with soldiers and nuns, however good an impression individuals may make if the fashion happens to suit them. That only children and young people should wear bright colours is indeed an artistic mercy, and it is only one of the excellent conventions of Japanese life. And as perhaps hardly any house is without young girls and children there is an occasional and temporary touch of colour that relieves the quietness of the monotoned interior.

Now this universal good taste in life could hardly have come about if there had not been an organized education in what was to be considered admirable and what eliminated, and it was the Tea Master who had complete charge of this education—the best kind of education, perhaps, since it could be imparted and practised in the home under the ordinary conditions of life. Okakura calls it "moral geometry," in that it puts man in his proper place in the universe, giving him the Zen outlook according to which one must get outside oneself and regard one's life as a spectator, finding plenty therein to make merry over. The more resourceful the mind the less does one need outside stimulus to enjoyment.

"How supernatural and how miraculous!
I draw water and I carry brushwood,"

said the Zen poet, and so the most ordinary thing in life, the preparation of the fire and taking a simple meal and drinking tea, was chosen as the best way of inculcating good manners and that economy of movement now called simplified practice. When we consider how ridiculous is a large part of modern education which teaches a large proportion of pupils what their neither wish to learn nor will ever get an opportunity of practising, while neglecting those simple things that make life, we can perhaps perceive how much this natural way of educating the Japanese has contributed to the clear-sighted, practical and sane outlook on the world that they have undoubtedly come to possess. If they appear to anyone who lives among them as distinctly lacking in that sentimentalism that is the cause of so much inconvenience to us, the extralogical common sense of Zen can supply the reason, and it is through the teachings of Teaism that Zen became diffused among the ordinary people. Belief in or obsession with a future life seems no very good foundation for order or propriety in this one, according to Zen, and it is instructive to read Father Frois's description, in his "History of Japan," of Nobunaga, that very enthusiastic Teaist, as "one who with Zenshu did not believe in the immortality of the soul or in reward or punishment in the hereafter, but who was very clear-minded and no holder of any kind of superstition, and at the same time exceedingly cleanly, courteous and orderly in his way of living." Of how few in the Europe of the sixteenth century could this latter statement have been made.

Sir W. Fergusson, writing in 1891, considers that in the Far East there is hardly anything that can be called architecture, just as there is "no poetry, properly so-called, and no literature worthy of the name." Possibly ideas as to what is architecture may have changed somewhat, but there may be some truth in this statement though not in the sense this authority meant. It may be that the best architecture is no architecture just as the best colour scheme is no colour scheme. The house and garden built and laid out together as one conception should be the exact expression of the way of life of those who live in them, without any ostentation of affectation or irritating frills.

This is just what the Japanese house is, to a greater extent perhaps than that of any other country. And this because it had to be, for the Tokugawa laws forbade all classes to have dwellings or furniture any more elaborate than their social position required, these laws being the product of an official world educated in Cha-no-yu, since much of the detailed legislation was the work of the third Shogun Iemitsu, an enthusiastic Tea Master himself and pupil of the great Kobori Enshu.

Thus Japanese buildings are in spirit most comparable to those simple types of Tudor and Georgian days in our own country. These are constructive and efficient, and fit in on their sites naturally without making themselves conspicuous, and their simplicity is relieved only by the slight contrast presented by one decorative feature that is entirely in place, such as a door or chimney or window. These are far more attractive and in better taste than the immense mansions built almost entirely for display, up to whose grandeur no one ought to have been able to stand the strain of living for long. Of course there were some such

buildings in Japan, but they were for ceremonial, that is occasional, use only, or, as in the case of temples or shrines, they were political architecture, intended to impoverish the feudal lords who were granted the honour of constructing them, so that their purses might always be too lean to be a menace to the central government.

The great noble preferred to live in a comparatively simple building or buildings scattered round a fine garden, and the impermanent nature of these structures made it easy to vary the monotony of things by shifting them at any time to another site without difficulty. This may be seen from the still surviving feudal residences at Hakone, Kanazawa, Okayama and Kagoshima, formerly occupied by the Daimyos of these places. There is nothing gaudy or consciously impressive about them.

It is evident that this quality of the Japanese residence is not entirely due to the Tea Masters, for the mansion built round and into a garden antedates them, and may have its origin in the Vihara or garden monastery of Indian Buddhism, but it is their influence that has made the garden and house what they have come to be in detail. One of the most unpleasant features of our own interiors has been the attempted imitation in the living room of the ordinary house of the salon of the mansion, without considering that decoration which may be tolerable and even diverting when seen for an hour once a week, is, or should be, quite intolerable when before the eyes every day.

We admit that to be poor and seem poor is the devil all over, but Japanese say the same of being wealthy and a pillar of society. To seem to be these things, at any rate for long, is to lose the proper sense of proportion, and to forget that man is, after all, only a forked radish between five and six feet long. Hideyoshi's recognition of this is very evident in his quick change from taking the part of the central figure in the stately ceremony of welcoming the Korean envoys to strolling into the same scene as a spectator a short time after, in ordinary dress and nursing a baby. And on another occasion also when he gave a garden party in a melon-garden at which the gardener was host and all the great nobles and military chiefs masqueraded as itinerant tradesmen, strolling mendicants and beggars, he himself playing the part of a melon-hawker.

It may seem a little affected for the noble to mimic the way of life of the fisherman or hermit, but it is only looking on existence from a different angle, just as the house is arranged to look on various aspects of the garden from different rooms. Things being as they are, few people can spend their life sitting under a tree thinking themselves into the universal, like Buddha, but they can keep as near the trees as possible and reflect that they are themselves only just such another aspect of nature. So to have a detached cell at the end of the garden in which you can play the hermit for a while when you feel inclined, as people in Japan do when they indulge in Cha-no-yu, is a very refreshing change, and has the advantage over the private oratory that it is not connected with any particular kind of ecclesiasticism. Therefore any idea of acquiring merit is not implied.

"It is difficult," says Tokutomi*, "to understand the Momoyama age without a knowledge of Cha-no-yu. It was not only the amusement of

* *Kinsei Nihon Kokuminshi*—(History of the Japanese People in Modern Times).

the noble, but almost a necessity of life for the ruling class of this time. It was used as a pious device to win over men's minds. And of those who handled the Empire by means of it Hideyoshi is the most prominent example. Nobunaga too had an almost uncontrollable enthusiasm for Tea, and he sprang upon a Tea-bowl or Kettle like a lion on a hare. Just where Cha-no-yu ceased to be an amusement and became a practical affair is a little difficult to determine, *and it is this difficulty that makes it the more interesting.*" And since Tokutomi had to go back as far as the Momoyama age in order to explain the phenomena of modern Japan, some knowledge of Cha-no-yu is evidently necessary to any understanding of the development of the nation, its thoughts and taste. It is strange therefore that so little has been said about it in those European works, of which there are so many, that purport to give us the meaning of Japanese civilisation, and usually merely impress us with their ignorance of it. Even Murdoch's volume dealing with the age of Hideyoshi does not so much as mention Sen Rikyu, which is like writing the history of seventeenth century Spain without mentioning Velasquez or eighteenth century England and leaving out Beau Nash, though Rikyu had a greater influence on his country than either of these. It is true that this history does not profess to deal with the culture of Japan to any extent, but a very prominent part was played in politics and economics by such men as Rikyu and his seven Disciples, several of whom curiously enough were Christians, as well as by the great merchant esthetes, Shimai Soshitsu and Kamiya Sotan, from whose diaries much of the detail of the life of the time has been reconstructed. There is a short note in Dening's Life of Hideyoshi dealing with Cha-no-yu, it is true, but he too hardly realizes its importance, though at the time these works were written, more than twenty years ago, such excellent material as Tokutomi's history and other works were not available. Dening concludes his note by the surmise that "the Tea cult is not likely to survive long in the go-ahead Japan of today." Japan is perhaps hardly less go-ahead now, but Cha-no-yu, like No and some other similar institutions, continues to flourish more vigorously than ever. Should it cease to do so the soul of Japan will have departed from her, and that is hardly thinkable. In England the two Beaux, Nash and Brummel, are perhaps the nearest approach to a Japanese Tea Master, though their interests were far more limited and on the ethical side they fell very short. They are most comparable to such an one as Furuta Oribe, who was more of a specialist and connoisseur than the rest, and whose defects of character and petulance caused a collision with Tokugawa Ieyasu which brought about his destruction. Brummel's severe taste in clothes would have received the decided approval of the Japanese critic, while one can imagine even Rikyu walking the streets of Bath with satisfaction.

But these men were isolated phenomena and left no school. There was no family system to hand down their taste and refine and improve on it and relate it to the life of the people. For they were arbiters of fashion for the upper classes only, and the inevitable defect of confining the sense of fitness to the select few is that when any change in society throws up plutocrats from the people, these will have no ideas but of ostentation and banality. In Japan since the end of the Tokugawa period this process has been active as elsewhere, and it is owing to the spirit of Cha-no-yu and the existence of the Tea Master and Flower

Master and their standards that the result has not been worse than it has. Wherever these teachers exist, and there is no town, however small, that does not hold at least one of them, there is a spot where oil is being quietly poured on the fire of pure Japanese taste, and though superficially there may seem to be a large injection of European influence of the commercial order, more mature consideration will show that this is not anything like so great or as widespread as it might be. As Lafcadio Hearn pointed out some considerable time ago, such a city as Kobe, which has grown up entirely since and as a result of the intercourse with Europe, is yet entirely Japanese.

And now that the new taste of Europe has come under the influence of principles in art and decoration which are so strangely identical with those of the Japanese esthete, even foreign buildings and furnishings and decorations should not be as incongruous as they were in the Victorian era. There is evidently evolving a style that will be suitable both for Japan and Europe. It is interesting to speculate as to what might have happened in this as in other matters if the intransigence of the Portuguese and Spanish friars had not led to their banishment from the country in the early seventeenth century, for the buildings they erected, judging from the few pictures that have survived, had just that simplicity and good proportion that would have made them not unsuitable to the landscape.

In connection with present-day views, Brinkley's criticism of Japanese eclecticism in pottery, written some two decades ago, is rather significant. He writes: "From the catalogue of objects of virtue offered by China and Korea, her implicitly trusted preceptors in so many matters, Japan made a strikingly narrow choice. Instead of taking for porcelain utensils the liquid dawn reds, the ripe grape purples, the five-coloured egg-shells or any of the glowing monochromes and half-tone enamels of the Chinese ceramists, she confined herself to the ivory whites, delicate celadons, comparatively inornate specimens of blue *sous couverte,* and blue full-bodied, roughly applied over-glass enamels such as characterized the later eras of the Ming Dynasty. It has astonished many students of Japanese manners and customs to find that the objects which Europe and America search for today in the markets of China with eager appreciation are scarcely represented at all in the collection of Japanese virtuosi made at an epoch when such masterpieces were abundantly produced within easy reach of their doors. The explanation is to be found in the conservatism of the Tea clubs. But," he adds, "the Japanese adopted to a certain extent the standard set by the Chinese themselves. For a Chinese art critic of the sixteenth century, one Hsiang, compiled a set of illustrations of eighty *chef d'oeuvres* approved by the art critics of the day, of which fifty were celadons." Now it is these celadons and ivory whites that are sought by Europe and America, and that our present-day potters of France, Germany and England are striving very earnestly to imitate. As taste improves, the rather childish love of polychrome is disappearing and there is a closer approximation to the preference for quiet monochrome and sparse unemphatic design that has always been the rule in Japan.

Finally it should be noted that the only reason why such a system of esthetics could be made to penetrate so deeply into society was because the government of Japan has always been of the aristocratic and bureaucratic type, and the average man has had no opportunity of in-

terfering in matters of art. The ordinary man in any country is lacking in the self-restraint and mental energy that make the effective ruler or artist, and is naturally inclined to prefer the art and architecture that requires no thought to appreciate, and the manners that call for the least exertion. What he likes is something to stimulate his emotions and flatter his vanity. Only by severe pressure imposed from above can he be led to appreciate anything but the highly coloured and obvious, and for this a military autocracy is necessary. Periods of artistic production always seem to accompany and follow eras of war both in East and West, and beauty is a by-product of Spartan qualities.

It may be urged that Rikyu was not an aristocrat but a tradesman by birth, but this proves little, for men of outstanding energy and ability have always been able in Japan to win a place among the rulers. But the process of rising is not made easy for them, neither is it considered necessary or desirable that those born in a humble station should *ipso facto* look forward to assume responsibility for which neither their mentality or environment have fitted them. Italy at the present time is now under exactly the same system of administration as was Japan in the days of the Tokugawa Shoguns, and her government is no longer dependent on the votes of the average citizen, so that with a similar inheritance of great art in the past there should be a fine opportunity of making more beautiful the every-day existence of her people. There seems little hope of this in any modern democracy, for a nation of artists is as little conceivable as a nation of saints.

The Burdens of the Chinese Peasantry

By Chen Han-sheng

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Within the last decade many causes have combined to pull China from a status of hypo-colony, as expounded by the late Sun Yat-sen, down to the position of a full substantive colony. These have been the gradual decrease in the export of silk and tea, the increase in the import of staple food products, the import of tobacco and cotton exceeding the export of the same articles, the bankruptcy of the rural communities, the decline in the production of raw materials, the soaring prices of foreign commodities, the augmentation in the cost of production, the lower purchasing power and the depression of commerce and industry. The rehabilitation of China lies in the solution of the many complicated problems of rural economy of which the most pressing is that of the orgy of taxation. The Chinese peasantry have been mercilessly subject to this taxation for the last few years without any regard for their capability to shoulder it.

This article is devoted exclusively to the question of taxation, though it is regrettable that we do not have more statistics at our disposal. The external and internal loans, the blackmail by the militarists, the debasement of the subsidiary coins, and the unlimited issue of worthless notes were or are another form of taxation and needless to say a very heavy form of taxation. The income tax which failed expectations in the 10th year of the Republic (1921), was again brought up in the 16th year (1927) but was not enforced. The bulk of China's burdens fall

in the last resort on the Chinese farmers who form more than eighty percent of the total population.

The most striking fact of China's finance has been the undue expansion of the military expenditure and the smaller and smaller income of the Government. The following are figures of military expenditure:

The 19th year of Kwangshu (1893)	$ 25,604,880*
The 27th year of Kwangshu (1901)	47,055,000
The 2nd year of Hsuan Tung (1910)	102,000,000
The 3rd year of Hsuan Tung (1911)	130,870,755
The 5th year of the Republic (1916)	152,915,765
The 7th year of the Republic (1918)	203,000,000
The 14th year of the Republic (1925)	600,000,000
The 16th year of the Republic (1927)	700,000,000
The 17th year of the Republic (1928)	800,000,000

In recent years military expenses have accounted for two-thirds of the expenditure of the central government. In various provinces the proportion has been much higher, ranging in certain cases up to 90 percent and more. Misappropriation by the sordid militarists was undoubtedly one of the causes for the undue increase of military expenditure in the provinces.

The remittances received by the central government from the provinces have grown less, both absolutely and relatively, as the following table will show.

YEAR	REMITTANCE FIXED	ACTUAL REMITTANCE	PERCENT
1915	$13,842,260	$11,152,273	80
1916	30,480,584	17,601,326	57
1917	8,434,577	5,098,698	60
1918	12,878,597	10,359,714	80
1919	8,512,964	5,755,271	67
1920	6,349,072	4,245,299	66

From 1915 to 1920 the actual amount remitted was about 68 percent of the sum that should be remitted. After 1920 the financial administration went from bad to worse: the wine and tobacco tax which should bring $15,000,000 remitted to the central government, actually brought no more than $1,780,000, and in 1922 no more than $1,440,000. In 1927 the Salt Gabelle should have brought to the central government $5,350,000. Compared with the preceding year it showed a shortage of $11,260,000.

Between the central and local governments there was no administrative hierarchy. The income and expense seldom met. Of the twenty years no more than five years boast of a budget. As a preliminary to the Rehabilitation Conference called together in 1924 by the Director of the Chinese Government, (Tuan Chi-jui), an actual estimate was made of the income of the central government which was $459,960,000, excluding loans and paper notes.

This yearly revenue hardly sufficed to meet the expenses of the central government. From 1911 to 1914, inclusive, the central government relied on external loans to carry on; militarists and politicians vied in courting the favour of the foreign capitalists. During the European

*All figures, unless otherwise noted, are in Mexican dollars.

War foreign funds momentarily stopped flowing in and the National government then had to resort to internal loans. From 1914 to 1916 there was no internal strife; provincial remittances sufficed as security for the issue of internal loans. When civil war sporadically broke out in 1916, Japan came to the help of the militarists by advancing loans without security. From 1916 to 1919 the National government lived on foreign funds.

At the end of the World War Japan could no more afford to lend China money. By this time the receipts of the Salt Gabelle and the Customs showed a marked increase, enabling the government to float huge loans. The Austrian and German portions of the Boxer indemnities earmarked for the payment of interest and principal of loans strengthened the public confidence in the security of the loans. This unwarranted success turned the government's head and enabled it to issue worthless bonds and notes to an amount far beyond the needs of the country. The consequence was that the government sank deep into the financial morass from 1921 to 1926. The 1912 Bonds fell in 1921 to 86 percent of the face value; the 1919 Bonds dropped to 80 percent. The National government then abused public confidence by issuing bonds secured on the surplus of the Salt Gabelle, the actual amount of which the public was unaware. The surplus of the Salt Gabelle for 1926 was no more than $8,000,000; the debt secured on it rose to the huge sum of $79,240,000. Long before this truth became known the government had already forced many loans on the people. Since the inauguration of the Nationalist regime many loans have also been forced upon the people besides the imposition of new taxes and surtaxes.

Finances in the provinces fared no better. Compulsory loans and the unlimited issue of bonds or worthless notes were the order of the day. Besides the debasing of the subsidiary coins, to sundry impositions were added petty contributions, to surcharges were added blackmail. Every change of personnel in the government meant new burdens to the people. They came, not to work for the welfare of the people but to prey upon them. Public taxation in China may be called open robbery by the ravenous officials and petty functionaries.

Foreign Debts

From 1855 to 1895 the average yearly revenue of the central government was 83,500,000 taels; the disbursements were 77,500,000 taels, thus leaving a surplus of 6,000,000 taels. Within the period of ten years it borrowed from Germany no more than $240,000. After the Sino-Japanese War foreign debts commenced to pile up. Yuan Shih-kai and Tuan Chi-jui in their heyday piled it still higher. At the present time secured foreign debts amount to the huge sum of $2,800,000,000 (£280 million or Gold 1,400 million dollars), exclusive of the unsecured.

The securities cover the Customs, Native Customs, Salt Tax, Transit Duty, Wine and Tobacco Tax, Telephone and Telegraph Revenue and the Peking Octroi. The unsecured debts aggregate nearly $450,000,000. The grand total of Chinese external debt amounts, therefore, to $3,250,000,000 (Mexican). Excepting the $1,700,000,000 styled the Communications Loan the remainder was spent as military expenditure or was squandered. Of the Communications Loan up to

1924 only half had been employed for the development of means of communication and locomotion. From these facts we may infer that approximately 27 percent had been spent for productive purposes.

Domestic Public Loans

From 1911 to 1921 the Peking government floated thirteen loans in the domestic market to the amount of $383,400,000.

YEAR	AMOUNT	INTEREST	SECURITY
1912	$123,327,360	6%	
1912	5,767,640	8%	Land Tax
1914	24,926,110	6%	Railway Surplus
1915	25,829,965	6%	Native Customs and Likin
1916	18,757,590	6%	
1916	7,770,515	6%	Wine and Tobacco Tax
1916	1,600,000	8%	Land Tax
1917	48,000,000	6%	Customs
1918	45,000,000	6%	Native Customs
1919	19,692,315	7%	Likin
1920	58,709,242	6%	Customs Surplus
1921	4,000,000	8%	Customs Surtax

Up until May of 1928 the principal of the debts which remained unpaid amounted to $27,424,849, the interest $6,710,684, with a total of $34,135,533.

The Nationalist Government within the short space of six months issued four loans amounting to $82,000,000 or a monthly average of $13,600,000.

YEAR	AMOUNT	INTEREST	SECURITY
January, 1928	$ 40,000,000	9.6%	2½% surtax of the Shanghai Customs
February, 1928	16,000,000	9.6%	Shanghai Customs
April, 1928	16,000,000	9.6%	Cigarette Tax and Likin
May, 1928	10,000,000	8 %	Stamp Tax

The intermediaries underwrote these loans at 98 percent of the face value. The competency of the district magistrates was judged by the amount of loan bonds they could persuade the people to buy. Even small stores and shops had to subscribe. Around Shanghai every rice dealer was allotted 49 dollars, every oil dealer 67 dollars.

We have no accurate data regarding provincial public loans issued under many names and at different intervals. Hunan boasted of five loans with $5,770,000 unredeemed. Kiangsu is indebted to the amount of $7,000,000 remaining unpaid and without interest. This year a few provinces were dragooned to subscribe loans as follows:

PROVINCE	YEAR	AMOUNT	INTEREST	SECURITY
Kwangtung	1928	$ 600,000	....	Rickshaw Tax
Shantung	1928	1,000,000	8%	Provincial Tax
Fengtien	1928	30,000,000	10%	Customs 2½% surtax

For the last loan each holder of a title-deed above 50 Mu of land had to subscribe $5; each house that yielded $300 rent had to buy $15; shops of $300 capital or over had to take $15.

Compulsory Loans

This is the shortest and easiest way of raising money by the militarists. In 1928 Chang Tso-lin, the self-styled Chief Executive of China, asked the Banks of Peking and Tientsin to advance him $6,000,000 at the point of the bayonet. Indeed, it was not unusual for the provincial governments to force loans upon the people.

Up to 1924 the compulsory loans of the provinces amounted to nearly G$28,300,000, in 1925 they were $54,360,000, and in 1926 $104,000,000. The method of procedure was as under; Chihli may be taken as a typical example. The representatives of the various guilds were called to a meeting by the provincial treasurer, who peremptorily demanded $2,800,000. After much and irksome bickering the amount was reduced to $2,000,000, of which three-fourths was to be subscribed by the banks, the rest to be allotted to the various shops. The shops later on gave no more than $400,000. The monthly interest was 14 percent. An advanced payment of land tax was given as security, with other sundry and petty taxes as additional securities. The $400,000 were distributed as under:

Exchange Shops	$100,000	Salt Merchants	$40,000
Flour Dealers	50,000	Foreign Goods Shops	30,000
Cotton Dealers	50,000	Real Estate Cos.	30,000
Cloth Dealers	41,500	Timber Dealers	10,000
Pawn Shops	10,000	Paper Stores	5,000
Match Cos.	9,000	Hardware Stores	5,000
Sea Products Guild	5,000	Fur Merchants	4,000
Grocery Stores	5,000	Tea Merchants	3,000
		Ginger Dealers	2,000

This kind of exaction may crop up at any moment in any locality. Though directly borne by the commercial class, in the last resort it falls upon the Chinese peasantry.

Subsidiary Coins

Subsidiary coins comprise the single and double dimes and the coppers. In 1927 one Mexican dollar was equivalent to twelve to thirteen dimes or three to four hundred coppers. The extreme fluctuation in the exchange and the fall in price of copper tells hard upon the people and especially the agricultural daymen. From 1890 to 1900 the province of Kwangtung coined silver to the value of $52,310,760, one-tenth of which was in silver dollars, the other nine-tenths in single and double dimes. It cost less to produce single dimes than double dimes and the government could make more out of the coining. In the last years of the Kwangshu reign the double dime had gained popularity in many provinces of the southwest. But its reckless debasing by the government had caused a panic among the populace and in 1890 the people of Kwangtung province refused the double dime to the total value of $3,000,000. This state of things was still worse in Szechuan where the sordid militarists coined subsidiary coins and half dollars out of the single dollars, making 80 percent seigniorage from debasement. The reckless coining of the subsidiary coins, of course, affected the exchange rate.

Those who received their earnings in a form other than the Mexican dollar lost heavily in the exchange to the extent of 2 percent, which is tantamount to a 2 percent tax upon their income.

The single-copper gained its way into the Chinese market in 1887. At that time 80 to 90 coppers could be exchanged for one Mexican dollar. Within the short space of six years 12,000,000,000 coppers were in circulation. In the first eight years of the Republic, 1912-20, when public loans were the order of the day, the government had a way of raising funds so no coining of coppers took place. Since then the unscrupulous militarists resorted to the coining of coppers as the easiest way of filling their military coffers. The single-copper was debased to 58 percent of its former value, the double-copper 48 percent. Every 100 coppers brought to the government more than 10 dollar-cents net profit and every 100 double-coppers 26 dollar-cents net profit. In Shensi and Szechuan since 1921 there have been in circulation copper coins of other denominations. By 1921 the output of various mints was as under:

Fengtein	$ 500,000	Nanking	$2,000,000
Tientsin	1,250,000	Changsha	3,000,000
Anching	1,300,000	Hankow	4,000,000

Japanese dealers supplied the Chinese authorities with the copper to coin coppers. They even went as far as to export single-coppers to be melted and coined into double coppers, which were smuggled in to the borders of the country—a way of robbing the Chinese.

Different places fix different exchange rates for coppers, the exchange rate fluctuating not only in different localities but also in the same year, the same month and the mornings and evenings of the same day.

The fluctuations of the exchange rate for single-coppers to a dollar are shown in the following table:

1918	1920	1921	1921	1922	1928
		Shanghai			
132.75	141.366	143.70	147	173.40	386
		Nanking			
134.30	141.81	145	------	------	------
		Tientsin			
137.82	------	148.40	154	------	392
		Peking			
134	148	149	152	------	390
		Nanking			
138.47	150.10	151.50	------	------	380
		Ningpo			
131.73	140.61	143.50	------	------	------
		Paotingfu			
------	------	------	317.70	------	------
		Yunnanfu			
------	------	------	------	120	------
		Fengtien			
------	------	------	------	------	389.80

The great slump in Paotingfu was due to the inrush of coppers from Hankow and Changsha in 1921.

In 1920 the exchange rate for single-coppers was:

Jan.	175	July	188
Feb.	180	Aug.	190
Mar.	179	Sept.	185
Apr.	179	Oct.	187
May	180	Nov.	196
June	183	Dec.	194

In 1922 the exchange rate for a dollar in Shanghai was as follows:

	May	June	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.
Maximum No.	171.2	173.4	173.4	176.2	179.9	181.3
Minimum No.	164.8	169.7	170.6	173.2	176.2	176.9

During November, 1922, the exchange rate on successive days for single-coppers in Shanghai was as follows:

	3rd	4th	5th	6th	7th	8th	9th
Morning	170.1	167.6	145.6	160.0	171.0	168.6	168.7
Evening	167.4	153.0	145.7	167.0	171.0	168.6	169.0

The depreciation of the copper coinage forced the business class to sell their stuffs at a higher price, as shown by the following:

	MARCH				APRIL			
	16th	21st	22nd	26th	2nd	4th	20th	23rd
Coppers	386	392	394	396	398	396	402	404
3 Bushels sorghum	$6.50	$6.70	$6.50	$6.70	$7.00	$7.00	$7.00	$7.00

In March, 1928, owing to the sudden enormous inrush of coppers from Hankow the price of daily necessities in Nanchang, Kiangsi, rose more than 30 percent. The militarists in Kansu by reckless coining of depreciated coppers robbed the people of more than $10,000,000.

Paper Notes

Since 1921 the yearly average issue of notes has been three times the average issue of $60,000,000 in the 108 years of the Yuan dynasty. If they were honoured to the day, this large volume of notes would be indicative of economic progress. But what was the result? The following will tell the story.

$8,000,000 worth of Kiangsi Provincial Treasury Notes fell to 20 percent of their face value in the bank notes of the Provincial bank.

$500,000 worth of copper notes issued by the 37 exchange shops of Tsinan, Shantung, fell to 40 percent of their face value in March, 1928.

$20,000,000 worth of Central Bank Notes, Canton Branch, depreciated to 30 percent in January, 1928.

$700,000,000 worth of Fengtien Notes dropped to 3 or 4 percent of their face value.

The notes of a private bank in Kirin were worth only 60 percent in April, 1928.

The notes of the Bank of Communications and the Bank of China in Harbin in August fell to 80 percent of their face value.

The Notes that suspended payment were:

$2,000,000 in Hupeh copper notes, stopped payment October, 1926.

$80,500,000 Hankow China, Communications and Central Banks' notes stopped payment November, 1927.

$15,000,000 Treasury Notes issued by the Nationalist government in Hankow became worthless in November, 1927.

$1,000,000 Hunan Provincial Treasury Notes worthless a long time since.

$1,000,000 Shensi Military Notes worthless in July, 1927.

$12,000,000 Kiangsi Bank Notes and copper notes suspended payment.

$3,000,000 Kwangsin Company Notes in Heilungkang now valueless.

$2,000,000 Chihli Provincial Treasury Notes all lost.

$16,000,000 Chihli Provincial Bank Notes suspended payment by order of a moratorium.

$23,000,000 Shantung Provincial Bank Notes all worthless.

$500,000 Shantung Provincial Treasury Notes no longer good.

$1,460,000 Shantung Provincial Treasury Notes gone to the dogs.

External debts not only added more burdens to the peasantry but had a tendency to continue the chaotic state of the currency system. We cite an example: By the Chinese New Year of 1921 the Hunan Provincial government was in urgent need of a sum for the issue of 4,800,000 copper notes worth $3,000,000. The authorities appealed to the Mitsui Company for an accommodation of $1,200,000, at 15 percent monthly interest, with 2 percent commission, the securities to be 30,000 tons lead ore and the certificate for the export of 1,200,000 sacks of rice (each sack weighs more than a picul). The way in which the Japanese handed over the funds was unique in financial history: the Japanese company was to supply copper to the copper mint up to an amount worth $1,200,000, while the loan was to be paid back in silver dollars in Hankow. In February, 1928, the Kwangtung Provincial government entered into a contract with the Hongkong & Shanghai Bank for a loan of $5,000,000, part of which was reported to be assigned for the reopening of the copper mint in Canton. We may therefore forecast a further overproduction of copper coins.

Different localities in many provinces are flooded with many sorts of notes coming from various sources, having variegated names and values. By the Spring of 1928 a trade-mart in Shantung, (Tsining), witnessed the total disappearance of its coppers. What served as a medium of exchange was paper notes, some issued by the Magistrate's Yamen and some issued by the district Chamber of Commerce, which could hardly be changed for specie. But in the payment of taxes the inhabitants had to bring in silver, or at least coppers, which fact weighed heavily upon the peasantry. In Shantung and Kwangtung provinces, only 30 percent of the land tax was allowed to be paid in paper notes, the rest of the amount having to be in silver—one way of increasing the land tax.

In China the depreciation of the paper and bank notes is commonplace. In 1920, the time of factional strife between the Chihli Clique and the Anhui Faction, the Communications and China Banks' Notes fell to 57 percent of their face value. In September, 1923, Peking copper notes of 50 cents denomination dropped to 42 percent of their face value, those of 40 cents to 30 percent, of 20 cents to 20 percent, of 10 cents to 10 percent. At the same time the price of daily necessities rose by 30 percent. In recent times the drop in the

Fengtien Provincial Bank notes has fallen heavily upon the livelihood of the people: within the space from February, 1927, to the same month of 1928, increases of 56.6 percent in the cost of food and of 29.9 percent in the cost of labour were registered. In other words within the short time of one year viands cost five times more and wages nearly three times more. What made matters worse was the fact that the authorities bought grain and beans from the peasants with depreciated notes, but in the payment of the land tax the authorities exacted silver coin. The following shows the exchange rate between the Japanese Yen and the Feng-piao (Mukden notes).

Year	1920	1922	1924	1925	1926	1927
Average rate	107.5	135.0	153.5	185.0	344.0	942.0
Difference between extreme fluctuations	79	38	83	110	292	874

In April, 1928, 100 Japanese Yen was equivalent to 2930 Fengtien notes.

The inhabitants of a few provinces have to endure the vexations arising from depreciation in the value of the paper notes and coppers. This sad state of things especially affects the pawnshops. In 1920 the Hunan notes suspended payment to the amount of $1,620,000 causing all the pawnshops to close down. The Tsinan pawnshops in 1927 had to suspend business for the very same reason. The Japanese took advantage of this golden opportunity. They would only accept cash, the monthly interest charged was 100 percent, and a time-limit of two months was enforced on all loans. Eyeing the Japanese with envy the Chinese resumed business, charged a monthly interest of 25 percent to 30 percent and the time-limit twenty-four months was shortened to eighteen months. The hardships of the Chinese peasantry can well be imagined.

Land Tax

The land tax is collected in many localities under various names and in different rates. Its chaotic state is typical of Chinese finance. According to a foreign estimate, within the period of 190 years (from 1713 to 1903) the rice-equivalent tax had increased 210 percent and the rate of surcharges 128 percent. Since the advent of the Republic the land tax has been augmented 39.3 percent.

The following table illustrates the land tax rate (rice-equivalent tax and surcharges not included) in various districts:

PROVINCE	DISTRICT	LAND TAX ON 1 MU 1/6 ACRE		PERCENT INCREASE
		1911	1928	
Chihli	Changli	$0.015	$0.023	53.3
Shantung	Laichow	0.072	0.106	47.2
Kiangsu	Kianhing	0.150	0.205	36.6
Chekiang	Kashing	0.247	0.297	20.2

The total imposition of each Mu in these localities was as follows:

PROVINCE CHEKIANG, DISTRICT KASHING, 1928

(1)	Land Tax	$0.29702700
(2)	Rice-equivalent Tax	0.27390000
(3)	Provincial Surtax	0.07440450
(4)	District Surtax	0.23840473

(5)	Collection Expense	0.03731493
(6)	Special Military Tax	0.24801500
(7)	Provincial Highway Surcharge	0.05707270
(8)	Educational Surtax	0.05709270

The total each Mu had to pay was 1.28325156 dollars.

PROVINCE KIANGSU, DISTRICT KIANGHING, 1928

(1)	Land Tax	$0.20500
(2)	Rice-equivalent Tax	0.50000
(3)	Provincial Surcharge	0.16500
(4)	District Surcharge	0.14300
(5)	Collection Expense	0.06812
(6)	Special Military Tax	0.03500
(7)	Agricultural Bank Foundation Fund	0.20000
(8)	District Route Surcharge	0.05000

The total each Mu had to pay was $1.36612—say $1.37.

PROVINCE OF SHANTUNG, DISTRICT OF LAIYANG

(Reported by the landowner himself who had six Mu standing to his name.) In 1927 each Tael of Land-tax was assessed the following impositions.

(1)	Land-tax	$1.800
(2)	Provincial and District Surcharge	0.400
(3)	Educational Surtax	0.050
(4)	River Conservancy Surtax	0.220
(5)	River Conservancy Special Surcharge	0.660
(6)	Special Military Tax	2.000
(7)	Provincial Highway Surcharge	0.550
(8)	District Educational Surtax	0.099
(9)	Famine Relief Surtax	1.000
(10)	Emergency Surtax	0.330
(11)	Bandit Suppression Tax	0.050
(12)	Local Benefit Contribution	0.150
(13)	Collection Expense	0.060

The total each Tael of Land Tax had to pay was $7.369 say $7.40 or $0.05 per Mu. No difference was made between low or high priced land nor between good or bad soils.

In 1927 the owner had to pay the Land Tax no less than four times, as follows:

MONTH	EACH TAEL LAND TAX	EACH MU PRO RATA
February	$ 7.40	$0.37
May	8.60	0.43
September	10.00	0.50
December	12.00	0.60

The total each Mu had to pay was $1.90 excluding stamp tax.

According to a foreign authority each English acre in America in 1922 had to pay $0.79 Gold or $0.24 Mex for each Chinese Mu. An American land owner therefore pays no more than one fourth of what his Shantung confrére had to pay. A Shantungese in 1927 bore a burden fifteen times that of his Prussian confrére in 1866 and four-

teen times that of his Indian brother in 1922. Moreover the helpless and ignorant Chinese peasant is exposed to endless extortion and blackmail on the part of the publicans whose name is a by-word of reproach in rural circles.

In 1888 the land tax in Kwangtung and Kiangsi was $0.25, in Hupeh $0.30, in Fengtien $0.05. In 1902 the land tax in Honan was $0.32 per Mu, the best rice-paddy $0.40 per Mu. Now the land-tax in Szechuan is $2.56 per Mu, in Shansi and Honan, $3.00, in Fengtien, $3.70. Within the period of forty years the land tax has increased ten times while that in Fengtien has increased seventy-four times!

The land tax as at present collected takes away 5 percent of the land's produce, while that collected in India takes away from 2 to 8 percent. A century ago it was as high as 40 to 50 percent.

In the time of the Manchus the land tax was collected in two instalments, and a certain time limit allowed. Were the land tax not forthcoming within that time limit, the owner would be subject to a fine.

During these troublous years many provinces were forced to advance the land-tax by many years. The following table shows the advance collection of the land tax since 1920:

PROVINCE	YEAR OF COLLECTION	LAND TAX	YEARS ADVANCED
Honan	1920	1921	1
Shansi	1928	1929	1
Shantung	1927	1928	1
Shensi	1925	1927	2
Shantung, Tehchow	1927	1930	3
Kwangtung, Chiaying	1925	1928	3
Honan	1928	1932	4
Chihli, Nankung	1927	1932	5
Fukien, Chanchow	1925	1930	5
Fukien, Tingchow	1926	1931	5
Kwangtung, Haifung	1925	1930	5
Hunan, Pin District	1924	1930	6
Fukien, Chinghua	1926	1933	7
Szechuan, Pi District	1927	1939	12
Szechuan, Tsetung	1926	1957	31

TRANSFER TAX

A title-deed mortgage is called a "negotiable" title-deed. A title-deed sold is called a "dead" title-deed. Both types are subject to taxation. The amount of revenue the government can collect from this source has never been accurate. Much has been pocketed; some authorities never even report the transaction. The collection of 1914 was a record, amounting to over $30,000,000.

TAXATION RATE	"NEGOTIABLE" TITLE-DEED	"DEAD" TITLE-DEED
1909	6%	9%
1912	2%	4%
1915	1%	2%
1917	3%	6%

Up to 1928 the rate of taxation in force was still that of 1917. Formerly each title-deed cost only $0.50. Now it is double, and in Fukien each deed costs $1.60, while in Kiangsi it costs $5.00.

OPIUM CULTIVATION TAX

The cultivation of opium *per se* is not taxed, but any land capable of cultivating it is taxed. The tax is so heavy that it leaves the peasant no other resource but to cultivate opium. It is common in Kiangsi, Kweichow, Hupeh and Anhui, and the rate of increase in area has been especially rapid in Fengtien, Chihli, Shantung, Fukien and Szechuan. By 1928 the province of Fengtien boasted of an increase in area of 250,000 Mu, while the total area devoted to the growth of opium is estimated at 2,000,000 Mu. The price of opium in the southwest part of Szechuan diminished ten times within the space of ten years.

In 1928 each Mu had to pay the following tax according to locality:

PROVINCE	DISTRICT	TAX	INSTALMENTS
Chihli	Singyuan	$3.00	One instalment
Chihli	Chonghsien	6.00	Two instalments
Chihli	Hochien	8.00	Three instalments
Fengtien		5.00	Two instalments
Honan	Changko	8.00	Three instalments

The Honan authorities have since July, 1928, forbidden the people to grow opium.

SALT TAX

No subject could be more difficult to study than the rate of salt taxation. Within the confines of the Chinese Republic there are 299 rates and an equal number of names of imposition. The number of surcharges would baffle anyone. Since 1913 almost every locality has had its salt surtax.

The following gives an idea of the rate of taxation in various localities at different periods:

	1910	1928		
PROVINCE		TAX	SURTAX	TOTAL
Fukien	$	$2.00	$4.00	$6.00
Anhui	1.50	3.00	5.68	8.68
Kwangtung	1.25	2.50	6.52	9.02
Kwangsi	1.25	2.50	1.90	4.40
Chekiang	0.80	7.80	2.00	9.80
Kiangsi	.....	2.50	6.00	8.50
Hunan	.....	2.00	7.50	9.50
Hupeh	.....	3.00	4.83	7.83
Kiangsu	1.50	1.61	4.75	6.36
Honan	1.37	2.50	5.00	7.50
Chihli	0.75	2.66	4.50	7.18
Fengtien	0.50	2.00	4.75	6.75
Average	1.11	2.83	4.78	7.62

Mr. Changchien put the Chinese salt tax at an average of 2.70 per 100 piculs. According to this figure the present surcharge would represent an increase of 77 percent of the total tax 15 years ago. The present total tax is three times that of 15 years ago and seven times that of 18 years ago.

At least 70 percent of the salt price represents the amount of taxation, as shown by the following:

In the province of Anhui, in 1927, the wholesale price of $12.50 per picul was taxed $8.68.

In Peking, in 1928, the retail price of each catty, 10 cents, was taxed $0.05 excluding the production tax.

It requires $0.36 to produce a picul of salt in Kwangtung, $0.40 in Kiangsu and Anhui, and $.65 in Fukien. The selling price must be at least 30 times the production price. Each individual takes yearly from 18 to 21 catties of salt, so a Chinese pays a salt tax of nearly $1.50.

KEROSENE TAX

The import duty on kerosene is 5 percent plus a 2.5 percent surtax. The special tax as collected by the Nanking Government is $0.10 to each gallon. A five-gallon kerosene tin costs $2.60 so that the kerosene tax amounts to 26 percent of the price.

TAXATION ON AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS AND IMPLEMENTS

PRODUCE	TAXATION ON SELLING	REGION AND YEAR
Fresh or Salted Fish	5%	Kiangsu and Chekiang
Native Produce	15.5%	Kiangsi
Rice	3%	1927
Tea	15.5%	1918
Silk	18%	1918
Cotton	17%	Chihli
Fresh Cocoons	23%	Chekiang
Tobacco and Wine	68%	Kiangsu

In Suiyuan each horse, whether used for traction or for ploughing, is taxed $0.44, and each additional horse $0.11. In Chekiang, a field ox is taxed $0.20, and a smaller one, one-half of the tax. Buffalo are taxed $0.30. Thus not only is produce taxed but also the necessities of agriculture.

TRANSIT DUTY

The corruption of the Likin system is a matter of common knowledge. As reported by the Financial Commissioner of Hupeh the receipts of January, 1928, were no more than 23 percent of the amount of the preceding year; the remainder must have been pocketed. The usual rate of taxation varies from 3 to 25 percent ad valorem and has been augmented due to the accumulation of surcharges. Yarn, canned goods and provisions are taxed as high as thirty percent.

Commodities coming through the railways are taxed from 2½ to 3 percent. It is reported that dotted along the Peking-Suiyuan railway are no less than 82 barriers for the collection of duty. The rate of taxation on the Kiao-Tsi railway has been ten times the usual rate. The surtaxes levied on the Peking-Suiyuan railway are equivalent to 76.6 percent of the freight charged; that on the Peking-Mentoukow branch line amounted to 480 percent. In the province of Honan, silk, tobacco and salt transported by railway are taxed 150 percent of the freight charged, grain and beans 70 percent. Few canals and rivers are available in Northern China for the transporta-

tion of goods so the natives have to make use of railway facilities. The merciless exactions by the authorities have compelled the people to resort to camels and horse-carts for the removal of produce, at the same time avoiding the endless vexations. It should not be difficult to imagine the amount of time lost and extra expense incurred.

Many rivers intersect Southern China. Locomotion by boats is taxed according to six classes varying from $0.50 to $12.00 not including collection expense. In the spring of 1928, on the borders of Hupeh and Szechuan provinces, Chinese bottoms were each charged $2,000 for registration besides tonnage levies varying from $1 to $300.

The Peking English Chamber of Commerce in a letter to the Railway Department of the Communications Board enumerated the many impostions on camel fleece and wool transported along the Peking-Suiyuan line from Paotow to Tientsin. They are as under:

KIND OF TRANSIT DUTY	CAMEL FLEECE	SHEEP WOOL
Shapei Customs Station	$ 0.90 per picul	$ 0.60 per picul
Paotow Barrier	0.90 " "	0.50 " "
Hsikow Barrier	0.90 " "	0.50 " "
Likin Station	0.11 " "	0.09 " "
Special Contribution Bureau	0.48 " "	0.24 " "
Fengchun Native Customs	1.50 " "	------
Railway Freight	2.20 " "	2.20 " "
Cars Surcharge	0.38 " "	0.38 " "
Insurance Charge	2.00 " "	2.00 " "
Usual Freight Charge	2.50 " "	2.50 " "
Total	14.37 " "	11.51 " "

The collection of the Tientsin Native Customs is not included.

It should be noted that the freight from Tientsin to New York is no more than 1.50 per picul. The consequence has been that the export of fleece and wool has gradually fallen off, as shown by the following figures:

KIND	1924	1925	1926
Sheep Wool	410,747	383,983	163,171
Camel Fleece	38,349	37,349	27,872
Goat Hair	24,002	20,221	11,150

Business Tax

Stamp duty on account books has increased to a dime, or five times that of 1927. Fengtien pawnshop receipts worth $20 Fengtien notes, should carry 10 cent stamp in silver. Publicity tax has been in force in Peking since the autumn of 1927. Peking business concerns with a capital below $100 must pay each season a tax varying from $0.40 to a dollar; bigger concerns must of course pay more. The usual shop contribution in Chihli and Shantung varies from 1.5 to 2.5 percent of the capital, payable in two instalments, while in Fengtien a monthly contribution of 0.6 percent is exacted. The yearly business tax on pawnshops in Chekiang is $75, in Chihli $250, in Shantung $600. The tea-houses in Chekiang yield monthly to the government an amount varying from $1.00 to $15.00 each. Each vegetable retailer in Wuchang contributes from $0.40 to $1.00.

The Butchery Tax in 1928 was:

KIND	TAX PER HEAD	LOCALITY
Ox or cow	1.00	Kiangsi
Sheep	0.60	Fukien
Hogs	0.58	Kiangsu

The port monopoly bureaux spread to the whole of Fengtien province due to a distinguished relative of the powers-that-be, having charge. Kwangtung has set up fertiliser monopoly bureaux. Each picul is levied $2.00. Amoy has instituted the fertiliser tax of a dollar to each picul.

BLACKMAIL AND PRESSGANGS

When Chang Tsung-chang administered Shantung the shoes and socks of his unruly soldiery were supplied pro rata by the various districts. The people were forced to satisfy the requirements of the Manchurian Army. Within half a year, between 1927 and 1928, the Three Eastern Provinces contributed monthly to the Manchurian Commissariat provisions worth $2,000,000. From April to July, 1928, Kiangsi gave monthly to the army 40,000 piculs of rice and Anhui, 20,000 piculs.

The salaries of public servants have been in arrears for many years. Funds earmarked for the police in Peking had time and again been appropriated for military expenditure. The military authorities, by holding up or failing to dole out their monthly meagre allowances, virtually forced the private soldiers to rob and blackmail the people.

At the very doors of Peking having already cleared off the octroi tax the merchant or the peasant was robbed or blackmailed by the publicans who took at random whatever they liked and the fruits of others' industry.

More and more people were pressed into the army with the years. Shantung, ravaged in 1927 by many calamities, was still required by unscrupulous militarists to furnish the necessary contingents within twenty days time. Each 100 taels of land tax had to furnish a private soldier in Tsaochow, and each 600 Mu was to furnish the necessaries for him. Those who refused to serve had to pay from $40.00 to $70.00 to hire some one to take their place.

In times of civil war the mules and livestock in the North were commandeered for military use. The losses incurred by the rural communities have been unbearable. They threw many people out of employment. Few livestock are to be found in the South. The military satraps had resorted to pressgangs. To each soldier was attached two men for sundry duties, so that an army of 10,000 men would require 20,000 civilians who received no remuneration for their services. Labour was wasted, and agricultural exploitation thrown out of joint. Indeed the poverty of the Chinese peasantry is a fact known to anyone who takes an interest in the general situation. With such a state of things existing it is useless to talk of the development of industry and production.

Pacific Items

Relinquishing of Extraterritoriality

The United States government's refusal to comply with the latest Chinese request for extraterritoriality abolition was made public officially in Secretary Stimson's note of August 10th. In reply to Chinese Minister Wu's note of April 27, in which the present Chinese judiciary was declared to afford ample protection for American nationals there, Secretary Stimson declared "there does not exist in China today a system of independent Chinese courts free from extraneous influences which is capable of adequately doing justice between Chinese and foreign litigants."

This action on the part of Secretary Stimson resulted in much discussion at Washington, both sides of the question being presented to high officials and congressmen by Stirling Fessenden, director general of the International Settlement at Shanghai, and Thomas F. Millard, American advisor with the National government of China, according to a United Press report. On September 12 the Nationalist government's foreign office released the text of a second note to the United States, reiterating the request that the United States "immediately enter into discussions aimed at arranging for abolition of extrality." However, according to reports, it was said authoritatively at the State Department on September 12, that the government considered the United States note of August 10 an adequate reply. Nanking, however, persists in her request, and on Sept. 19, according to reports, an official announcement said that a preparatory committee had been formed, including numerous department chiefs and judicial luminaries, as part of the program to persuade the United States and other powers enjoying special court privileges in China to surrender them.

Developments in Manchuria

Negotiations between the Nationalist Government of China and the Soviet Government, over the dispute of the Chinese Eastern Railway, have as yet reached no settlement. On August 31 the Soviet Government accepted the proposals of China for conclusion of a joint declaration for settlement of all questions arising from the dispute, the foreign commissariat expressing willingness to abandon the Russian demand for the reinstatement of the same Russian general manager as a preliminary condition of discussions. It offered to seek the approval of the Soviet government for appointment of a new manager if China would replace the old chairman of the railroad directorate, whom the Soviet government holds responsible for the present trouble.

On September 2, however, Dr. C. T. Wang declared China would not consent to replace the present chairman. Since then reports come of increasing warfare along the Manchurian border. On September 12 reports claimed that the Nationalist Government was undertaking preliminary negotiations in Berlin, aiming at a settlement of the dispute. On September 19 the foreign ministry of China telegraphed the Chinese minister at Berlin to endeavor through the German embassy to resume preliminary Sino-Russian discussions on some basis other than the appointment of a Soviet manager assistant for the Chinese Eastern Rail-

way. This move came, according to a United Press report, after Russia's latest communication rejected Chinese proposals.

Vladivostok Conference

On August 15 the Pacific Trade Union Congress met at Vladivostok to report on the two years' work of the Secretariat which was set up in Hankow at the conference held there towards the end of May, 1927. The Congress, it is claimed, represents more than fifteen million organized workers in the Pacific countries, including Australia, China, Japan, Korea, Indonesia, Philippines, Russia, England, France and the United States.

Disbandment Conference

The National Military Reorganization and Disbandment Enforcement Conference which met at Nanking from August 1 to 6, closed with a manifesto declaring China will retain only about 800,000 troops for national defense, and that 60 per cent of the present forces shall be disbanded. It was also decided that the monthly military expenditure of the Central Government be cut to $13,000,000. On August 20 regulations were passed at a meeting of the Legislative Yuan, governing the issue of Treasury bonds to the amount of $70,000,000 to be known as the Disbandment Treasury Bonds of 1929. The Government has devoted much attention to plans for the employment of disbanded soldiers.

Philippine Independence

Senator William H. King, Utah Democrat, on September 12 offered amendments to the pending tariff bill proposing independence for the islands and authorizing the President to negotiate Pacific treaties with various powers guaranteeing their territorial sovereignty.

Defence Force

According to a Kuo Min report, a squadron of 78 military airplanes will be ordered from America by the Kwangtung Provincial Government for incorporation into the provincial defence force. The decision was reached at a recent joint conference of the Provincial civil and military authorities.

Supreme Court for China

According to a Kuo Min report, the Legislative Yuan has adopted a set of regulations governing the organization and functions of the supreme court of China—another significant step towards the completion of the national government's modern judicial system before the end of the current year, to facilitate the proposed abolition of foreign consular jurisdiction.

Reflections

EDITORIAL OPINION ON THE PACIFIC

These reprints are chosen as reflecting diverse points of view in and around the Pacific upon problms uppermost in the news of the area. They are not selected, in any instance, as indicative of the editorial attitude of PACIFIC AFFAIRS.

LONDON—AND EXTRALITY

From the *Times,* London, August 15, 1929

The British Note (on extraterritoriality) is understood to be worded sympathetically, and reiterates the hope that, by degrees, conditions in China will be reformed to the point where it will be possible to accede to the request put forward from Nanking; but it is plainly stated that present circumstances do not warrant a change of policy. No other reply could reasonably have been expected. Mr. C. T. Wang, the Chinese Foreign Minister, phrased his appeal to the Powers in moderate and persuasive language. The logic of his argument was irrefutable. But the facts upon which it was based could not be substantiated. Were China in fact finally unified under a Government that could guarantee the security of foreigners, and were the legal reforms drastic enough to assure them justice in Chinese Courts, the Powers would certainly be ready to accede to Mr. Wang's request. That has been their long-declared policy. But to speak of the "unification of China" and the "establishment upon a firm basis of the National Government" as accomplished facts is to make large assumptions.

PLAYING A POOR ROLE

From the *Honolulu Advertiser,* September 15, 1929

It was probably somewhat less than wise on the part of the United States government to have rejected China's request that the extraterritorial privileges of American nationals in China be given up beginning January 1, 1930. . . . . The big result, from the American point of view, would have been to win for America and all Americans a great wave of gratitude from the whole Chinese people. This would have come from the enormous amount of publicity the Nanking government would have generated in the Chinese press in the perfectly natural process of giving itself new "face" for new victories on the diplomatic front. And the subtle effects of this upon American trade would have been great, beyond the question of a doubt. If anyone disbelieve this, let him look upon the steady growth of German trade with China since the Germans were forced—by the treaty of Versailles—to give up extraterritorial privileges for its citizens in China; let him remember how German trade continued at a normal level when all the other foreign Powers lost business during the troublous days of 1926 and 1927. . . . All this is argument purely upon the side of expediency. For there is a question of "right and wrong" involved also. And in that phase of the discussion, neither the United States nor any other nation has any "right" to have special privileges in China for its nationals. The present extraterritorial privileges are "rights" wrested from a prostrate China at the cannon's mouth—by Britain first, by the rest of the Powers later under "most favored nation" clauses. In short, we have special extraterritorial rights for Americans in China because of superior force. It is a privilege not granted us, but taken by us.

PROCEEDING CAUTIOUSLY

From the *New Zealand Herald,* Auckland, August 14, 1929

Explicitly and in detail, Britain has led the way toward a future in which China's tariff autonomy and equality of status in all respects with other Powers will be realised without qualification. Others have followed, and in the reply of the United States to the Nationalist Government's demand for the abolition of foreign consular jurisdiction there is significantly evident a desire to discuss this, and necessarily related questions, without prejudice. Yet still it is true that the greatest and most stubborn obstacle to China's enjoyment of equality of status is China. . . . Especially does the perpetuation of military disorder render perilous the leaving of foreign nationals to the tender mercies of the Chinese courts. When these conditions pass, the new order can come safely in. Japan, it is instructive to remember, had also her "unequal treaties" and the same experience of foreign consular jurisdiction; but she got quickly rid of them long ago by proving that

foreign life and property could dispense with safeguards exceptionally and externally imposed. China will merit and enjoy the same liberty when she presents a claim backed by like guarantees. Until she can, there may be offers of treaty revision by the Foreign Powers concerned, and there should be sympathy with her in her plight, but there must be continued caution.

GETTING DOWN TO BUSINESS

From the *China Critic,* Shanghai, August 8, 1929

Great hopes are placed on the National Military Reorganization and Disbandment Conference now assembled at Nanking, upon the success of which, as General Chiang remarked, hinges the ultimate success of the Revolution. . . . . Obviously, the difficulties facing this conference are legion. Its task is literally the untying of China's greatest Gordian knot. It will be recalled that several such conferences have graced the history of China since the founding of the First "Republic," but the troops have actually kept on multiplying instead of being reduced. . . . Unlike the previous conferences, nothing has now been mentioned about a ratio for proportional disarmament among the various Group Armies. The present conference is to be viewed as an attempt by the Central Government to get rid of the surplus troops, retaining only the best qualified soldiers no matter under whose command they happen to be. So far two important resolutions have been adopted by the conference limiting the size of the Chinese Army to 800,000 and the monthly military expenditure of the Central Government to $13,000,000. Considering the present millions of Chinese soldiers and the enormous revenue squandered on their upkeep, these resolutions may even appear radical, but the Nanking Government at its present strength is fully capable of enforcing their fulfillment.

REASONABLE OFFER OF PEACE

From the *New York Times,* September 4, 1929

In the manoeuvring between the Chinese and Russians in Manchuria, Russia has, for the moment, the advantage. Three weeks ago China had the favorable position. She had only to maintain a strict defensive position and hope for an attack by the Russians, so that she would be able to cry out to the world against a violation of the Kellogg treaty and the peace of Asia by the Imperialistic Russians. But Russia turned the tables on China by making what appears to be a reasonable offer of peace. . . . Two forces have been working for peace—the American State Department and the Japanese Foreign Office. A report from Moscow is to the effect that internationalization of the Chinese Eastern Railway has been suggested by the United States. Unacceptable as such a plan would be to the Americans, Russians and Chinese, the mere rumor of it has doubtless served to increase the determination of the Japanese to use their influence for the restoration of the joint partnership under which the Russians, in fact, ran the railroad.

NAVAL EXALTATION

From the *Osaka Mainichi,* August 24, 1929

Judging from various sources of information we may sum up the attitude of our naval authorities relative to the proposed naval limitation as follows: (1) they demand 70 percent of the tonnages in cruisers allocated to Britain and they stick to a large cruiser policy, (2) they demand equal strength with any naval power in submarines and would oppose any proposal to outlaw this particular category of naval warfare as inhuman, and (3) they would not make any concession in proportional allotment of smaller craft. . . . Provided that the basis of calculation be the actual strength in Britain or in the United States, the ratio of 70 percent in cruisers would mean an increase of 30,000 tons for Japan. We shall, in other words, have to build three large cruisers of 10,000 tons each. We have been clamorous in our demand for a new naval conference in the name of peace and humanity. Are we in seriousness going to demand a larger navy at that conference? Shall we not rather contend that the conference should never be held, unless we earnestly wish our naval strength to be augmented? Rather than hypocrisy, let the conference be called what it really would amount to—a conference for naval exaltation.

HANDS TIED

From the *Nation,* New York, August 21, 1929

The Chinese Government has asked the American Minister to deport four American newspapermen whom it regards as persistently and unfairly unfriendly. . . . None of these men, of course, was or will be deported. The American minister, much as he may sometimes have wished to do, has no power to order Americans out of China. And the Chinese Government, under the extraterritorial laws, is also powerless to deport them, or even to punish them should they openly violate China's laws. Italy, Spain, France, Russia, Mexico, and Rumania can deport, and in recent years have deported, American newspapermen. In China alone foreign newspapers and newspapermen retain a privileged status, superior to the Chinese themselves.

THE COURTEOUS FOREIGNER

From the *China Critic,* Shanghai, August 15, 1929

Foreigners in China represent so many nationalities and are so different in their education and training that it would be a hopeless task to draw generalizations applicable to each and every one of them. It is not impossible, of course, to find some that are truly of the gentlemanly type. These are cultured, far-sighted, and broad-minded; but, unfortunately, they constitute only a minority. The rest are narrow-minded and arrogant. Their sole purpose in coming to China is to exploit the Chinese people in the same manner as the peoples of other peace-loving but weak states have been exploited. Their goal is money-making, and money they must make by hook or by crook. International good-will and justice are terms entirely beyond their comprehension. It is this class of people, ignorant but aggressive, that dominate practically every foreign community in China. Backed by the strong gunboat policy of their home Governments, they think they can defeat all efforts that may be made to dislodge them from their privileged position in the Far East!

GAINING PERSPECTIVE

From the *Nation,* New York, August 14, 1929

Wisely the American pilgrims to the third session of the Institute of Pacific Relations—meeting at Kyoto, Japan, in October—have decided to carry out their plan to travel eastward via Moscow and the Trans-Siberian railroad. . . . They will surely gain a perspective which the institute needs. For earnest as were the Honolulu meetings, a note of unreality crept in whenever they faced the problem of the Pacific as a whole. Britain, America, and Japan are the three great Powers of the Pacific today; but Russia, America, and China are almost certain to be the three great Powers tomorrow, and discussion of Pacific problems without Russia is "Hamlet" with Hamlet left out.

"BIRTHRIGHT"

From the *Manitoba Free Press,* August 12, 1929

During his British Columbia speaking tour Mr. R. B. Bennett has been busy explaining his opposition to the "Sockeye Salmon Treaty" negotiated by the Dominion Government with Washington at the request of the British Columbia Government. . . . The Treaty, it was said, was just another example of Canada knuckling under to the United States. . . . It is common knowledge at the coast that if the Treaty is not ratified "the people of our country" will have no birthright left in the sockeye salmon industry. . . . While the Fraser River lies wholly in Canadian territory, the route taken by the salmon on their way to and from the spawning beds of the river's upper reaches is such that United States canneries naturally obtain 65 percent of the total catch. The Treaty aims to provide Canadian fishing interests with 50 percent of the catch. This clause would be enough, it might be thought, to win the support of the British Columbia Federal members. Instead, however, they rest their objection upon the provisions for control by a joint international commission . . . . Why, they ask, should a Canadian river be placed under United States control? This is the "birthright" which they say will be bartered away. The answer lies in the fact that nothing can stop the salmon from passing through United States waters. The Treaty and nothing but the Treaty can save the sockeye salmon-fishing industry and save British Columbia a business that may amount to as much as $30,000,000 a year.

Books of the Pacific

THE AUSTRALIAN TARIFF: AN ECONOMIC INQUIRY
Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, 1929. 2/6

This substantial book represents the conclusions of a committee of five business men, civil servants and professors of economics who at the request of the Australian Prime Minister spent several months in careful study of the workings of the Australian tariff. The composition of the committee is interesting. Two of its leading members have recently crossed the line between academic and non-academic occupations—and in reverse directions. Mr. J. B. Brigden formerly Professor of Economics in the University of Tasmania has become Economist and Deputy-Chairman of the Executive of the Australian Oversea Transport Association. Mr. L. F. Giblin, after many years service as Government Statistician of Tasmania has accepted the Ritchie Chair of Economics in the University of Melbourne. In their two persons, therefore, they illustrate the fruitful cooperation between business, government and scholarship which is creating a new and interesting school of economic thought in Australia and New Zealand. The other members of the committee, Mr. E. C. Dyason, a leading business man and financier in Melbourne; Mr. C. H. Wickens, Commonwealth Statistician and Dr. D. B. Copland, Professor of Commerce in the University of Melbourne, illustrate the same cooperative tendency.

It is not surprising, therefore, to find that the report of such a committee differs from most discussions on tariff problems. It is neither an impassioned statement of free-trade or protectionist principles, nor an abstract theoretical academic argument. Still less is it a piece of special pleading for specific interests conjectured to be benefited or injured by the tariff. It is an objective effort to estimate with as much precision as the data allow, the extent, benefits, costs and ultimate effects of tariff protection. As such it is a difficult and even forbidding piece of reasoning, certain to be attacked particularly by those whose partisanship is unequal to the strain of scientific detachment.

Certain general features of the enquiry occur to one at first reading. The first is the extraordinary complexity of the reasoning by which the committee attempts to track down and estimate the ramifications of its subject. This in itself is likely to be a source of offense to partisans. There are no purple passages of exhortation and cliches are quoted only that they may be subjected to patient, inexorable cross-examination.

One important result emerges. It is, by inference, clearly shown that the main clashes of interest are between economic groups within Australia rather than between Australians and foreigners. This, of course, is familiar ground to economists; but it is well worth re-stating. The main conclusion of the report emphasises this aspect of the problem. With a canny caution the indirect statement is made that "the evidence available does not support the contention that Australia could have maintained its present population at a higher standard of living under free trade." In scattered passages throughout the text this statement is amplified and made more direct. The authors conclude that the tariff has enabled Australia while maintaining a high standard of living to increase the numbers of its population faster than would

have been possible under free trade. They are clear that a higher level of total production per head might have been achieved, so that their argument appears to be that tariff protection has brought in greater numbers and has tended to equalize the distribution of wealth.

It is clear that the main popular supports of the high tariff policy have been these arguments of the need for a larger population and the wisdom of—in effect—taxing land values for the maintenance of the workers' standard of living. The committee's virtual endorsement of these arguments is in rather curious contrast to its conclusions on imperial preference. After pointing out that, both in Australia and in Great Britain, the main clashes of interest are between local groups, they state categorically that "it would, therefore, appear that the costs of preference in both countries are greater than the benefits to be derived."

This *a priori* conclusion, unsupported by statistical evidence, accords with the broad conclusions of economic theorists the world over. What reason can be advanced for the opposite conclusion in respect to the Australian tariff? The answer of the committee would apparently be that Australian circumstances are exceptional. Their professional critics will, however, regard the discrepancy as a good *prima facie* reason for examining the validity of the estimates upon which their main conclusion was based.

Upon examination these statistics prove to be a pioneer study in the disentangling of economic costs and influences. They necessarily consist in large degree of estimates and in some cases of estimates upon estimates. As such they are entitled to respectful consideration. No one who has not worked laboriously through the masses of crude statistical data handled by the committee has any right to challenge their work in detail. That work, however, will and should provoke critical examination in detail by their fellow-economists and statisticians. It will prove an invaluable target for criticism and as such will perform a real service.

The presentation of the argument is perhaps open to question at a crucial point. After a careful estimation of the costs of protection, an estimate is made of the extra production that would be needed to compensate for the loss of industries which would lapse if protection were abolished. The various export industries are then examined and the conclusion reached that the production of wheat would need to be doubled, which would obviously react on the world market. One rather suspects a hint of special pleading in this form of presentation. At any rate it is clear that the protectionist orators in Australia have had presented to them an excellent and picturesque argument. More detailed examination, modifying an estimate here and there, may well narrow down the conclusion to which the committee has come.

It is indeed a bold and dangerous venture to essay the measurement of such complicated and inter-related factors and problems. There is not much reality in contrasting Australia as it now is, with Australia, also as it now is, with the exception of a high tariff. If that high tariff had not existed since 1901 there would have been quite different development of population, economic organisation such for example as banking facilities, wage legislation, and many other important factors in the problem. While, therefore, one is bound to pay attention to the

judgment of so painstaking and authoritative a committee, critical readers are likely to have reservations about the estimates in detail and in general conclusion. They are likely to regard the thesis that Australia's peculiar conditions have caused her to benefit from tariff protection as interesting but unproven.

The report has a good deal of value apart from the stimulation of economic thought and study regarding its main issue. Mention has already been made of its emphasis upon conflicts of group interest. Another very important and practical point of value lies in its cautionary attitude towards individual costly items of tariff protection and towards the wisdom of still further all-round increases of what (p. 99) it calls the tariff drug.

Another related question of great importance is the connection of the tariff revenue with borrowing. Overseas borrowing makes possible large importations, the customs revenue on which is used for current expenditure (p. 17). Here is perhaps one clue to the greater seeming prosperity of Australia under present conditions.

On all these and many other points the report of the committee will act as a challenge to the young economists of Australia. The challenge will be all the greater because the main conclusion to which the committee's estimates lead, needs a good deal of reconciliation with the teaching of the accepted text-books. The report is valuable in itself but becomes more valuable because it is likely to provoke further thought and work. Its authors deserve congratulation for their pioneer work.

—J. B. C.

THE RAIN-MAKERS

By Mary Roberts Coolidge

Houghton Mifflin Company, New York, 1929. G. $4.00

Are the Amerindians a "problem of the Pacific?" Many of us whose interest centers more and more in the Orient are prone to forget that they are, in fact as well as by ancestry, a Pacific people. In "The Rain-Makers," Mrs. Coolidge says: "In our generation scientists are substantially agreed that they (the Amerindians) came from Asia and their ancestors were the same as those of the Mongols."

As a prelude to the first chapter the following is quoted: "The native American, like the Oriental, viewed nature as the great source of all existences; found, in contemplating its orderly processes, the principle for ordering his own life; sought in its mysterious forces not something to be captured and made to serve him, but harmonies that he might share to the profound satisfaction of his soul."

"The Rain-Makers" are the Pueblo Indians of Arizona and New Mexico where in a country of superb beauty and little rain these people have lived "in the presence of natural wonders, devoid of that urgency of time with which the white race is possessed, and in spite of economic hardship, the Indian developed the contemplative, philosophic mind. He became what he is today: not an accumulator of material things, but a man who enjoys what he has, endures what he must, does not fret, does not resist Nature, and adapts himself to whatever happens. He thinks of himself, not as an individual competing with others for place, but as a being, one with his people, one with all animate life, one with the invisible ancestral spirits whose favor he desires. At the end of his fragment of time, he withers away like a forest plant, carrying with him

into the underworld his choicest belongings. For to their dead the Indians begrudge nothing."

The author gives in a vivid way a digest of all the known facts about these people: their history, lives, folklore, religion, art. Through the 307 pages we see anew why the Amerindian has such a fascination for the youthful readers of the world. We feel keenly the loss to the thought-stream of the world through the shoddy manner in which the Indian, his art and literature, have been received through our long lack of sympathy and understanding which in far too many cases has justified him in the belief that "we are a nation of unmannerly intruders who force our way into their houses, pluck and stare at everything, and then rush on to see more of what we do not take the trouble to comprehend." We can but humbly long for that far day when we shall shake off our veils of race and personal superiority and look about us with the open eyes of artists, scientists, and children, upon those whom Nature has shaped to a different culture, and even a different color from ourselves.

—B. M.

SURVEY OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS
By Arnold J. Toynbee
Oxford University Press (American Branch), New York, 1929. G. $8.50

The scope of the 1927 Survey is indicative of the widening field of information upon international affairs which the Royal Institute is able to cover. The collection and organisation of this material is a considerable task in itself. In the present volume there are four parts. The first deals with Security and Disarmament and includes a retrospective review of naval questions from the Washington Conference of 1922 to the Three Power Naval Conference of 1927. This section is particularly timely in view of the imminent resumption of naval conversations.

The second part dealing regionally with various sections of Europe is of more local interest. An exception may perhaps be made of the final section dealing with the U.S.S.R. In a short introduction Professor Toynbee draws an amusing distinction between the Soviet State and the Third International which he characterises as the apocalyptic Marxian Church Militant.

Part III dealing with China brings the story both of domestic political developments and of international relations up to the end of 1927. The narrative is as usual carefully documented and lucidly arranged; but it raises in the mind of an interested reader a query concerning the wisdom of the methods of choice of material for publication. The survey is admirably balanced and as dispassionately impartial as one could imagine possible; but it is nearly two years out of date. To cover the field of foreign affairs in an annual survey is an intellectual feat that commands admiration; but the usefulness of certain parts of the survey is lessened by the difficulty of keeping up to date with swiftly moving situations. The whole aspect of Chinese politics has changed since the end of 1927 and one feels that the method adopted by the American Council of Foreign Relations in its annual survey is perhaps preferable. Not all areas or topics are covered; but those dealt with are brought right up to date and the book is published promptly. The usefulness of this present Survey would be greatly increased if a combination of the two methods could be adopted.

Part IV, dealing with Pan-American affairs up to the Havana Conference, is probably adequately treated until the approach of another great international event should warrant a recapitulation. This is the importance, as stated above, of Part I. But for developments in China, and probably Russia, which has similar problems of rapid development, an annual instalment of information is very desirable. This very tentative suggestion arises in one's mind not from any feeling of criticism; but rather from the desire to make even fuller use of an indispensable authority than its present form renders possible.

—J. B. C.

LATIN AMERICA IN WORLD POLITICS
An Outline Survey
By J. Fred Rippy
Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1928

"Latin America in World Politics" is an objective survey with an international perspective. It is significant more as a treatment of Latin-America as a factor in world affairs, than as a private problem or foible of the United States. It is also indicative of a changing American attitude. It outlines American territorial expansion and political domination in Latin-American territory, facilitated by 19th century jealousies of European interests in the same field, and it points out that in view of recent world industrial developments the hand to mouth policy pursued by the United States during this period is no longer adequate.

Rippy's analysis of the present situation shows that the struggle to maintain American economic supremacy in Latin America involves not only fierce competition with England and Germany but an even more serious obstacle which he calls the Pan-Latin movement. The Indo-Iberian people, he says, have always felt a cultural bond with France; and now since 1898 there has arisen a strong feeling of Pan-Hispanic unity, promoted by Spain and reflected in Latin-America by a widespread and almost rampant Yankeephobia which is not to be ignored. Rippy does not question the validity of the Monroe Doctrine, the efficacy of intervention or the justice of the methods of American bankers in their financial relations with debtor countries to the south. However, he describes the resentment of the weaker nations concerned and suggests that it would be wisdom to weigh the value of measures costly in cash and in ill will with the practical benefits which might result from a real Pan-Americanism in which the major American republics should coöperate to maintain stable governments in the more turbulent countries and in the protection of foreign interests. He places in clear relief the problems to be reckoned with in formulating a positive constructive policy for the guidance of United States relations with Latin America, and discusses Japanese as well as European interests in this connection. The outline is documented with illuminating excerpts from diplomatic correspondence and graphic commentary from the European and Latin-American press.

—L. P. K.

AMERICAN POLICY TOWARD RUSSIA SINCE 1917
By Frederick Lewis Schuman
International Publishers, New York, 1928

In this substantial volume of 400 pages the attempt has been made "to tell with a fair degree of completeness the story of Russian-American relations since the Revolution. The study is based primarily upon

American sources, including certain hitherto unpublished diplomatic correspondence in the archives of the Department of State, official documents, books, articles and miscellaneous newspaper and periodical material." The book impresses the reader as a careful and valuable piece of historical investigation. It appears to be dispassionate and reliable in its presentation of events and analysis of policies: the mass of documentation is unusually large, so that it is difficult to find a statement of importance that is not supported by specific documentary references. The literary value of the book, however, does not seem to have been unduly lowered by these encumbering evidences of fact. The greater portion of it indeed is very readable and interesting.

The bulk of the work is devoted to a chronological survey of the development of American policy from March of 1917 to the early part of 1928. It deals with the diplomatic and military activities of America, Britain, France and Japan against the newly formed Soviet government, with the "inglorious" expeditions to Archangel and Siberia. "Russia had been invaded, blockaded and disrupted with subsidized civil strife that wrought ruin and destruction to her cities and farms and carried suffering and death to thousands of her people. Beyond this, intervention had achieved nothing, save to place the Soviet Government in a position of triumphantly militant supremacy. A more complete and tragic débâcle would be difficult to imagine." Later chapters include an account of the attempt to organise trade relations with Russia in the United States, a study of the state of public opinion and official views on the activities of Russians and Soviet representatives in America, and an illuminating resume of the part played by the large oil interests in America and Britain in the determination of official policy. The author attributes a major part in the Anglo-Soviet rupture of May, 1927, to the influence of the Royal Dutch Shell and its President. Some attention is devoted to the motives and forces lying behind the non-recognition policy of the American government and to the propagandist activities of the Communist International.

The final section is an evaluation of the American policy toward Russia over the past decade. It is only in this chapter that the author allows himself any considerable latitude in the expression of personal opinion. His estimation of the policy seems fair enough and sane enough on the whole, and in line with more recent newspaper opinion on the matter. The great disadvantage of the non-recognition policy is that it leads to the persistence of a war psychology between the two peoples. The policy "though intelligible to the American student as a natural manifestation of the fear and aversion with which the dominant class of one social order views another which casts its idols in the mire and threatens it with destruction, can appear to the Russians only as an incomprehensible combination of muddle-headed stupidity and scheming malevolence." If there is no peace or reconciliation between those two social orders, then perhaps the policy is supremely wise, but to those who are willing "to accept certain hypothetical risks and difficulties for the sake of restored peace and friendship and to abandon past formulae in order to deal more constructively with present realities," it must appear "worse than futility."

The book contains a comprehensive list of bibliographical materials with a full index and list of references. —W. L. H.

TALES TOLD IN HAWAII
By Berta Metzger
Frederick A. Stokes Company, New York, 1929. G. $1.25

Just wee small spots on the map are the islands of the Pacific—Hawaii, Samoa, Tahiti, the Marquesas, New Zealand—but on them have lived "since time began" a happy, sweet-dispositioned, brave people of soft brown skin and brown smiling eyes. And just as all the children of all the lands of the world love to sit and hear strange, wonderful stories of strange, wonderful people, so do the little brown-eyed Polynesian children love to sit by their mother or father and listen in awe to the tales of their Chiefs and Goddesses.

Miss Metzger has collected in her book more than seventy-five of these stories of folk-lore. To those uninitiated into the realm of Polynesian fairy-land, these tales come as a decidedly new, refreshing aspect to the problem of children's stories. They lack the violence, bloodshed, tragedy unadorned that runs rampant through the old familiar fairy tales. The themes pivot around the strength and beauty of nature—for these Polynesians of the Pacific isles are the children of nature. Stories of the High Surf, Flowers, Rainbows, the Moon, the Birds and Animals and Fishes—these are the subjects close to the heart of the Pacific child. All of nature's possessions they make use of, even to the shadows cast by the sun: "Sina caught shadows of the gay dances of her people, of battles, of racing and wrestling, and of men and women at their daily work. She put these shadows on a pool in a hidden cave which could be entered only by moving a certain rock. When Sina was lonely she went into her hidden cave and enjoyed the moving pictures. . . . ."

There is, however, great significance in these tales, for they contain the explanations that the Polynesians have offered to the mystery of creation and life—love and death. They are tales for children—but somehow after one has finished them one senses that the "children" comprise *all* the brown-skinned, wistful eyed, smiling people of the Polynesian race. The questions that have been an enigma to every race: why are we here? where did we come from? where are we going? they have answered in these tales by the firelight, and, content with their solutions, have passed their knowledge on from father to son. Thus they have been able to live in contentment and peace, avoiding the quarrels and unrest and unhappiness that the other races of the world have brought upon themselves in seeking more involved explanations.

Take for instance, Maui: "Maui did many things for mankind. He snared the sun and made it go more slowly across the sky. He learned the secret of how to make fire and taught it to men. He fished up islands for men to live on . . . ."

The author has written her stories in a simple, brief style, very different from the usual manner of story telling, giving, really, the kernel of each tale so that she could cover a wider scope, instead of limiting her book to a few tales written in the usual long story form. She has made an interesting contribution to children, to literature and to cultural understanding.

The book is illustrated in a manner to capture the imagination of the child, and is unusually well printed in large type.

—N. W. D.

MANDATED TERRITORY OF WESTERN SAMOA
Ninth Report of the Government of New Zealand (and)
Annual Report of the Department of Health
New Zealand Government Printing Office. Wellington, 1929.

These reports are prepared by the Administrator of Western Samoa for the New Zealand Government which has submitted them as its annual report to the Permanent Mandates Commission of the League of Nations.

Detailed information is given of the various departments of the administration, including those of education, health, finance, public works, labour and trade. Over the calendar year 1928 there was a notable increase in trade from £640,000 in 1927 to £740,000. The health of the people of the area has generally been excellent, serious epidemics being entirely absent. The education of the native children is in the hands of some 31 mission schools and a number of government District Schools of higher grade.

The report points out that the political unrest among the natives is not yet past. The Mau organisation still includes about two-thirds of the native people in it. Efforts on the part of the Administrator to meet and discuss grievances with the leaders of the Mau have not apparently met with success. Ill feeling still continues and though "the attitude of the Mau has changed during the year from one of ostentation and aggression to a more subdued form, difficulty in dealing with it persists." Peace and order have been well preserved and it is proposed to reduce the numbers of the special military police from 74 to 45. The position is not satisfactory by any means, but there seems to have been no serious ill effect on the material welfare of the natives or on the economic prosperity of the country.

—W. L. H.

THE MINERAL INDUSTRY AND RESOURCES OF THE FAR EAST
By B. P. Torgasheff
Chinese Eastern Railway Printing Shop, Harbin, 1927

This volume covers the mineral industry of China, Manchuria, Russian Far East, Japan, Korea, Formosa, Indo-China, and the Philippines —their resources, active industries and market possibilities. Over 450 pages, with many tables and charts, the work covers the subject very thoroughly. The author was formerly Commercial Attache in China, at one time special lecturer of Peking National University, and a mining engineer of note. The book is published in Russian.

ONE YEAR OF WORK OF THE R. S. F. S. R. GOVERNMENT—1927-1928
Published by the R.S.F.S.R., Moscow, 1929

This work, published in Russian, with many tables and diagrams, has the following content: Government Organization of the R.S.F.S.R.; Completion of the formation of the Government of the R.S.F.S.R.; National Policy of the R.S.F.S.R.; Work Accomplished by the Soviet Government; Program Work. Economic Organization of the R.S.F.S.R.: Agriculture; Finance; Industry; Trade; Coöperatives; Labor; Material Developments; Transportation. Cultural and Social Organization of the R.S.F.S.R.: Public Education; Public Health; Revolutionary Legality; Social Insurance; Rationalization and Control.

Pamphlets

THE JAPANESE COTTON INDUSTRY AND TRADE
United States Tariff Commission
Government Printing Office, Washington, 1921

Recent development and future outlook, with special reference to comparative costs and competition between Japan and the United States.

MEXICO
Inter-America Institute, Claremont, California, 1929

Lectures before the Inter-America Institute of Pomona College and Claremont Colleges and the Pacific Southwest Academy of Political and Social Science, February, 1928.

THE MEXICAN IMMIGRANT: AN ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY
Prepared by Dr. E. S. Bogardus
The Council on International Relations, Los Angeles, 1929

Contents: Culture Backgrounds; Studies in the United States; Interracial Adjustments.

THE EMPLOYMENT OF WOMEN IN JAPANESE INDUSTRY
By Iwao F. Ayusawa, Ph.D.
Reprinted from the International Labour Review, Vol. XIX, Nos. 2-3-4, February-March April, 1929
International Labour Office, Geneva, 1929

"The rapid rise of Japan to the position of a great industrial Power has been accompanied in recent years by important developments in labour legislation and in industrial conditions generally. In view of Japan's importance as a competitor on the world market, these developments have been watched with much interest in other countries, and have been the subject of animated discussions at several sessions of the International Labour Conference. Very little reliable information on the matter, however, in any languages other than Japanese has hitherto been available."

LIBRARIES IN CHINA
Library Association of China, Peiping, 1929

Contents: The evolution of the Chinese book; Development of modern libraries in China; Library training in China; and Indexing systems in China.

THE PROBLEM OF THE COAL INDUSTRY.
REPORT OF THE ECONOMIC CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE ON ITS 2ND SESSION.

ACTION TAKEN BY GOVERNMENTS ON THE RECOMMENDATIONS ADOPTED BY THE SECOND CONFERENCE THE INTERNATIONAL REGIME OF PASSPARTS.

PROTECTION OF LINGUISTIC, RACIAL OR RELIGIOUS MINORITIES BY THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.
League of Nations Pamphlets
Published at Geneva, 1929

U. S. S. R.—FROM CONGRESS TO CONGRESS, APRIL, 1927 TO MAY, 1929
Published by the U. S. S. R., Moscow, 1929

Data on the Government's Report to the 5th Congress of Soviets of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics.

R. S. F. S. R.—FROM CONGRESS TO CONGRESS, APRIL, 1927 TO MAY, 1929
Published by the R. S. F. S. R., Moscow, 1929

Contents: Soviet Organization and National Policy; Economic Organization; Cultural-Social Organization.

WORK OF THE COUNCIL OF PEOPLE'S COMMISSARS, U. S. S. R.
Published by the U. S. S. R., Moscow, 1929

This pamphlet covers the first quarter, October-December, 1928-1929. Contents: International Position and Foreign Policy of the U. S. S. R.; Business Review of the U. S. S. R.; Finances; Industry; Agriculture; Grain Conservation; Trade; Transportation; Labor; and Improvements on Living Conditions.

In the Magazines

Note: All the following references to magazines published in the Orient are for English language publications. National ownership of such publications is indicated.

CHINA—GENERAL

AN APPRAISAL OF THE DISBANDMENT ENFORCEMENT CONFERENCE; editorial; the *China Weekly Review* (American), Shanghai, August 10, 1929.

A detailed account of the progress of the disbandment conference, with a list of the various proposals presented at the different sessions.

BETHLEHEM, BRITAIN, AND THE CHINESE NAVY; by K. K. Kawakami; the *Nation*, New York, August 7, 1929.

"As for China, she will gain nothing, except a negative gain of more foreign debts, by building a navy before she has put her own house in a little better order. One feels that China's internal condition, which caused the Powers to adopt an embargo agreement in 1919, has not materially changed."

CHINA MAKES WAY FOR THE MOTOR; by Viola Smith; the *Far Eastern Review* (American), Shanghai, July, 1929.

"The greatest array of workers in China since the building of the Great Wall is now building roads in Kweichow Province. Two hundred thousand soldiers, farmers, tradesmen, school children—boys and girls—have been put at this work by Chow Hsi-tsun, a young military leader of an adjoining province who was invited to Kweichow on promise of substantial support if he succeeded in restoring peace and prosperity."

CHINESE IN THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS; by I. I. Hapanovich; *Manchuria Monitor*, Harbin, 1929, No. 26. (In Russian and English.)

"Having settled in the Philippines the Chinese have exercised there a very marked influence upon applied arts, such as wood carving, silk, embroidery, and, particularly, pottery. . . . As to trade it should be noted that until the end of the Spanish domination the Chinese stood foremost in the commerce of the Philippines."

COMPLETE DESCRIPTION OF THE SHANGHAI MUNICIPAL ELECTRICITY PLANT; unsigned; the *Far Eastern Review* (American), Shanghai, July, 1929.

"A public utility which has been controlled and operated by the Shanghai Municipal Council since 1901 is expected to pass into the hands of private capital when the American & Foreign Power Company, Inc., of New York City, will have completed their purchase of the Electricity Department for the sum of Taels 81,000,000."

FUTURE OF CHINA'S FINANCES, THE; editorial; the *China Critic* (Chinese), Shanghai, August 15, 1929.

Since Mr. Soong took up the financial administration of the country, it has always been clear that he did not regard himself as a mere borrowing agent for the military authorities. He has had a definite aim in view and a definite program for achieving it. In short, what Mr. Soong has proposed to do for bankrupt China as a whole would be similar to what he did for Kwantung in 1926 when the influence of the Nationalists was limited to that single province. By removing the control of finances from the military Mr. Soong was able to increase the revenue of Kwangtung from $20,000,000 to $1,000,000,000 in that single year.

JOURNEYING THROUGH KIANGSU; by Edgar Snow and S. Y. Hu; the *China Weekly Review* (American), Shanghai, August 10, 1929.

"From Shanghai to the Capital via the Shanghai-Nanking Railway." An interesting sixteen-page, illustrated article. "If one were given only a week in which to learn as much as possible about modern China, that time perhaps could be best utilized in journeying through the heart of Kiangsu, in the rich delta region of the mighty Yangtse, traversed by the Shanghai-Nanking Railway."

PEACEFUL OCCUPATIONS FOR DISBANDED SOLDIERS; by F. F. Fang; the *China Critic* (Chinese), Shanghai, August 8, 1929.

"There are two possible ways to solve this problem: (1) Colonization and (2) Industrialization. Let the dismissed soldiers who are of an adventurous

nature march to Tibet, Sinkiang, Mongolia, and Manchuria; and let them cultivate the waste land there. They will in time develop these vast areas of virgin land into productive fields, when prosperous cities and villages will spring up as a natural sequence. Officials in this colonization force should be appointed to control the men, but these officials need not be trained military experts. They should rather be conversant with astronomy, agricultural science, architecture, engineering, mechanics, and social work."

RESULTS OF THE CHAMBERS OF COMMERCE CONGRESS AT AMSTERDAM; by E. Raymond Streat; the *Commercial,* Manchester, July 18, 1929.

"It is over a year since Dr. Pirelli first arrived at the conclusion that, if he could secure the presence at Amsterdam of a representative delegation from China, something material might be done to propound solutions, even if only partial ones, for the difficulties confronting trade in and with China. His invitation was sent to the Associated National Chambers of Commerce of China. They accepted it."

TEACHING PROFESSION IN CHINA, THE; by Han Lih-wu; the *China Critic* (Chinese), Shanghai, August 1, 1929.

"College professors are looked upon by outsiders of the profession with indifference, and, what is worse, professors, themselves, are very many of them eager to cast aside their gowns in favor of more remunerative and especially official positions. Indeed, it has come to be so that when one is nothing but a professor, he will be fortunate if he is not generally disregarded by his acquaintances, old and new. And, in many a mind the professorship is, alas, regarded only as a means to an end: a stepping-stone to officialdom."

WESTLAKE EXPOSITION OF CHINA PRODUCTS, THE; by Hoh Chieh-Hsiang; the *China Weekly Review* (American), Shanghai, July 27, 1929.

"A grand Exposition is now being held in Hangchow—perhaps the grandest, the most comprehensive and picturesque one ever held in the Chinese history. The Westlake region for centuries has always been famed for its charming views of nature, but perhaps even in its most prosperous days during the Southern Sung Dynasty, has never taken on so gay and gala an appearance as at present."

CHINA—EXTRALITY

CHINA; by C. A. Knapp; the *Saturday Review,* London, August 10, 1929.

"Sir,—The crisis in North China would not have arisen had the Soviets retained their extraterritorial rights. The position of Europeans in China with no protection against Chinese injustice is insupportable. . . . . If England relinquishes its extra-territorial rights in Shanghai, a similar crisis will arise there. It can then only be a question of time before some power prepared to back its claim with a large army, will put its foot down and keep it there. The situation will be very dangerous for England, which will be compelled to alienate great powers whose friendship is invaluable. . . . . The internationalization of Shanghai prevents such a crisis and, to judge from Constantinople and Smyrna, alone saved from ruin a splendid city created, as it happens, by Englishmen. Englishmen there now only ask the same justice that a Chinaman would get in England."

EXTRALITY; editorial; the *Nation,* New York, August 28, 1929.

Refusing to surrender our extraterritorial rights in China, the Administration has returned to the sweeping demands of the ill-fated Extraterritoriality Commission of 1926, which asked China to revise her judicial practice before the Powers gave up their privileged position. In spite of China's troubled state we think that Secretary Stimson's flat refusal of Nanking's request to abolish extraterritoriality was unjustified. Surely a little compromise and negotiation would result in a plan for the protection of Americans in China without extraterritorial rights. Nanking would be delighted to make protective concessions to us; it is the principle of the thing that concerns Chinese pride most. If the Nationalists carry out their threat to abolish extraterritoriality on January 1 regardless of the Powers, we shall be forced to accept with bad grace an action which could be brought about with more good-will and more satisfaction to our interests by voluntary cooperation.

EXTRALITY NOTES, THE; editorial; the *China Critic* (Chinese), Shanghai, August 22, 1929.

Though comment would probably be inadequate before the full text of the

(Powers) notes is available, the repetition of such diplomatic formula by the foreign governments concerned, we believe, will leave the situation too dangerously unaltered. So far as agreement in principle to the abolition of extra-territoriality is concerned, China was rendered that lip service as early as 1902.

A Suggested Solution for Abolishing of Extrality; by Edwin L. T. Fang; the *China Critic* (Chinese), Shanghai, August 1, 1929.

"The extrality system should be abolished immediately and totally on the following conditions: (a) that China undertakes to select and introduce, on her own initiative, into her judiciary, several of the international lawyers that the Powers concerned may jointly or separately recommend; (b) that these lawyers shall be subject to Chinese law and jurisdiction; (c) that these lawyers will be engaged as legal counsellors to the Judicial Council of the Chinese Government with the power (1) to submit recommendations in legislative work, (2) to supervise and report to the said Council the working of Chinese courts, (3) to help in reorganising the Chinese courts, prisons and detention houses which have not yet been modernized, and (4) to receive and transmit to the said Council all complaints which may arise in all civil, commercial, or criminal matters in order to ensure the strict observance of the provisions of Chinese law; (d) that the above conditions shall remain in force for no more than three years. This is the ultimate limit that China can meet the Powers half-way."

CULTURES

Commerce of Ideas, The; by J. B. Condliffe; the *Honolulu Mercury,* Honolulu, September, 1929.

"The mingling of racial cultures is not usually a favorable condition for intellectual growth. There are still many people who feel that somehow or other the melting of racial immigrant backgrounds in the United States should produce a characteristic and rich American culture. But the truth seems to be that the culture of a people is determined rather by its economic pattern. The Irish, German, Polish and other immigrant backgrounds of the modern American are being sloughed off and a new culture is being built up on the basis of their lowest common denominator. It will take some time yet for this new American culture to develop depth and richness."

Conflict of Cultures in China; by J. Leighton Stuart; the *Chinese Recorder* (Mission Board), Shanghai, August, 1929.

"A graduate of Vassar College who was recently married in a costume of filmy white did what was not only distressing to her old-fashioned mother-in-law but incomprehensible, and by trying to view the episode through the latter's eyes we can feel something of how funereal and incongruous, how doleful an augury of deaths in the family in the not distant future, such a reversal of colors and customs would have appeared to any typical Chinese woman."

History of Chinese Libraries; by C. B. Kwei; *China Journal* (British), Shanghai, August, 1929.

The Chinese library and literary development given in table form, from Yao and Shun (2357-2208 B. C.) down to the Republic (1911 to date).

Power of the Cinema, The; by F. J. P. Veale; the *Nineteenth Century and After,* New York, August, 1929.

"During his address to the International Council of Women on April 29 last Mr. Baldwin drew the attention of the assembled delegates, representing forty nations, to the power of the cinema—a power, he declared, which was far-reaching and often evil in its effects. He expressed the opinion that the unrestricted exhibition 'in the tropical Dependencies of the Empire' of films which are a gross travesty of European life did enormous, although at present unsuspected, harm. Our power to influence the backward races of the world was undermined by representing our civilisation to them as veneer and a sham."

Some Objects of Education; editorial; the *Japan Weekly Chronicle* (British), Kobe, August 15, 1929.

Speaking at the Governors' Conference on the 16th instant, Mr. Kobashi, Minister of Education, pointed out that in Japanese education too much importance was attached to science and arts to the neglect of the spiritual side of education.

TWO DECADES OF NEGRO LIFE; by Robert W. Bagnall; the *New Republic,* New York, August 7, 1929.

"Today the Negro has powerful national organizations to safeguard his rights, stimulate his progress, and care for his needs. He is learning his own power. He has developed race pride. The science of today is on his side, indicating that there is no proof of essential inferiority on his part, nor unfitness to meet any demand of American life. Negro history is being taught in white and colored schools; Negro culture in Africa is at least somewhat understood and appreciated. . . ."

DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS

COMMENTS; editorial; the *New Statesman;* London, August 3, 1929.

To ask the Bolsheviks to refrain from attacking capitalism, or to abandon their cry for world-revolution, is to ask them, in their own opinion, at any rate, to commit suicide. In these circumstances it seems absurd to attach much importance to any "no propaganda pledges" which Mr. Henderson may succeed in extracting from Moscow. But we cannot think that this propaganda is likely to do any great harm. . . . . The Bolsheviks, of course, believe in world-revolution. But every competent observer believes that Bolshevism is in a state of evolution, and the renewal of relations and the development of trade should do more than anything else assist the process.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS; by George Glasgow; *Contemporary Review,* London, August, 1929.

"The case of Russia, for instance, is a permanent asset to any non-Conservative party. Negative or destructive policies have a way of becoming a kind of boomerang to those who pursue them, and for some inscrutable reason the Conservative Party in Great Britain has specialized in such a policy so far as Russia is concerned. All that the Labour Government need do, therefore, whenever it enters upon office, is to undo something that its forerunner has done or do something its forerunner has not done, and immediately win the good will of all sensible people."

LABOUR'S FOREIGN POLICY; by H. Wilson Harris; the *Nation and Athenaeum,* London, August 3, 1929.

"Diplomatic relations with a country whose leading political figures are openly or secretly encouraging subversive propaganda against Great Britain are likely to be just as strained under a Labour Government as under a Conservative, except that Conservatives have a habit of taking these irregularities portentously and fail to realize how completely abortive Moscow's propaganda has been in the long run wherever it has been attempted. . . . . It is in Russia's interest quite as much as that of her creditors to reach some sort of settlement, but the resumption of diplomatic relations need not, and should not, be made dependent on that."

RECOGNIZE RUSSIA!; editorial; the *New Republic,* New York, August 14, 1929.

Another example of the futility, if not the downright harmfulness, of the attitude of the United States towards Soviet Russia has been given in the recent Russo-Chinese embroglio in Manchuria. . . . . The truth is that the United States is playing a game of hide and seek. We allow Russia to adhere to the Anti-War Pact; we attend League of Nation meetings in regard to disarmament and economic matters along with Soviet representatives; we send back-door messages to the Soviets not to go to war; and we allow American merchants to enter into daily commercial relations with representatives of the Soviet Foreign Trade Monopoly. Despite it all, the American government officially denies that the Soviet government is a legal fact. We refuse to "recognize" it!

RUSSIA; editorial; the *Spectator,* London, August 10, 1929.

A great, so-called anti-war demonstration in Moscow on August 1st was organized as a thoroughgoing militarist display in which Russians alone saw no irony. It is not creditable to the Muscovite autocrats or to their friends and correspondents here that they should continue to deceive their subjects and play upon their fears by proclaiming the imminent war that Great Britain is forever about to launch upon Russia. The Government here seems rightly to be making no advance at present towards the discussion of the renewal of official relations. The Soviet Ambassador in Paris was instructed not to discuss conditions, and we can wait until his instructions are changed.

RUSSIA; editorial; the *Nation,* New York, August 14, 1929.

The British Labor Government announced that before it recognized the Soviet Government it would demand "guarantees" (whatever that may mean) from Moscow that there should be no Soviet propaganda in the British Empire against the existing forms of government, and that assurances should be given of the payment of Russian debts. The Russian Government, on the other hand, wanted recognition first and discussion of differences afterward. The real issue involved in the diplomatic jockeying is Communist propaganda in Great Britain; the debts do not matter so much because the Soviet Government has given polite though rather meaningless assurances about debts in the past. What Premier MacDonald fears now, in view of the furore created in 1924 by the Zinoviev letter, is that his own Government may be overthrown if he recognizes Russia again and there are subsequent revelations of revolutionary propaganda coming from Russian official sources in London.

UNITED STATES AND CHILE, THE; by Osgood Hardy; *Chile,* New York, August, 1929.

"An account of the early relations between the two young Republics."

ECONOMICS IN PACIFIC—GENERAL

CANADA AND CHINA; editorial; *Agricultural and Industrial Progress in Canada,* Montreal, August, 1929.

Before the war Canadian trade with China was of insignificant volume, virtually balanced, and no very great expansion was in general anticipated. In 1913 Canada's imports from China had a value of $752,768 and her exports to that country stood at $740,690. In the last fiscal year imports from China had reached $3,095,296 and exports had reached the amazing total of $23,687,053, this latter figure being an increase of no less than $10,000,000 as compared with the previous year.

CUSTOMS TARIFFS OF THE COUNTRIES OF THE EAST (Turkey, Palestine and China): *Trade of the U. S. S. R. with the East,* Moscow, March-April, 1929, No. 3-4. (In Russian.)

FIND "FARM RELIEF" A WORLD ISSUE; by William Watkins Reid; the *Japan Christian Quarterly,* Tokyo, July, 1929.

"The rural population of the world numbers more than one billion persons; of these 750,000,000 are living in Asia. 90% of the people in India and Korea, 85% of those in China, 50% of those in Japan live in rural conditions. Due to the age-old custom of the father dividing his land between his sons, the average family in Asia has only 2½ acres upon which to support itself; in Shantung Province, China, the average acreage per family is 1.6 acres. A recent survey of 145 rural families in Korea showed that two-fifths had debts averaging 60 yen each, or one-fourth the total family yearly income; and that 48% average interest per year was being paid on this debt. There has been a decrease of 3,394,000 in the farm population of the United States since 1910, while the number of persons to be fed has increased by over 10,000,000. The 1920 Census showed 7,400,000 people in the New England States—5,000,000 of them being of foreign extraction. A large proportion of these peoples are in rural communities and are not affiliated with the churches."

THE FORESTS OF CHINA AND THEIR ECONOMIC IMPORTANCE; by V. I. Surin; *Manchuria Monitor,* Harbin, 1929, No. 6. (Russian-English.)

"Of a total forest area of China, covering from 620 to 630 thousand square kilometres, about one-half is to be found in Manchuria. Thus, China proper possesses a forest region of not over 300,000 square kilometres, which corresponds to 8-9% of its territory."

LIST OF CHINESE INTERNAL LOAN ISSUES OUTSTANDING ON JULY 1, 1929; by E. Kann and J. Baylin; the *Week in China* (American), Peiping, August 3, 1929.

OUR RURAL CREDIT ASSOCIATIONS; by A. W. Prautch; *Commerce and Industry Journal,* Manila, July, 1929.

"There are 547 municipalities in the Philippines in which rural credit associations have been organized. There is a total of 80,000 shareholders who have paid in over P.900,000 for shares. The Government also has a separate rice and corn fund of P.1,000,000 from which loans are made to such associations as furnish sufficient security, which is reloaned to their members.

RAILWAY ECONOMICS FOR CHINA; by H. Stringer; the *Far Eastern Review* (American), Shanghai, July, 1929.

"The enthusiasm for aircraft, in the present state of China's foreign credit, must be classed as entirely false. It is a toyshop need to be sternly suppressed as of little commercial value. China must confine herself rigidly to essentials, the completion of the Canton-Hankow and the Hankow-Szechuan Railways are the first of these. Then she must revive from their derelict and unproductive state those railway projects on which money has already been spent."

SIXTY YEARS OF CHINESE PROGRESS; by Janet H. Nunn; *Commerce Reports,* Washington, D. C., August 26, 1929.

"Noteworthy Development of the Country's Resources—Industries Organized—Exports Increased 1,500 per cent and Imports 1,400 per cent."

SOCIAL INSURANCE IN SOVIET RUSSIA; by A. Abramson; the *Journal of Political Economy,* Chicago, August, 1929.

Covering: 1. "Historical Survey; II. The Present System; Scope of Insurance, Benefits, Financial Resources, Insurance Institutions; III. Conclusion."

TRADE AGENCIES ABROAD; editorial; *Commerce and Industry Journal,* Manila, July, 1929.

In a letter sent to the Philippine Government Commercial Agency in New York, which is the only agency for the promotion of Philippine commerce now maintained abroad, a ranking chamber of commerce official in France makes the suggestion that a Philippine commercial agent be sent to Paris for France and Western Europe. The official informs us that "due to the absolute absence of any publicity in France on behalf of Philippine products, it is not a surprising fact that all the hats coming from the Philippines are sold as of Bangkok origin." . . . This should serve to remind us once more of the real necessity for more Philippine trade agencies abroad.

WORLD ECONOMICS AND WORLD POLITICS, Moscow, March, 1929. (In Russian)

This issue contains three especially worth-while articles: "China after the Victory of Counter-Revolution," by E. Varga; the "Pacific's Problem," by M. Galkovich; and "Foreign Capital in Indonesia (Java, Sumatra, etc.)" by A. Guber.

WORLD ECONOMICS AND WORLD POLITICS, Moscow, May, 1929. (In Russian)

This issue contains the following valuable articles: "Condition of Negroes in the United States of America," by Scott Nearing; "Debatable Problems of World Economics," by M. Spectator; "Aeronautics as an Element of the Present Imperialism," by V. Zarzar; and "A New Angle in the Struggle for Oil," by L. Heifetz.

MANCHURIAN SITUATION

CHINA'S PEACE MOVE; editorial; the *North China Daily News* (British), Shanghai, July 27, 1929.

It is probable that Nanking has been disagreeably impressed by the adverse criticism which her seizure of the Chinese Eastern Railway has excited. Her best friends have not been able to pass that over. We have always emphasized that she had a strong case against Russia. . . . In 1926 Russia thought that she had China in the hollow of her hand; in 1927 she lost it; and we may be sure she will spare no effort to regain her grip. But to seize the railway was a serious blunder. It aroused apprehensions all over the world on a vital point of principle, namely, the sanctity of international agreements, these feelings being naturally deepened by the ill-advised declarations attributed to some of China's leaders that they would abolish extraterritoriality next year whether the Powers agreed or not. In a word, having had an excellent case, China went far to put herself in the wrong. The important point today is that she has recognized this fact. This is a new thing in Chinese diplomacy, which is a welcome augury for the future.

CHINESE EASTERN RAILWAY, THE; by V. N. de Franck; *China Journal* (British), Shanghai, August, 1929.

A brief history (illustrated) of the Chinese Eastern Railway, with an account of its economic development.

Chinese Eastern Railway Crisis, The; by George E. Sokolsky; the *Far Eastern Review* (American), Shanghai, July, 1929.

"Both nations might practice some of the much vaunted realism of which revolutionaries boast so; both nations can easily climb down from their intransigeant altitudes; both nations can meet about a table and negotiate for an adjustment of outstanding issues with dignity and honor. There is enough right and wrong on both sides to make that politically possible."

Curious Reaction of Foreign Opinion in China; editorial; the *China Weekly Review* (American), Shanghai, July 27, 1929.

One of the most interesting phases of the present crisis between China and Soviet Russia has been the reactions of foreigners in China, particularly in Shanghai. This applies with equal emphasis to the White Russians residing in China as it does to the other foreigners, Americans and Europeans. What we have in mind is that Soviet Russia, for several years the object of the wrath of the treaty-port foreigner in China, has suddenly become popular and is now looked upon as the "white hope" of the Far East. This is especially true in so-called "die-hard" circles where Soviet Russia had suddenly ceased to be the pariah among the nations and is now looked upon as a sort of "savior" of the foreigner in China and his "special interests." It is not uncommon now to hear such expressions as "Hope Russia wins out and puts China back in her proper place." "Hope Russia licks the 'stuffin' out of China." "If China wins out, God help the rest of us," and so on.

A Historic View of Manchuria; editorial; the *Japan Chronicle* (British), Kobe, August 29, 1929.

Such a flood of inaccurate, lopsided, and tendencious essays on Manchuria has issued from the Press during the past three years that it is with some relief that one finds an able and accurate monograph written on the subject by Sir Harold Parlett, especially for the benefit of the Conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations which will be held in Kyoto shortly. Naturally a history concerned entirely with foreign relations and only so much of the internal and fortuitous happenings as serves to explain those relations is a little on the quiet side as a source of entertainment; but nothing could be better than this monograph as an introduction to an understanding of the present position in Manchuria.

Our Opinion; editorial; the *Week in China* (American), Peiping, August 10, 1929.

There can be no early solution of the Chinese Eastern Railway problem. Any hasty settlement of the controversy between China and Russia would be of temporary value, and would leave a legacy of almost certain dissension and possible conflict as an inheritance for the future.

Russia and China in Manchuria; by Vera A. Micheles; *Information Service*, New York, August 7, 1929.

This issue is entirely devoted to the one subject. The contents are: "History of the Chinese Eastern Railway: Sino-Russian Treaty of 1896, The Chinese Eastern Railway Company, The Russo-Japanese War, Inter-Allied Control during the World War, The Washington Conference, 1921-1922; China's Relations with Russia, 1920-1924: The Peking and Mukden Agreements of 1924, The Peking Conference, Decline of Communist Influence and Recent Developments."

Secretary Stimson; editorial; the *Nation*, New York, August 7, 1929.

When the Sino-Russian word-bombs were bursting in mid-air, and hostilities seemed inevitable, Secretary Stimson almost forgot that his predecessors had unanimously declared that it was impossible to deal with the Russians. Unfortunately, since we had no direct relations with Soviet Russia, he had to negotiate through France, and a certain awkwardness seems to have resulted. In the light of this incident how silly our stubborn policy of non-recognition seems! Soviet Russia is a part of the world, and when a crisis comes there is no alternative to dealing with its Bolshevik rulers. They exist; they cannot be ignored, however little one may like them. Mr. Stimson acted sanely in sending his message to them; now will he not admit that the same government which exists in time of crisis exists in calm days too?

Sino-Russian Direct Negotiations; editorial; the *China Critic* (Chinese), Shanghai, August 8, 1929.

The preliminary parleys at Manchuli to pave the way for direct negotiations between China and Soviet Russia on the C. E. R. issue are highly welcome to those who have at heart the interests of Far Eastern peace. Direct negotiations between the two countries are far better than mediation of the dispute by a third Power or Powers, Manchuria being such a back yard of European politics that simpler the situation will be if fewer countries are involved.

U. S. S. R. and the Chinese Eastern, The; by Harold Kellock, the *Nation,* New York, August 7, 1929.

"The breaking of the 1924 treaty and the accompanying acts of violence against Soviet citizens will injure the Chinese Nationalist Government more than they injure the Soviet Government or the people of the Soviet state. What influences impelled the Nationalist leaders to this peculiar break can only be guessed at from this distance. The most sympathetic guess can hardly be creditable to them."

The Week; editorial; the *New Republic,* New York, August 21, 1929.

While it is probably true that both sides are eager to find a peaceable way out without loss of prestige, wars have started in the past under precisely those circumstances. Whatever their public statements may say, it is plain that the responsible Chinese and Russian diplomats are paying absolutely no attention to their "obligations" under the Kellogg Pact. Intervention by the League would be a more serious matter, but only if such intervention had behind it the full force of the Great Powers including the United States. There could be no more tragic war in the world today than one between Young China and the Soviets; but that fact, unluckily, does not diminish the danger.

MISCELLANEOUS

Black Australia; by J. W. Burton; the *Australian Intercollegian,* Melbourne, August 1, 1929.

"Dumagats" of North-East Luzon, The; by Major Wilfred Turnbull; *Philippine Magazine,* Manila, August, 1929.

"An intimate account of the life of the least-known Group of People in the Islands—the 'Dumagats,' the 'Sea People' of the Northeast Coast of Luzon, believed to have come originally from New Guinea."

Dyke Against Mexicans, A; by Robert N. McLean; the *New Republic,* New York, August 14, 1929.

"But does the Mexican make a good American citizen? He laughs at the question; and so does everyone that knows him. The largest of the many Mexican colonies in Los Angeles counts 47,500 people; at the November election, there were 250 voters. Los Angeles naturalizes an average of about one Mexican a month; El Paso, half-Mexican, naturalizes about twenty-five a year. During the fiscal year ending June 30, 1928, one hundred and twelve Mexicans throughout the entire country became American citizens; in the previous year, the number was seventy-six. Of course, Mexicans born in this country are American citizens; but few of them know it, and if told they would indignantly repudiate it."

Foreign Student in America, The; by Boris G. Alexander; *World Unity,* New York, August, 1929.

"If grey-headed and experienced diplomats, these professional peacemakers assembled in their leagues and congresses and conventions— if these have failed, then we, the youth, must take a major part in building up that goodwill which alone forms the ultimate basis for a solution of any world problem. . . . Who are better fitted to cope with world's problems than we who have come in contact with each other's weaknesses, ideas, prejudices and hopes while studying together in a classroom or contesting on the athletic field? We must ever remember that manhood and womanhood transcend national differences which are matters of training, not of blood."

Kyoto Conference; editorial; the *New Republic,* New York, August 28, 1929.

As the American delegates go (via Moscow and Siberia) to the biennial meeting of the Institute of Pacific Relations to be held in Kyoto this fall, it

is well to wish them luck in persuading the Russians to attend the conference. There, in friendly but strictly unofficial meetings with the Chinese and other Pacific Powers represented, the Russians might make progress in coming to some understanding of the critical issue which has recently developed in Manchuria. If the Russians had been invited, and had attended the previous meetings, it is quite possible that the present Manchurian crisis might have been avoided.

New U. S. A. Immigration Regulations, The; by H. Stuart Goldey; *Anglo-American Trade,* London, August, 1929.

Outlook for Filipinos in Hawaii, The; by Kilmer O. Moe; the *Honolulu Mercury,* Honolulu, September, 1929.

Pan-Pacific Worker, The; Sydney, 1929.

The August 1st issue contains the following outstanding articles:

China and Soviet Russia: by J. Ryan; The Youth Problem and the P.P.T.U.S.: by a Young Worker of Shanghai; The Philippine Islands: by Harrison George; Building Socialism in Soviet Russia; Labor Outlook in New Zealand: by W. J. Collins; The Situation in Indonesia: by C. Santin.

Red Indian Policy; editorial; the *Manchester Guardian Weekly,* Manchester, August 16, 1929.

The choice of Mr. Charles J. Rhoads, of Philadelphia, as Indian Commissioner was hailed as one of President Hoover's best appointments. . . . He has not taken long to make his first step, which is the announcement of a compete change in policy. The system of "reservations," it is reported, will be abandoned, and an attempt will be made to bring the Indian usefully into the general life of the country. One accepts the change with hope not free from misgiving. . . . The lands allotted for Indian use have been often worthless for agriculture; they were chosen in many cases because they were not wanted by anyone else rather than because they were suitable to the Indians. The efforts to educate Indian children have been along the entirely mistaken line of trying to cram them into the rigid framework of the ordinary American curriculum, which has either broken or alienated their spirits. Their friends allege that they have been consistently scamped of medical, legal, or agricultural advice. Under such conditions the attempt to make the Indian peoples an independent economic entity on a farming basis could hardly be expected to succeed, and perhaps it is too late now to make a new and more conscientious effort in that direction. At the same time one does not envisage them playing a very exalted part in the general life of the American nation. It is a case where economic isolation might conceivably be preferable to economic inferiority.

Vocational Education Problem, The; by Luther B. Bewley; *Commerce and Industry Journal,* Manila, July, 1929.

"There is no state in the United States where there is a system of vocational-agricultural education in which training by means of actual farm experience is provided for as it is in the Philippnes.

"It is absolutely false that the graduates of our farm schools do not want to work on the farm. It is true that they do not care to work as eighty-centavo farm hands, because the aim of our agricultural schools is to instill in the minds of the pupils the ambition to become independent farmers on homesteads of their own. In fact, the last two years of a farm-school student is the life of an independent homesteader.

"There are 303 agricultural schools and farm schools in the Philippine Islands at the present time."

Institute Notes

The information published in this department is issued officially by the International Secretariat of the Institute of Pacific Relations at Honolulu.

THE KYOTO CONFERENCE

October 28, 1929, has been set as the opening date for the third biennial conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations at Kyoto, Japan.

The Pacific Council, International Research Committee and Program Committee will hold a series of preliminary meetings at Nara, from October 23 to 27.

The sessions at Kyoto are scheduled to continue for twelve days, coming to a close on November 9.

Headquarters Transferred for Conference

Mr. J. Merle Davis, General Secretary, left Honolulu on September 3 for Tokyo, where the Institute Headquarters will be opened from October 1 to 15. After October 15 the Headquarters will be transferred to Kyoto until the close of the Conference.

On August 20 Dr. Chester Rowell left Honolulu for the Orient to prepare for the handling of conference information at Kyoto.

On September 3 and 5 respectively, Elizabeth Green and Charles F. Loomis, Associate Secretaries, left Honolulu for the Japan Conference Headquarters.

Dr. J. B. Condliffe and Mrs. M. C. Miller left Honolulu on September 27.

New Zealand Conference Members

Cabled information from Dr. Guy H. Scholefield reports that the New Zealand branch of the Institute will be represented at the Kyoto conference by the following members:

W. B. Matheson, Wellington, ex-President of the New Zealand Farmers' Union; H. Belshaw, Professor of Economics, Auckland University College; G. Lawn, Lecturer in Economics, Canterbury College, Christchurch; L. G. Hogwood, Kowhai Junior High School, Auckland; Miss Carol West-Watson, Canterbury College, Christchurch; Miss Vera Hay, Diocesan Girls' School, Auckland; Miss Mary Seaton, Wellington.

Observers at Conference

A cable has been received to say that Dr. Einthoven, a former members of the Judiciary of the Netherlands Indies, and lately a temporary member of the Secretariat of the International Labour Office, will attend the Conference as an observer. Also attending the Conference as observers will be: Professor Louis Varlez, as an observer for the International Labour Office; Mr. H. R. Cummings, of the Information Section of the League of Nations, and Mr. S. Aoki, representing the League of Nations' Tokyo office.

Other countries which will be represented by observers at the Conference for the first time will be France, the U. S. S. R., and Mexico.

Dr. Jeremiah Whipple Jenks

By the death of Dr. Jeremiah Whipple Jenks in New York in August the Institute has lost a staunch friend and the United States an able and public-spirited citizen. Dr. Jenks' connection with the Institute dated from its earliest years. He was a member of both the 1925 and 1927 conferences and served for some time as chairman of the American Research Committee.

His long career of public service covered many fields. Among his fellow-economists he was known as a distinguished teacher and research worker, and his election in 1906-7 to the chairmanship of the American Economic Association testified to the esteem in which he was held by his colleagues. His interests were so diverse that it is difficult to characterise them. He was no narrow specialist. He first won fame as an authority on trusts and commercial monopolies; but he was equally eminent in the field of currency reform. In 1903-4 he was appointed Economic Adviser to the Government of China with special responsibilities in currency reform; he had previously acted in a similar capacity in Mexico, and since 1918 he had been a member of the High Commission of Nicaragua.

His many writings also include books on citizenship and on the political and economic significance of the life and teachings of Jesus. He was a member also of the executive board of the Boy Scouts of America and discharged many similar public services. To many younger business men in the United States and abroad he was better known as the president of the Alexander Hamilton Institute, one of the most successful institutions for training in business leadership.

Towards the end of a long lifetime of distinguished public service, he was gratified by the compliment paid to him by the nationalist government of China, which elected him as one of a committee of five honorary economic advisers. He died in harness and has left a memory which is an example and an inspiration to all who knew him.

—J. B. C.

Mr. H. A. Grimshaw

The death at an early age of Mr. H. A. Grimshaw, chief of the Native Labour section of the International Labour Office at Geneva, removes a figure of great importance and promise in a field of international affairs which is peculiarly important to the Pacific. Mr. Grimshaw left the staff of the London School of Economics to join the International Labour Office, where he speedily became one of the outstanding members of the secretariat. His work lay chiefly in the investigation of the difficult problems that arise where the impact of modern industrial methods falls heavily upon backward peoples. He had just made an extended tour in the pursuance of his investigations, visiting countries as far apart as Java and South Africa and returning in time to take his share of the heavy staff work involved in the annual international labour conference. His untimely death is a great blow to the cause of international peace and justice.

—J. B. C.

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1641 S. Beretania St., Honolulu, Hawaii

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ELIZABETH GREEN
Editor

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No. 11 1929

The object of the Institute of Pacific Relations is to study the conditions of the Pacific Peoples with a view to the improvement of their mutual relations.

PACIFIC AFFAIRS

No. 11 NOVEMBER 1929

Opening Address at Kyoto

By Dr. Inazo Nitobé,
Chairman of the Conference

In opening the present conference it is my first and most agreeable duty to express in the name of the Japanese Council the heartiest welcome to all the honored guests representing the countries whose gates open on the Pacific Ocean.

The thalassic civilization which blossomed on the borders of the Mediterranean, long ago gave place to the oceanic civilization of the Atlantic coasts. Now the Pacific lands are to be the stage where shall meet all the races and cultures of the world. We are highly resolved that they shall meet in unison and harmony.

Occidental civilization, beginning with the Hellenic, took a westward course, while Oriental culture, starting somewhere in Akkadia or Sumeria, advanced eastward, and, reaching our shores, has waited for this day to meet the West and make complete the circuit of human progress. Carl Richter, if he were alive, would not have stopped his classification of civilizations with the Oceanic. He would have lifted up the present generation into the stage of the Aerial in which land becomes a more prominent factor than water. None the less the role that the Pacific will play in human communication and culture will not diminish in importance; for there are features in marine navigation that cannot be displaced by aviation.

Thus the East and the West are coming together after a long separation. It is an opportune meeting, this; for it seems that the fullness of time has arrived for us whose task is to find a common ground for the old and new races to join hands.

We can meet, as we do now, for inquiry and study, for the enlargement of our vision, for the elevation of our spirit—for a feast of souls, the fellowship of kindred minds. We meet here not in the spirit of conflict, nor of competition, but with a will to understanding and peace. The old notion of nations as fighting units or commercial rivals, is being discarded. There can be emulation without fighting, commerce without competition, patriotism without jingoism. We can love our fatherland without hating that of others; we can trade with foreigners without ruining their profit. We can run in the same race without undermining their strength.

Mankind is one in its ultimate end and aim. And our effort should be exerted toward the unity without which we shall never be able to enjoy perpetual peace, happiness or prosperity. If we are still far from this desirable goal, the signs of the age point out that we are not mistaken in our ideal.

The nations of the earth are looking to the realization of a corporate body in one form or other—not, perhaps, one unified state, but a loose union, a sort of federation of the world with a parliament of man. It is not only Monsieur Briand, but a host of other thinkers, who are planning a Zollverein of all Europe. There are still other dreamers who see visions of larger unions, a little smaller than Auguste Comte's biocratic league. An Italian priest, Don Sturzo, has recently eloquently described such an ideal organization provided with all the associative qualities and forces of an effective International Community.

It has been my privilege to spend seven years in that world capital, the Mecca of international peace and cooperation, Geneva—the seat of the League of Nations. For the last decade there have been gathering there, year by year, some fifty-four nations, to discuss questions not only of universal magnitude but of divergent national interest. Poland and Lithuania, Chili and Peru, China and Japan, Germany and France, Bulgaria and Greece, Finland and Sweden, Hungary and Rumania have been regular attenders.

These nations have had at times serious grievance, each against her neighbor—but, as to the Island of Delos the contending states of Greece resorted disarmed, so have the nations—I regret not to be able to say all the nations—of the world come to Geneva to present their causes and to listen to their opponents. I can bear witness to the wonderful fact, indeed a marvelous discovery, that a state has a conscience. How few of the philosophers who elaborated on the organic nature of the state—Spencer, Schäffle and their followers—have gone so far as to see in it a moral being with pricks of conscience?

Thomas Hill Green says: "No individual can make a conscience for himself. He always needs a society to make it for him." If this be true, as I believe it is, may we not say that the reason why the state has been so long unmoral was because it was so obsessed with exaggerated notions of absolute independence and sovereignty that it refused to acknowledge the possibility of an association of states? It is this phase of world integration—the emergence and cultivation of a common and universal sense of justice and right—that makes the League of Nations, at least to my mind, so indispensable for the future of our species. Even the worst antagonists of the League as a political organization, will be pleased to know that this moral institution is gaining in power. Only ten years ago it was but a feeble sapling sprouting from the blood-drenched soil of human history, and now it has attained a respectable size. If, as yet, the birds of the air cannot all find shelter in its branches, it has not denied refuge to some wounded fledgelings.

I must apologize for trespassing upon your patience by referring to Geneva. But my thoughts have been freshly drawn to that centre of World Conferences for three reasons. First, the League has shown its interest in all international cooperation, and has at this time, as upon previous occasions, manifested this interest in the Institute of Pacific Relations, by sending observers to our Conference. In the name of the Pacific Council, I wish to extend our thanks to the International Secretariat for its courtesy. I am sure that the presence in our midst, of members not officially identified with any national group, and who are, moreover, experienced in the conduct of international meetings will be of great assistance.

My second reason for mentioning the League has reference to the extrinsic valuation of our own Institute. As the League grows in membership and geographical dimensions, it will presumably be compelled to conduct some of its business in regional congresses. For, though theoretically and ideologically the concern of one nation is the concern of the whole world, there are, in practice, international questions that affect only restricted areas. Questions of this character can be best discussed by the parties interested in a regional gathering, under the general direction or oversight of the central body.

Am I too sanguine to hope that a body like this may prove a model for, or a nucleus of, such a regional gathering? It is not my intention, I assure you, to rob our own Institute of its unique and intrinsic importance. On the contrary I believe that its constitution and functions are capable of exercising a wide influence upon countries that do not participate in its deliberations.

Yet another reason makes me think of the Geneva institution in comparison with ours. That is a governmental body, this voluntary. That is political and jural; this is scientific and enlightening. If that is an arena for the ventilation of state policies, this is a clearing house for educated ideas and considered opinions. If Geneva can boast of constellations of the political world in its assembly halls, we can, with better reason, be proud of having on the floor great leaders in science and business. If the League calls for action, the Institute appeals to reason.

The world needs gatherings of both kinds; they should complement each other. But if any preference is to be made, the more basic institution—ours—should have priority. Why is a voluntary body more basic? The history of international cooperation—or the narratives of many an international organizations started and managed by unofficial bodies—show clearly that the initiative for public international unions has often come from private institutions. These are usually meetings of private individuals of different nationalities, interested in some common subject. They come together to exchange views and information. They have no authority except of knowledge. But, because they are well informed, their opinions and judgments are respected and even courted by governments. Thus they become an advisory body. If their advice proves wise, they are made into a deliberative council. So, step by step, what was but a company of specialists develops into a governmental organ for deciding the affairs of the state. The League of Nations was not made in a day. Groups of men bent on the abolition of war had been working in America, England, France, Belgium and other countries, and had prepared the ground for the final adoption of the League Covenant.

When I conceive of the possible development of our still comparatively incipient organization, I am appalled at the vastness of the task before us. I feel, at the same time, the inadequacy of mere organization; for organization oft kills organism.

It is trivial to remark that an international organization is as good as dead, unless the international spirit is breathed into its nostrils. There are in existence at present between three and four hundred international unions of all kinds. Many of these are as good as dead. They

hold their formal meetings in ghostly fashion. They appear on the stage, pass a few enigmatic resolutions and vanish into thin air. Others are very alive and make their voice vibrate to all the corners of the globe.

Whether we make of an international gathering a Tower of Babel or a Pentecostal Day depends entirely on the mental attitude of the participants.

That mental attitude which is the *sine qua non* of success in all undertakings like ours, is the international mind, which, detached from national egotism, views all international questions fairly and impartially, objectively and scientifically. An international mind is not the antonym of a national mind. Nor is it a synonym for a cosmopolitan mind, which lacks a national basis. The international mind is the expansion of the national, just as philanthropy or charity—if it is not to be the kind that increases directly with the square of the distance—should begin at home. A truly international mind should include patriotism and vice versa. The antithesis of the international mind is neither patriotism nor exophilism, but chauvinism and xenophobia. Samuel Johnson describes the international mind when he says: "That man is little to be envied whose patriotism would not gain force upon the plain of Marathon, or whose piety would not grow warmer among the ruins of Iona."

We meet here under circumstances which I hope will not strain our patriotism or overtax our piety. Not for indictment of others, not for propaganda of our own faith, not for a passionate appeal for a national cause, not to settle a controversy, but for the deliberate orientation of problems that may cast a shadow over the Pacific, have we come together. I am aware that there are grave questions still awaiting solution between several countries represented here. But this is no place to force settlement. Indeed it is exactly to avoid a forced solution of any political or economic issues that we are now meeting. Harangues, propaganda, boycott, are not the method of the Institute. These violent measures, when they are followed even outside the Institute, do more harm than good to the cause of international understanding. We have to adopt a more efficacious method of procedure. It was Confucius himself who taught to fight like gentlemen (Kuntze) if we must fight at all. We shall exercise the international mind and take up the programs of the Conference fairly and objectively, with malice toward none but with charity for all.

Over a century ago, Wordsworth sang of the spirit of the mountains and of the sea as inspiring Liberty and Freedom. Do we not find the spirit of the hills and the lakes as conducive to peace and goodwill? The Locarno spirit is such, and it is admitted that this was nurtured on the shores of Lake Leman, surrounded by its hills, the Jura and the Saleve. Here we meet in this ancient city, called in olden times Hei-An, the City of Peace and Ease, at the foot of the Hi-ei range and with Lake Biwa close by. Thus does Japan provide the Conference with the geographical requisites for the peaceful discussion of international relations. May you make full and satisfying use of them.

With these high hopes of your labors, I have the honor to declare the Third Biennial Conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations now open.

A Report From Great Britain On Discussions Bearing On Pacific Affairs During July, 1929

Prepared by John W. Wheeler-Bennett*

The following report deals with discussions on Pacific Affairs which occurred in the House of Commons during the brief session of parliament (July 2-26, 1929) which followed the elections of June 6th and the subsequent return of the Socialist Party to power. The short duration of the session accounts for the brevity of the report.

China

(1) *China and Russia*

In reply to questions by Captain Eden (Conservative) as to the state of diplomatic relations between China and Russia, and as to whether His Majesty's Government were preparing to make any representations on the subject either alone or in conjunction with other Powers, Mr. Arthur Henderson, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, replied on July 22nd as follows:

"I am informed that the State Council at Nanking decided on the 20th instant to break off all relations with the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, to withdraw all Chinese diplomatic officers from Russia, to request all Soviet diplomatic officers to leave China, and to place all Chinese nationals in Russia under the care of the German Ambassador at Moscow. I understand that thé Soviet Government had previously informed the Chinese Minister at Moscow (on the 17th instant) that they are breaking off all diplomatic relations with China.

"As a result of a communication which we received from the United States Government on Saturday, we sent an intimation both to the United States Government and the French Government, and we associate ourselves with them in all the efforts they are making to secure a pacific settlement."

On July 24th, Colonel Howard-Bury (Conservative) asked the Foreign Secretary what steps His Majesty's Government would take, in conjunction with the other signatories of the Kellogg Pact, to enforce the penalties against a country which commits the first act of war after relations have been broken off. Mr. Henderson made the following reply:

"As the hon. and gallant member is no doubt aware, the Kellogg Pact contains no provisions for enforcing penalties against a country violating its terms, but merely states in the Preamble that:

> 'any signatory Power which shall hereafter seek to promote its national interests by resort to war should be denied the benefits furnished by this Treaty.'

"While, therefore, no action in the sense suggested arises under the provisions of the Pact, I have reason to hope that the danger of war will be averted, having received through the Chinese Chargé d'Affaires here an assurance from the Chinese Government that they

* Hon. Information Secretary, Royal Institute of International Affairs.

are most anxious for a pacific solution of their dispute with the Soviet Government. They state that they will themselves take no aggressive action, and are ready for a round-table conference with representatives of the Soviet Government, and that if the latter should resort to forcible measures—a contingency of which they have as yet no evidence—the Chinese Government will appeal to the League of Nations under the terms of Article 17 of the Covenant."

On the following day, July 25th, Mr. Hugh Dalton, Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, in answering a question from Mr. Hore-Belisha (Liberal) concerning the acquisition by the Soviet Government of control of the Chinese Eastern Railway, made the following statement:

"By the Agreement of 1896 for the construction of the Chinese Eastern Railway, the Chinese Government vested its control in the Russian Company. After the revolution in Russia, control of the line was, in 1919, assumed by an Inter-Allied Board. The Washington Conference's technical sub-committee on the Chinese Eastern Railway reported on 23rd January, 1922, that the status of the railway was determined by the 1896 contract; that the railway was in effect the property of the Russian Government; and that it was held in trust pending the general recognition of a Russian Government. These principles were the basis of the Washington Conference Resolution of 23rd January, 1922, with which the Nine-Power Treaty must be read in this connection. In 1924 China signed agreements with the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics providing, inter alia, for joint Sino-Russian administration of the Chinese Eastern Railway. The Chinese Government have now evicted the Russian personnel; the point at issue is therefore not the acquisition by the Soviet Government of control of the line, but the interference by the Chinese Government with its share of control as provided for in the treaties.

(2) *Exterritoriality*

Replying to Mr. Hannon (Conservative) with regard to the question of extraterritoriality in China, Mr. Henderson stated on July 22nd:

"Proposals in regard to extraterritoriality have been made, not by the Powers, but by China. On 27th April the Chinese Government addressed notes to six Powers, including ourselves, asking for the abolition of extraterritoriality. The reply of His Majesty's Government is under consideration, and will, I hope, shortly be sent in. I should prefer to defer any statement on the subject till then."

The replies of the Powers (Great Britain, the United States, France, Japan and the Netherlands) to Mr. Wang's Note of April 27th, for text of which see *Report of Pacific Affairs* for June 1st, were received in Nanking on August 14th. The Governments concerned stated that the texts of the Notes would not be published unless the Nanking Government so desired. At the moment of writing no publication has been made but it is stated that Mr. Wang is preparing a fresh Note on the subject.

(3) *Arms Traffic*

Mr. Henderson, on July 22nd, told Mr. Day (Labour) that:

"In view of the changed situation inconsequent upon the conclusion

of treaties with, and the recognition of the National Government, the Arms Embargo Agreement was, by a unanimous agreement of the Diplomatic Body in Peking, cancelled as from April 26th last, on which date this decision was formally communicated to the Chinese Minister for Foreign Affairs."

(4) *Troops in China*

On July 23rd, Mr. Shaw, Secretary of State for War, gave Mr. Harris (Liberal) the following information:

"There are at present in China six British battalions and one Indian battalion distributed as follows: at Hong Kong, two British and one Indian battalion; at Shanghai, two battalions, and in the Tientsin Area two battalions. The question of the number of troops in China is engaging the attention of His Majesty's Government but no conclusion has yet been reached on the matter. There is no intention of increasing the number of battalions in China in the near future."

(5) *The Mui Tsai System in Hong-Kong*

Lady Astor (Conservative) on July 23rd asked for information regarding the application of Part III of the Hong Kong Ordinance of 1923, designed to bring about the abolition of the mui tsai system. Mr. Walter Lunn, Under-Secretary of State for Colonial Affairs, informed her that:

"The Ordinance provided that Part III should not come into operation until a date to be fixed by a Proclamation of the Governor in Council. It has not been thought advisable so far to bring it into operation for the main reason that the Governor, with full knowledge of the problem, is convinced that registration and regulation of wages could not be made effective in the circumstances which have continuously existed in recent years in Hong Kong. My Noble Friend has no doubt that the difficulty of effective action is fully realised by the Noble Lady as she affirmed as recently as 30th April, in the Debate on the Colonial Office vote, that the late Government was doing all it could in this matter. As I have previously explained, my Noble Friend is carefully considering the whole problem and a statement of the position and of his own policy will be forthcoming shortly."

The Singapore Naval Base

On July 8th Mr. Malone (Labour), Mr. Boothby (Conservative), Mr. Hannon (Conservative), Mr. Lambert (Liberal) and Sir Frederick Hall (Conservative) addressed questions to the Prime Minister relative to the Government's intended policy with regard to the Singapore Naval Base. In his replies Mr. MacDonald said:

"This matter is now under the consideration of His Majesty's Government and an announcement will be made as soon as possible. . . . Everything germane to the consideration of this subject (commercial purposes of the dockyard) will be taken into account . . . preliminaries have already been taken to consult the Overseas Dominion. . . . The matter is part of a large consideration of the whole subject which is centred round that. The delay (in making a decision) will not be prolonged as far as we are concerned. . . . The work at the moment is going on as it was left by our predecessors."

Mr. Alexander, First Lord of the Admiralty, informed Sir George Penny (Conservative) on July 10th that:

"Under the arrangements made by the late Government the approved work at the Singapore Naval Base would be completed in 1937. The expenditure to date is £856,812. The estimated amount for completing the work is £6,900,466. These figures do not include the expenditure on the Floating Dock, which amounts to £971,492, nearly all of which has been paid."

Mr. Lambert on July 23rd, received the information from the Secretary of State for War, that:

"The estimate of £1,150,000 ($5,750,000) for 1929 relates to works services only and covers defences, cantonments, roads, piers, workshops and other building services—the size of the garrison that would be required for the new defences has not yet been determined."

Mr. Philip Snowden, Chancellor of the Exchequer, informed Mr. Mardy-Jones (Labour) on July 24th, that "the gross total expenditure on the Base to the latest date available, is approximately £2,400,000 ($12,000,000). The total number of persons employed is 3,618, consisting of 98 Europeans, 1,984 Chinese, 63 Malays, and 1,473 Indians.

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Japanese Character and Christianity

A Study of Japanese Ethical Ideals as Compared With Teachings of Christianity

By Tasuku Harada

If I were to state the chief characteristics of the Japanese people, looking at them from the ethical side I would say that there are especially four points which demand our attention. Without due appreciation of these we cannot understand the Japanese.

First, *Giri,* the Sense of Ought.

Giri is a term difficult of rendering into foreign languages. "Reasonable," "right," "justice," "ought," or the German *sollen,* are all inadequate translations. In most cases *giri* conflicts with *ninjo* (human affections, natural feelings). What moves the Japanese most in novels or in theatrical plays are those scenes in which the conflict between *giri* and *ninjo* is represented. "If you obey the dictates of the former, you can not obey the latter: if you obey the latter, you can not obey the former; standing between *giri* and *ninjo* (between duty and natural affection), there is nothing left but to weep." A passage like this moves the Japanese to tears. The scene in which Shigemori, of the Taira clan, remonstrates with his father upon his plan of violence against the emperor, is one of the finest passages in Japanese history: "If I am loyal, I can not be filial; if I am filial, I can not be loyal; here is my sore dilemma." This is an example of the conflict between *giri* and *ninjo.*

But, as according to the Japanese saying, "the most sacred relations must give way before great duties," so when duty demands, the relation between father and son ceases to be; everything must be sacrificed on the altar of duty. One's own interests or welfare can not be taken into consideration. *Giri* includes the spirit of chivalry and self-sacrifice. A man who does not acknowledge these principles is despised as a man devoid of the sense of *giri.*

> Full well I knew this course must end in death;
> It was Yamato-spirit urged me on
> To dare whate'er betide.*

This verse we may well consider as expressing the sense of *giri* applied to patriotism.

Such words as these of the Apostle Paul: "For I wish that myself were accursed from Christ for my brethren, my kinsmen according to the flesh," while hard to understand on utilitarian principles, are readily understood from the standpoint of *giri.* Words also like these of Christ: "He that loveth father or mother more than me is not worthy of me; and he that loveth son or daughter more than me is not worthy of me. And he that taketh not his cross, and followeth after me, is not worthy of me," when considered in the light of the principle I have stated before, that "the most sacred relations must give way before great duties," are wholly natural.

The life of Christ is an example of the victory of *giri* over *ninjo.*

* Translation taken from "Bushido," by Dr. Nitobe.

The temptations of Satan were all addressed to the natural feelings of Christ as a man; but Christ, discerning clearly what duty demanded, overcame them. Again, when Christ prayed: "O my Father, if it be possible, let this cup pass from me," He gave expression to his natural feelings; but when He added "nevertheless not as I will, but as Thou wilt," He conquered them by His sense of duty. This is an explanation which, I think, is readily understood by the Japanese. Such theological statements as that the cross of Christ is an atonement, offered up for the appeasing of God's wrath, find very reluctant acceptance from the Japanese. But if we explain the cross from the standpoint of self-sacrifice, it presents no special difficulty to them. There is not a Japanese whose admiration is not aroused when hearing of Sakura-Sogoro of Shimosa, who took his life in his hands and went to the cross for the sake of his neighbors. They admire his loyalty to his sense of duty. Looked at from this standpoint, though the cross may be a "stumbling-block to Jews and foolishness to Greeks," it is not so to the Japanese.

Second, *Ho-on,* the Sense of Gratitude.

I remember being frequently taught as a child that to be ungrateful is to be brutish. Even among animals the dog remembers a kindness, while the cat is considered with less favour because it has little or no gratitude. Buddhism teaches "the four blessings," viz., the blessings of parents, of one's country, of the people at large, of Buddha; to be thankful for these is the duty of man. To show gratitude for blessings received is a teaching common to Shintoism, Buddhism and Confucianism. We have it impressed upon us from childhood that there is nothing so base as ingratitude.

One reason why the Japanese have opposed Christianity is that they have mistakenly thought that it makes light of the favours and mercies which we receive from rulers and parents. If they would understand its real teachings regarding gratitude to God, they would gladly accept them. But to teach them that, if they do not believe in God they will receive punishment, while if they believe they will be rewarded, has no influence whatever over them; nay, rather it arouses in their minds strong opposition.

> If but my heart is in accord with truth,
> Though suppliant hands I do not raise to heaven,
> The gods will not refuse me their protection.

This will be the answer of a Japanese to such teaching. But if they are taught that the chief purpose of prayer is to express our gratitude to God, and that to walk in the way of righteousness is to requite the favours of heaven, there is not one who will fail to understand such teaching.

Fukuzawa-Yukichi, a leader of modern education, severely criticized Kaibara-Ekken (1630-1714) on account of his teaching regarding women. But while Fukuzawa's merit is great for diffusing the ideas of Western civilization during the Meiji era, that of Kaibara-Ekken is not less for diffusing the moral ideas of Confucianism in a way easily comprehended. And books like Kaibara's "Ten Precepts," or "The Great Teaching for Women" were esteemed by the people of the pre-Meiji era as their Bible. In the writings of Kaibara we find the fol-

lowing passage: "Man receives his life from heaven and earth; thus he secures from them unlimited blessings, as from father and mother; not only is he born through the mercy of heaven and earth, but his whole life is sustained by them, even as after his birth through his parents he is nourished by them, and thus grows up to manhood; so also, after having been born into this world, he is constantly to think how to serve heaven and earth, and how to requite their favours; this is to serve them with a filial spirit." There is scarcely a single Japanese, I think, who does not agree with these words. Of course, by "heaven and earth" Kaibara means the Supreme Being who is the ruler of them. That he had no clear idea of a heavenly Father is, of course, true. But his idea is that if man derives his life from the Supreme Being, it is but natural that he should serve Him. It is worthy of our attention that these words of the Confucian teacher of two hundred years ago closely resemble those of the Bible.

Third, *Renketsu,* the Spirit of Disinterestedness.

Renketsu is a term expressing the opposite of "covetousness," "greed," "love of money." Of course, every nation values this spirit, but it is not too much to say that there is no nation where it is held in as high esteem as by the Japanese. We have the saying: "The true gentleman does not think about his own advantage," and this spirit formerly went to the extreme of considering the mere handling of money degrading. In the age of feudalism, for example, the saying was, that "even though the warrior has nothing to eat, he uses a long toothpick,"* and so, even when hungry, he was ashamed in any way to act as if soliciting a favour. And this spirit existed not only among the warrior-class, but among all classes down to the common day labourer.

Through ignorance of this characteristic foreigners frequently err in their treatment of the Japanese. Japanese engaged in public works especially dislike to speak of their salaries. To be asked: "How much is your salary?" is considered by such a man an insult. Here lies a difference between the Japanese and the Chinese. Among the latter, even among the refined class, it is not considered discourteous to inquire about the salary and age of a person though of slight acquaintance.

When at the time of the restoration, before the complete abolition of the feudal system, three hundred *diamyo* passed over their ancestral estates to the Imperial Government without reluctance, it was indeed an unprecedented act. It was an event unparalleled in the history of the world. Anyone not understanding the spirit of the Japanese can scarcely appreciate such an incident.

Some years ago I went with a friend from America to see Count Okuma's garden. We were shown around most politely by a young man attached to the count's house. As we were about to leave, my friend handed to the young man a small amount of money without first wrapping it in paper. * * The young man considered this very strange, while I felt sorry for him. I explained to him, that, as it was customary in other countries to give a fee to guides, my friend, not knowing the customs of this country, had acted accordingly. I therefore apologised

* i.e., even in poverty the warrior does not forget his dignity.

** This refers to the polite custom in Japan of wrapping a fee or any gift in paper, before presenting it.

for him, and took back the money. When I explained the matter to my friend, he, in his turn, thought it exceedingly strange. It was a point where Eastern and Western ideas differ.

It is to be greatly regretted, that, together with ideas of Western civilization, the "almighty-dollar" idea is spreading more and more in our land. But the conviction that "while a man lives but one generation, his name lives unto all generations," is still the great motive ruling the Japanese. Several years ago a whole family of the *samurai* class in Kumamoto died of hunger. They considered it unbecoming and cowardly to ask for aid, and so they lay down and died together. But in the alcove of their room, it is said, stood intact a box with a splendid set of armour.

No doubt this high sense of honor, if misused, may degenerate into hypocrisy; but the *samurai's* sense of honor was in itself certainly beautiful. If developed in the right direction, its possessor is not far removed from him who is "poor in spirit"—who is "persecuted for righteousness' sake."

Fourth, *Chuko,* the Virtue of Loyalty and of Filial Piety.

That this has exerted a very great influence in Japanese thought is too well known to need demonstration anew. To-day, it is true, these two ideas are apt to be degraded by mere outward observance, and not a few evil practices result therefrom. This is in consequence of carrying to an extreme the esteem in which they are held, and of applying them mistakenly. But certainly loyalty and filial piety, as such, are not wrong. To-day they are yet the greatest inspiration to millions of Japanese. They are closely related to the spirit of gratitude of which I have spoken before.

"Even though the master fall short of his duties as master, the servant must not fall short of his duty as servant; even though parents fall short of their duties as parents, the child must not fall short in his." Loyalty and filial piety demand from us nothing short of complete surrender of ourselves to our master or parents. It is the spirit of not living unto one's self, but unto our superiors. The *samurai* considered it a matter of course that he should fall fighting in front of his lord's horse. It was his firm conviction that his life was not his own.

As an illustration of the education of a *samurai,* let me give you an account of it in Kagoshima. The people of Kagoshima were accustomed to foster among themselves a spirit of utter disregard of death. When a boy had grown to the age of seven or eight, his father or elder brother or any one standing in place of them, would ask him without giving any further reason: "Are you ready to die for your lord and for your father?" The boy then would reply in the same frank manner, as if making a sacred pledge: "I am ready to die; I am ready to die!" But even among the bold and daring Satsuma *samurai* were some weak-spirited boys who did not reply thus promptly. Their father, or brother, then would expostulate with them and even beat them until they gave their pledge. Looked at in the light of today this was a barbarous custom; but it is evident that there was something in the education of a *samurai* that was closely akin to a religious spirit.

The superiority of the Japanese soldiers in the war with China is

not explained merely by the fact that they had superior arms and were more thoroughly disciplined. Every one acquainted with the facts will say that it was because of the spirit of loyalty in their breasts.

We may well say that the spirit of the ancient *bushi* in his relation to his lord was essentially the same as that expressed in the apostle's words: "For none of us liveth to himself, and no man dieth to himself; for whether we live, we live unto the Lord; and whether we die, we die unto the Lord, whether we live, therefore, or die, we are the Lord's." The essential spirit can not differ; there can only be a higher or lower, a nobler or a less noble object of attachment. If this spirit is developed by the spirit of Christianity it will become towards God the spirit of loyalty and of filial devotion, and towards man that spirit of benevolence which gives itself for the welfare of mankind. Jesus Christ said: "I am not come to destroy, but to fulfill." Christianity, I believe, will develop such virtues, ennoble them, lead them on to perfection.

According to what I have said so far we may conclude that in looking on the ethical side of Japanese character there are, instead of many points of opposition, many points of close contact to Christianity. But if we ask again in what respects the Japanese offer opposition to the Gospel, we will have to reply that the points of opposition are found along intellectual and philosophical lines. Chief among these are the following three, of which I will speak but briefly:

First, the Japanese are inclined to Positivism, and consequently to Anti-Supernaturalism. Speaking in a general way, Japanese nature is not fertile soil for pure philosophy. It has produced many men of the type of Aristotle or Franklin, but scarcely any of that of Plato, Kant, or Hegel. Buddhism has flourished in Japan, but the most eminent men among Buddhist believers, men like Nichiren, Kobo, Shinran, have in every case been eminent for their qualities of religious statesmanship. The sects which these men founded have spread widely among the Japanese, while more erudite and mystical sects like the *Tendai* or *Kegon,* have never found a large following. And a world-view like that influenced by Confucianism, which says: "we do not know what life is, how can we know what death is," has the greatest influence among the middle and upper classes. In Confucianism itself the *Shushi* school, which keeps closer to realities, has had by far greater influence than the more philosophically inclined *Yomei* school. It is, of course, true that in the religious ideas and customs of former ages much superstition intermingled. There was much talk about mysterious supernatural beings and strange powers. However, with the coming of Western scientific thought this has readily and entirely disappeared. This is in consequence of the positivistic tendencies of Japanese character.

It is, therefore, exceedingly difficult to explain to the Japanese the supernatural element in Christianity. The miracles are for them not a proof in favour of the Gospel, but rather a stumbling block.

Secondly, the Japanese are Pantheists. It is a well-known fact that Buddhism is pantheistic. Shintoism also is pantheistic. We may say, therefore, the Japanese are deficient in the sense of personality. They speak about "heaven" or "the way," or "truth," but they do not

possess the conception of a personal Heavenly Father. This is an entirely new thought.

Again, Japanese thought is greatly deficient in the Christian conceptions of righteousness and sin; rather the principle has become prevalent that, for the sake of accomplishing one's purpose, it is proper to use cunning expedients, or pious frauds. The criticism of Canon Barnett some years ago that there is no fifty-first Psalm in all Japanese literature is correct. No doubt it is true that such a pantheistic tendency is of advantage in the explanation of some Christian doctrines, but at the same time it presents many obstacles. If we wish to establish Christian theism both firmly and widely, we must begin at the very foundation.

Third, as a result of these positivistic and pantheistic tendencies Fatalism has a powerful influence over the Japanese. This is the reason why at times the daring courage and recklessness of the Japanese cool so quickly. The Japanese, on the whole, dislike an excess that tends to offend good taste in anything: for example, in the colouring of any object of art they do not like loud colours and in their food they prefer articles of plain and delicate flavour.

Isles of blest Japan!
Should your Yamato spirit
Strangers seek to scan,
Say, scenting morn's sun-lit air.
Blows the cherry wild and fair! *

While this spirit is certainly beautiful, it has its defects. Thus, the Japanese readily gives up and says *shikata ga nai* (there is no help for it); or when fighting against some enemy, he again very quickly makes peace. To fight to the bitter end, even in the cause of righteousness, is not his strong characteristic. Therefore he can willingly sacrifice himself. But to take care of himself, and be faithful until his time of death comes, nay, more, to cherish the noble hope of eternal life, this spirit I believe, is lacking in Japanese character.

In the above presentation of Japanese character I have not tried to speak in detail of the causes that have shaped it. However, among these we have to reckon the influence exerted by Shintoism, Buddhism and Confucianism which are too well known to need special mention. There is no doubt that the social institutions of Japan have also greatly influenced it, and I believe that the natural characteristics and the scenery of our country have likewise contributed much.

In short, accepting Japanese character as I have briefly outlined it, we can say that on its ethical side it offers points of contact to Christianity, and even welcomes it, while on the other hand, on its intellectual side it offers many obstacles. Unfortunately the sense of duty, of disinterestedness, and the other noble virtues of which I have spoken, have been greatly impaired by contact with materialistic civilization.

Has Christianity the power to revive them and breathe into them new life? Has it the power to develop the ancient, ethical conceptions towards still nobler and loftier ideals, and thus to perfect them? For the answer we should await the time when we shall have more completely observed the influence of the new religion upon the ethico-religious development of the nation.

* Translation taken from "Bushido."

Floating Factories on the Pacific

By Seishi Idei

The task of framing an accurate definition of any term is by no means easy. We use, frequently, the word "factory," though it is difficult to work out a precise definition of it. England is the country where factory legislation was first enacted. Between 1802 and 1878, numerous statutes protecting factory workers were passed, revising many times the meaning of the term "factory." At first, only cotton mills were meant by the term. Gradually, it came to include any place devoted to textile manufacturing. Later, the definition was extended to any premises where fifty or more persons were employed in any manufacturing processes. But, at last, any place where motive power was employed in manufacturing came to be called a factory, as distinguished from the workshop where only manual power was used. In the first article of the Factory Law of Japan, we read, "The law shall apply to all factories where ten or more persons are employed." This defines, however, only the scope of the application of the law, but does not make clear the problem as to what a factory really is.

In the realm of business economics, the term "factory" is not required to be defined as rigidly as is essential before the law. It is generally accepted that any place in which modern methods of business are carried on, is a factory. But it is questionable whether legislators or economists have ever thought that the factory system on a large scale could be developed on the ocean. In writings on factory management, for example, one does not find any systematic discussion on the mobility of a factory. It seems to me that thus far the concept of a factory has been limited to the land and the conditions and problems with regard to the factories on the ocean, or floating factories, have been neglected.

What is a floating factory? It is a moving factory on the sea. It approaches the actual location of the raw materials and turns out marine products on a big scale. As is well known, the adjacent waters of Japan are very rich fishing grounds. But, in recent years, the actual fishing grounds have moved far off from the coasts. This fact involves great difficulty for fish packing, as it takes a long time to bring fish or crabs to canneries on the land. The first attempt to overcome this difficulty was made in crab-meat packing. This prejudice was, however, dispelled by the success of the "Kureha Maru," the laboratory boat of the Toyama Institute of Fisheries, which made three hundred boxes of canned crab-meat using sea water for the purpose of washing without causing any change in the quality of meat. Thus, this experiment in 1920 opened the way for rapid development of the floating factory system on the Okhotsk. At the beginning, small sailing boats were employed for the purpose, but from 1922 on steamships of two or three

The author is Professor of Political Economy at Waseda University, Tokyo.

thousand tonnage have been generally used. The following table shows the progress of this industry:

	No. of Ships	*Tonnage*	*Output (boxes)*
1921	2	689	2,760
1922	3	1,236	7,226
1923	15	9,075	33,800
1924	6	9,561	41,500
1925	8	15,835	108,800
1926	12	28,472	228,336
1927	17	36,433	337,000

In 1923 the Japanese Government wisely limited the building of "Kanioko-sen" (crab-meat packing boats) to eighteen in order to avoid the evils of extreme exploitation.

As the best fishing grounds are close to Russian territory, many difficult problems were bound to arise with respect to the boundary of the public waters. The Russians held the view of the twelve miles high sea, and the Japanese held that of the three miles high sea. This disputed issue was settled by a compromise between the Soviet and the Japanese Governments.

The work of crab-meat packing is seasonal. The boats have their base at Hakodate, Hokkaido, starting in May and returning in September every year. They are not only equipped with such packing machines as clincher, exhaust box, sleamer, etc., but carry with them on their decks a number of small fishing boats called *kawa-saki-sen*. While the floating factories are at anchor on the fishing grounds, the *kawa-saki-sen* are actively engaged in hauling crabs to supply their depot-ships, that is, the floating factories.

It is quite clear that these vessels are not merely ships in the ordinary sense, but that they are also factories. The fact that superintendents instead of captains are in full charge and that they carry far more workers than crew-members clearly demonstrates this.

	No of Ships	*Crew*	*Fishermen*	*Workers*	*Total*
1925	8	227	579	1,108	1,914
1926	12	433	1,018	2,025	3,476
1927	15	628	1,622	3,310	5,560

In spite of the obvious fact that these crab-meat packing boats are factories that float on the ocean, the Japanese Government treats them as "special passenger vessels." They are considered neither merchant ships nor factories. Accordingly, any Act relating to workers' or seamen's welfare does not apply to the workers in these floating factories. The cure for this evil would be simple were the idea of the factory enlarged.

It is to be expected that the floating factory system will be developed along lines other than crab-meat packing. Recently, true to expectations, the tendency of the floating factory system is towards the building of salmon meat packing boats (*sake-ko-sen*). This year, it is reported, twenty of the salmon meat packing boats are in preparation. While the floating factory is a new means of opening up the inexhaustible resources of the Pacific, it will also afford new and interesting problems to economists and legislators.

The Mineral Resources of Canada and the Development of the Mining Industry

By E. S. Moore
Professor of Economic Geology, University of Toronto

Introduction

The mining industry in Canada developed slowly from the time of early settlement until near the close of the last century. During the past thirty years there has been a rapid growth not only in the production of minerals but also in appreciation of the importance of the country's mineral resources. At the present time there is the greatest activity in searching for new deposits in vast, unprospected areas, and in the development of the important ore deposits that have recently been discovered. The finding in Canada of some of the world's larger and richest ore deposits has made capital available for further exploration on a scale unthought of a short time ago. The building of truck roads and railways and the use of the airplane have opened up extensive tracts to the prospector that until recently were far beyond his reach. Prospecting is being carried on by large companies, well financed and equipped with the latest mechanical means of transportation. These companies are exploring the remote northern portions of the Precambrian Shield and the mountainous zone that flanks the Pacific ocean.

The growth in the mining industry has been most marked in the production of the metals. The production of non-metallic minerals has shown a steady and healthy growth and in most respects has kept pace with the increase in population but the increase in the output of gold, silver, copper, lead, zinc and nickel has been in some instances spectacular.

Canada produces about 90 per cent of the world's nickel and she stands third among the countries of the world in the production of gold and silver. The increase in lead, zinc and copper mining in recent years has been very gratifying and this increase, particularly in the mining of copper and zinc, will be greatly accelerated during the next few years by production from the large copper-nickel deposits in the Sudbury nickel field and the copper-zinc deposits of western Quebec and northern Manitoba.

In 1885 the total value of Canada's mineral production was only about $10,000,000. By 1900 it had risen to over $63,000,000 and in 1928 it was more than $273,000,000. The per capita value in 1886 was $2.23, in 1900, $12.04 and in 1928 over $27.00, showing a very favourable situation in one of the country's basic industries.

Mineral Resources

The distribution of Canada's mineral resources is closely related to her physiographic and geologic features. The country has been divided into six physiographic provinces each containing certain mineral resources*. These provinces, beginning with the Pacific coast, are: (1)

* The Mineral Resources of Canada, by E. S. Moore. Irwin & Gordon, Toronto, Canada.

Cordilleran Region, (2) Interior Plains, (3) Arctic Island and Hudson Bay Lowlands, (4) Precambrian Shield, (5) St. Lawrence Lowlands and, (6) Appalachian Region. The Cordilleran province comprises the Coast Range mountains, the interior plateaux and mountains and the Rocky mountains. It is much the most mountainous section of Canada and it is underlain by a great variety of rocks, both igneous and sedimentary, which have contributed large quantities of minerals. With the Coast Range intrusives are associated a number of Canada's large copper deposits and numerous deposits of other ores. This region is dominantly a metal producing area, and it promises to be one of the most important mining sections of the country. The Consolidated Mining and Smelting Company of Canada has constructed at Trail, British Columbia what is probably the largest non-ferrous refining plant in existence for the treatment of copper, zinc, lead, silver, and other ores. The interior section of the Cordilleran region contains a great variety of ore deposits, particularly those of lead-silver, lead-zinc and gold-silver types but the Rocky mountains have produced pratically no metals because of the fact that very few igneous rocks penetrate to the surface. These mountains do, however, contain large coal fields with the best coals found in Canada.

The Interior Plains province, including the foothills of the Rockies, contains the largest coal fields of the Dominion as well as her most important producing oil and gas fields. The metal output from this province is negligible because the underlying rocks are almost entirely of sedimentary origin and for the most part little disturbed.

The Arctic Islands and Hudson Bay Lowlands province has not been extensively explored and while some mica and graphite have been mined on a very small scale and coal is known to exist in several places little is really known about its future possibilities as a mineral producer.

The Precambrian Shield, so-called because it is underlain almost entirely by Precambrian rocks, is the largest physiographic province of the Dominion. It constitutes about 1,825,000 square miles, or almost one-half of the country's total area of 3,797,124 square miles, and it is believed to be the largest single area of Precambrian rocks. The prospector has covered only a small portion of it in detail but it already constitutes a very important mining region. It produces about 90 per cent of the world's nickel, it includes the world's fourth most productive silver camp, and two gold fields which are producing over $32,000,000 annually. The copper production from this province has not been very large but one new deposit, the Frood Mine in the Sudbury district is now under development and it contains over 110,000,000 tons of copper-nickel ore which carries from about one to 22 per cent copper as well as good values in nickel, platinum and other precious metals. This is, therefore, one of the most valuable ore deposits ever discovered and it will greatly increase the copper production of the Precambrian Shield. Other large copper and copper-zinc deposits in western Quebec and northern Manitoba are either in the early stages of production or still in the development stage and they will greatly increase both the copper and zinc production for this province which will soon be the most important copper-producing region of Canada and also a very important producer of zinc. The silver production of the Precambrian Shield is on the decline as the famous Cobalt camp, which was chiefly responsible

for placing Canada third among the world's silver producers is being worked out. About 90 per cent of the gold production of Canada is now derived from the Precambrian Shield and the quantity and proportion are increasing steadily. Much is expected from the Precambrian rocks in Canada because of their great extent, the fact that over two-thirds of the world's gold comes from rocks of this age, and because of what these rocks have already produced in this country. Coal, oil or gas need not be looked for in these rocks but large quantities of the other non-metallic minerals such as feldspar, graphite, mica and talc are mined or quarried from them in Canada.

The St. Lawrence province is underlain almost entirely by little disturbed sedimentary rocks and it is the richest agricultural section in Canada. It produces no metals of importance but it supplies large quantities of salt, gypsum, clay, raw materials for cement and brick manufacturing, building stones and considerable oil and gas. This area formerly included the most important producing oil fields in the country.

In the Appalachian Region coal and asbestos are the main mineral products although there is some gold in Nova Scotia, and much salt, gypsum and barite, some oil and gas in New Brunswick and considerable quantities of various other minerals in this section of Canada. There is promise of quite an important production of zinc from Gaspé, Quebec and from Cape Breton island.

Metal Production

Iron: Iron occurs in many parts of Canada and several million tons of ore have been mined but the known deposits are of such a nature that they cannot be worked at present in competition with the large deposits near at hand in the United States and Newfoundland. As a result of this condition no iron is being mined to-day although over a million long tons of pig iron was manufactured from imported ore in 1928. The ore for the furnaces in central Canada came from the Lake Superior districts of the United States and for those at Sydney, Nova Scotia, chiefly from Newfoundland. There are very large tonnages of iron carbonate and of siliceous, low grade hematite and magnetite ores as well as large quantities of high sulphur ores in the country but these ores all require treatment before being sent to the blast furnace. The roasting of the carbonate ores has been successfully accomplished but this raises the cost a little too high for competition with the natural products of the mines in the United States. The concentration of the low grade, siliceous ores is possible but not under present commercial conditions. Ontario has at least 75,000,000 tons of carbonate ore which will doubtless be roasted and sintered in the future and hundreds of millions of tons of low grade siliceous ore which may have to wait many years before it can be used.

Gold and Silver: Gold mining began in Canada in 1860 and it has suffered many reverses since that time. In 1896 the rich placer deposits of the Klondike district attracted world-wide attention and the annual production soon rose to over $22,000,000 and the total output from this field has been over $181,000,000. This has been the one large placer gold field of Canada. A considerable quantity of placer gold has been recovered from northern British Columbia and some from Quebec but the severe glaciation which Canada suffered in the Pleis-

tocene epoch has been responsible for destroying most of the previously existing placers lying in its path. The Klondike deposits owed their existence to the absence of glaciation in that region apparently because of deficiency in precipitation.

The gold output is now derived from gold-bearing lodes and in increasing amounts from the refining of copper, nickel, lead and zinc ores. The annual production is approximately $40,000,000. The total gold production of Canada since 1860 is over $680,000,000.

Silver in Canada has been derived from two main sources: the silver-cobalt ores of Cobalt, Ontario, and lead, zinc and copper ores. The Sullivan zinc-lead mine in British Columbia produces over 3,000,000 ounces of silver annually as a by-product in refining the base metals and many other deposits of lead, zinc and copper in that province furnish large quantities of silver. British Columbia was the main source of the 12½ million dollars worth of silver produced in Canada in 1928. The Cobalt district still produces annually several million ounces but the annual production has fallen from 31,507,791 ounces in 1911 to about 6,000,000 in 1928. This district has yielded over $325,000,000 in metals and paid dividends of about $100,000,000. The silver production of the country is slowly declining and unless important new discoveries of silver deposits are made in the near future Canada will lose, if she has not already lost, the third place among the silver producers of the world.

Copper: Canada is an important producer of copper with an annual production in 1928 of 201,940,172 pounds but her production has been relatively small compared with that of the United States, South America, Japan and some other countries. She has a large surplus of this metal for export and the future promises a greatly increased output. With the mining of several new and very important copper deposits which are now under development there will soon be a large increase in output and Canada will be a prominent producer of copper.

Lead and Zinc: Previous to 1915 the production of lead in Canada was very small and that of zinc relatively insignificant. With the operation of the great Sullivan mine in British Columbia the output of these metals became important and by 1928 the value of the lead production exceeded $15,400,000 and that of zinc $10,250,000. These figures, particularly those for zinc will doubtless show a large increase in the near future because a number of important zinc-lead-copper deposits are coming to the producing stage in several parts of the country. The zinc mining industry in eastern Canada has been handicapped by the lack of a refinery necessitating the export of all zinc concentrates from this portion of Canada to Europe or the United States for refining. An effort is now being made to build a refinery which will treat these concentrates and domestic refining will soon materially aid the zinc industry.

Nickel: As previously stated, Canada produces about 90 per cent of the world's nickel. This metal is derived almost entirely from the Sudbury district, Ontario. This district contains vast reserves in nickel which is rapidly increasing in demand. The supply should be sufficient to satisfy any reasonable demand for a century or more. The present annual value of the nickel output is over $22,000,000 and in addition

to the nickel the ores contain large quantities of copper, and considerable values in gold, silver, platinum, palladium and rhodium. The Frood deposit, which is now under development, will be one of the world's important platinum deposits and since this metal will be obtained as a by-product of copper and nickel ores it will make it difficult for platinum from other fields to compete in the market with that from this source. The value of the platinum, palladium and rhodium from the Sudbury district in 1928 was almost $1,310,000.

Other Metals: Chromium and manganese occur at a number of places in Canada and although there is no production of these metals at present, because of competition from other countries, it was shown during the war that this country could practically supply her needs if compelled to do so. There is sufficient molybdenum ore to sustain small mining operations on deposits of this metal if a suitable market were available. The production of arsenic amounts annually to five or six million pounds, that of cobalt to nearly a million pounds, although formerly it was very much greater, and that of cadmium to almost one-half million pounds. Several thousand pounds of bismuth were produced last year. No tin of importance is produced although a small amount has been found in British Columbia and Yukon Territory and several deposits, the value of which has not yet been determined, have recently been discovered in Manitoba and western Ontario.

Production of Non-Metallic Minerals

Coal: It has been estimated that Canada holds about one-sixth of the world's coal, a quantity sufficient to supply her needs for thousands of years. The larger portion is sub-bituminous and lignite in rank but there are immense quantities of good bituminous and large quantities of semi-bituminous or "steam" coal available. Some of the coal is semi-anthracite but there is no important deposit of good anthracite. There is good coking coal in Nova Scotia and in the mountainous parts of Alberta and British Columbia. The coal in the Atlantic provinces, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, is Carboniferous in age, the same age as the coals in the great fields of the eastern United States. The western coals found in Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta and British Columbia were formed at a much later date and they range from Lower Cretaceous to Miocene in age. Outside of the folded areas of Alberta and British Columbia the coals are all sub-bituminous or lignite in rank and they do not coke.

A small quantity of sub-bituminous coal and lignite occurs in Ontario south of James bay. With the exception of this insignificant coal field, Ontario, the most populous and most highly developed industrial province in the Dominion, is devoid of coal and Quebec, the next most populous province, is entirely without coal of any kind. These provinces have large reserves in hydro-electric energy and important deposits of peat but this fuel has not come into general use. Improved methods of treatment may cause it to be used more extensively in the near future.

Although Canada has such important resources in coal they are not well situated. They are in the extreme eastern and the far western portions of the country while about 60 per cent of the population is located in the central part on less than one per cent of the area. This

thickly populated region lies along the St. Lawrence river and the Great Lakes far removed from domestic coal supplies. This has led to the importation annually of slightly more than half the coal consumed in the country. The total consumption of coal in 1928 was about 34½ million tons and of the coal imported by far the greater part came from the United States and the remainder was received from Great Britain and several other countries. The great coal fields of Pennsylvania and adjacent states are so near southern Ontario that coal can be imported from them with a freight rate about one-half of that from Nova Scotia or less than one-third of that from the foothills of the Rocky mountains. Hydro-electric energy has already displaced annually about 12,000,000 tons of coal in Canada and with the further development of her very important water powers a saving in fuel may be accomplished which will be from three to four times this figure.

Petroleum and Natural Gas: The production of crude petroleum in Canada in 1928 was 630,405 barrels, a considerable increase over that of the previous year, and approaching the output when the Ontario oil fields were yielding their maximum production. This output is equivalent in value to only about 6½ per cent of that of the total crude petroleum consumed in the country for that year without consideration of many millions of dollars worth of refined products which were also imported. Large quantities of crude oil are imported and refined in Canada. Oil is still derived from the old fields in southwestern Ontario and a little comes from New Brunswick but the bulk of the production comes from Alberta. There are many conditions which point to the extension of the oil fields in western Canada particularly in Alberta, Saskatchewan and the Northwest Territories. These conditions are: the geological nature and age of the rock formations, the presence of oil seeps and vast quantities of bituminous sands and the occurrence of tremendous quantities of natural gas. The quantity of oil so far found, however, has been disappointing. An oil field has been tested near Fort Norman on the Mackenzie river but its full extent has not been determined. There is in northern Alberta a very large deposit of bituminous sands which would supply the country with oil for centuries if some method could be found of extracting the oil on a satisfactory commercial basis.

Other Non-Metallic Mineral Resources: With the exception of petroleum, Canada has sufficient of most of the non-metallic minerals to supply all her needs and leave a considerable surplus for export. Of asbestos she provides over 80 per cent of the world's output and she has an abundance of salt, gypsum, feldspar, graphite, cement materials, building stones, clays, talc, mica, barite and fluorite. Small deposits of rock phosphate have been found in Alberta and British Columbia but those discovered so far are quite inadequate to supply the demand for a great fertilizer industry so essential to the future of Canada's agricultural development. Large quantities of sulphuric acid are now being manufactured which can be used for this purpose and the quantity which can be produced in the near future as a by-product in the treatment of sulphide ores in Ontario and British Columbia will be sufficient to meet all demands for a very large fertilizer industry but unless larger deposits of rock phosphate are discovered most of this material will have to be imported.

Conclusion

The mining industry in Canada has made great strides during the nineteenth century and there is promise of an increase in this development in the next few years. There are still vast areas of promising rock formations to be prospected and if we can judge the future by the past some of these will yield large returns in metals. The use of fuels and structural materials will be accelerated by a growth in population. There is at present a national consciousness of the importance of Canada's mineral resources and the necessity of Canadians sharing not only in the profits accruing from the mining and sale of the raw materials but in refining and in the manufacturing of the refined products as well. Probably one of the greatest advances in the mining industry in the next few years will be made in the domestic treatment of the raw materials derived from that industry.

Foreign Economic Domination in China

By Hu Heng Sin

(Translated from the Eastern Miscellany)

China has long been groaning under the economic domination of the imperialists and the oppressive rule of the sordid militarists. These two overlordships may be likened to the two stone mills, a movement of which would crush anything beneath them to powder. The rule of any dominant caste must necessarily bring want to a helpless population. Their lot can by no means be compared to that of a people who enjoy the advantages of a peaceful and orderly society.

China has swallowed many bitter pills given by the foreigners who ruled by economic preeminence. In this article we shall first deal with the misery that is the result of the oppression of the imperialists, next, the factors of foreign economic supremacy, and lastly, the way to face it.

During these difficult years the sufferings of the Chinese have been beyond description—all have gone through the same ordeal. Chinese overseas, however, enjoy the benefits of a peaceful and orderly society; indeed it appears that their situation—unfavorable as it is—is enviable, even though Chinese workers in Europe can hardly maintain themselves. Those in the South Seas fare a little better, but their property, movable and immovable, cannot be disposed of according to their wishes. With the present colonial laws in force it would be difficult, if not impossible, for them to transfer their wealth back to China, and were any crisis to occur in the financial world in all probability they would be ruined.

Intelligent and determined Chinese strive to free themselves from the shackles and burdens that are the consequences of these times of trouble and impose them upon others less fortunately situated. Thus peasants and labourers, having no means to protect themselves, are the ones who suffer the most.

The most elementary duty of a government is the protection of its subjects or citizens from molestation. In times of trouble those who are well-to-do have been able to flee to the foreign concessions for

shelter; but poor people who have nothing to offer for this protection can claim no right to the first condition of existence, namely, the safety of life and property. The unemployed die of starvation, disease or poverty, without leaving so much as a match of property. Indeed there is no tragedy more pitiable than the sufferings of the Chinese people.

Many Chinese seem unable to see through the truth of the assertion that without the help of the imperialists the Chinese militarists could not inflict such untold hardships on the Chinese people. The foreigners, however, supply the Chinese rulers with opium, arms, munitions, dynamite and aeroplanes to stir up trouble. Thus these two subversive influences may well be likened to the working of two mill-stones: without the upper stone, no matter what effort one makes to turn the lower one, it is powerless. So it is with the military satraps, who, without the backing of the foreigners, could not continue their murderous activities.

Chinese militarists come from two sources: cadets trained in the Japanese military academy, and the followers of the Yuan Shih-kai, who trained the modern troops at a place called Hsiao-Chan somewhere near Tientsin. Any Chinese general is sure of victory when supported by the foreigner and supplied with ammunitions; backed by them his rise to power is certain, and he allows them to run China's administration.

All reforms for the rehabilitation of China will avail little unless these two nefarious influences working for the undermining of China are uprooted. For instance a new equitable scheme of taxation, considered as a panacea for China's ills, if applied to other countries would live up to general expectations; but once transplanted to China it would be productive of evil. The foreign imperialists and Chinese militarists, having in view the unpopularity of new methods of taxation, resorted to the expedient of the surcharges sufficient to pay off all foreign debts, if the salt revenue was insufficient or not forthcoming. Thus a surplus was available to the militarists for securing the means with which to kill each other. Yet the average Chinese lays the whole blame on the Chinese militarists and forgets the foreigners who pulled the wires behind the screen.

There can be no doubt that the imperialists have inflicted untold hardships on the Chinese, resorting to political intrigue and secret diplomacy to exact economic privileges. We will not here enter into detail regarding the Leased Territories, the Concessions and Settlements, ex-territoriality, the administration of the Customs and Salt Gabelle which are beyond the scope of this article, but shall confine ourselves to purely economic rights extorted by the foreigners from China.

Foreign Manipulation of the Currency

The little specie that is in China is practically all in the hands of the foreigners, or speaking more accurately, stored within the vaults of the Hongkong & Shanghai Bank. Chinese banks now do much of the business formerly done by the foreign banks. Their foundation can be said to be firmly established, though the rapid progress made by the Chinese banks does not mean that eventually they will compete with and oust the foreign banks. On the contrary the foreign banks still wield a strong influence.

Few foreign banks issue notes today, as this is a right the Chinese banks have taken back. The Hongkong dollar that used to be in vogue, has been turned into silver in Europe. No Chinese bank does any exchange business directly, and if any profess to have the facilities, such a transaction is carried through by the intermediary of a foreign bank, which dictates the rates of exchange. The position of the Chinese banks is such that at times they are unable to meet the demands of the market. In these cases there is no other way open but to call in the help of the foreign bank, which again dictates usurious rates of interest through the intermediary of the compradores, who have been instrumental for a consideration in letting it out to the Chinese market. The extreme fluctuations of the exchange rates have caused great concern among the Chinese industrialists and merchants.

Such financial panics also occur in foreign countries but in no country do its effects react so drastically upon the people as in China. At the time of the Great War, Chinese industries and commerce were flourishing to an unusual degree, the exchange rate of silver being very favourable to China with an abundant inflow of foreign goods as the consequence. All this has since been changed. Owing to the sudden adverse rate of exchange and business depression, many enterprises had to close down for good. These nefarious consequences extended far and wide and told hard upon the livelihood of the people. The Chinese have no means at their disposal to avert panics which may be the consequence of the unscrupulous machinations of the imperialists who are to blame for such untoward events.

Fleecing of the Chinese Government by the Imperialists

Foreign capitalists lend funds to China at usurious rates of interest and exact heavy commissions, the borrower usually receiving no more than seventy percent of the amount. The foreigners throw the blame on the Chinese who, they say, were too willing that the loan should be contracted on such terms. The Chinese responsible for the loan, however, goes around and whispers to his acquaintances about his disinterestedness, though the truth is that they dare not accept directly illicit gain save on the penalty of death. The foreign capitalists understand his situation. They buy a few Mu of land in the foreign concessions, and build a stately mansion for him; thus, so advantageous to both parties are the terms that the more loans made the better. Shrewd Chinese can only accept a commission in this way, if they are anxious for the safety of their lives.

Yet in the papers, the foreigners declare their feigned aversion by saying that China, without a foreign loan, can not rehabilitate itself, that it is not advisable to advance money without adequate security and that since the bankruptcy of the Chinese government is so imminent it can hardly lay claim to even the name. Such vile sophism is the fabrication of the imperialist and the Chinese officials. The rivalry of the Powers led to the formation of the Consortium which, because of its inherent defects, finally died of abortion. Mr. Balfour, head of the English bankers and representative of the Consortium in its dealing with the Chinese government, was to have become the resident-general

of China; while Okura, having put himself up in a princely mansion in Nan Tse-tse, was to have been the associate resident-general.

From the time of the Manchu dynasty down to the present, China's external debt has amounted to 140,000,000 dollars. Where has this large sum gone? A rough analysis will convince one that the bulk of it remained in foreign lands. The indemnities, as consequences of the many disastrous wars, form a large share. The portion allotted to Japan in virtue of the Shimonoseki Treaty enabled Japan to change from a silver to gold standard constituting the reserve of the Bank of Japan. If the Chinese government had with a like sum done the same thing what blessings would it have brought to the Chinese people. In its stead we find a few railways and the relics of old palaces sacked by the Powers during the Boxer trouble. The Reorganization and Nishihara loans served only to buy arms and munitions from foreigners. The railway loans bought materials from abroad. The remainder was pocketed by the negligent and ravenous functionaries, who put it in foreign banks. The foreigners lending China money do not pay in cash, nor is any accounting necessary: the bankers simply make a transfer of accounts, setting off one account against another. The bank clerk has only to inscribe a few zeros and China is just so much more indebted to the foreigners. If China were to make a close scrutiny of her indebtedness, a part only, perhaps a few tens of millions, should be paid back to the foreigners. The rest has brought no benefit to the Chinese people and should be repudiated.

Common law carries provisions for the punishment of intrigue. In the League of Nations and the International Arbitration Tribunal, creatures of the Tory party of England, we have no hope. When the foreigners come to demand the payment of our debts we should inquire into the propriety or impropriety of honouring them.

Foreign Control of the Customs

The establishment of the Customs is not only responsible for the collection of revenue for the immediate needs of the country and the examination of the goods coming and going through it, but also the protection of home commodities. The English persuaded the Manchus to let them have the control of the Customs as a means for paying off external debts, but really had in view using it as the basis of operations for their intrusion into China. The administrative power has been vested in the hands of the foreigners. A Chinese dared not hope for even so small a post as an appraiser of goods. From an organisation of self-defence, as is the Customs in other countries, it has become in this country an instrument for the protection of foreign international capitalism. Chinese Customs' tariff rates are perhaps the lowest in the world; a levy of five percent *ad valorem* is by no means an effective one, as the prices of goods, being appraised only once every ten years, have soared so high that the amount charged now is no more than an effective one percent. Even in the revision of the tariff rates, the foreigners took care that any increase in the Customs revenue should just suffice for the payment of the foreign debts. They do not care the slightest whether China gets anything or not.

Foreign Monopoly of the Chinese Market

The imperialists and the politicians do not consider the Chinese State as a state, but as a great market; the Chinese nation they regard not as a nation, but as a great body of consumers. As Chinese industries were in a position to compete with foreign industries, the foreign industrialists endeavoured to pull down the Chinese industries by lowering prices to such a degree as to make it impossible for them to compete. Then once they held the Chinese market they raised the price of goods so as to reap a large margin of profit. At the same time foreigners profited by extensive use of cheap Chinese labour and raw materials. Though imports exceed exports in amount of money, in volume of material the exports must have overlapped the imports many times.

Different countries have different ways of bleeding the Chinese people. The English form themselves into many Chambers of Commerce in the world, but specially in China where, according to the report of the economic bureau, there are as many as thirty of them. The business of these bodies is to make minute inquiries into the customs, habits, tastes and requirements of the Chinese people in order to manufacture commodities suitable to Chinese use. Large-scale manufacture in England can produce commodities so cheap that it entices the Chinese to buy. Then as the people gradually accustom themselves to a certain article it becomes a habit to buy only that article. French and German methods are similar to those of England's. To their goods are impressioned the words "made in so and so country," "sold by so and so company;" so we may call it "foreign company obtrusion."

Of all foreign businessmen the Japanese is the most astute. He understands and knows Chinese tastes, habits and customs. At first Japan dared not obtrude upon China with commercial bodies such as the English had. She started with such an insignificant beginning as the patent pills called *Yintan,* an article that could excite no envy on the part of the great powers. The immense popularity of *Yintan* may be gathered by the fact that in nearly every home of any Chinese village *Yintan* is to be found. What the English did not or could not supply to the Chinese people the Japanese furnished. We may call this *Yintan* obtrusiveness. The technical ability of the Japanese, the contiguity of Japan to China and the cheapness of Japanese labour offer a formidable competition to the Europeans. Nor is this all. Japanese toys, ornaments and utensils seldom cost more than a dollar. The cheapness of these things enables them to compete favourably with European-made articles.

Moreover, the Japanese have probed into the psychology of the foreigners: instead of hanging up the shingle *Yintan,* which they did in China with such remarkable success, though it made no appeal to the westerners, they have put up the sign-board with the inscription "Made by Japanese Art." This subtle rewording has fascinated foreign imagination. In many European and American homes we find Japanese goods; and some of the necessities of the western workmen are furnished by Japan. On the other hand, except those who have relations with for-

eigners, few Japanese make use of Western commodities. Even in the purchase of common things, Japanese show their patriotic enthusiasm.

This keen commercial rivalry has been the cause for discontinuing the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, and amity has been transformed into enmity. There has been much talk of the Singapore Naval Base which was avowedly aimed at the Japanese. The alarm of the Chinese gave cause for concern to the English, to whom the good-will of the Chinese clientele was more consequential even than the revolt of the New England Colonies in 1776. Australia and English Africa are open to "foreign company" goods but closed to Japanese. The enforcement of such a policy must be ascribed to the lesson which the Japanese have taught them in China by driving out English trade. Even the Japanese, self-styled Lord of Asia, has to court the favour of the Chinese by consenting, upon second thought, to revise the antiquated treaties against the revision of which they had made such a stubborn stand. So between the inrush of the "foreign company" goods, and Japanese Yintanedly commodities it has been well-nigh impossible for Chinese industries to develop.

How many Chinese industries can still stand upon their own feet? The extension of Chinese goods to foreign markets is out of the question. It would be highly fortunate if they could maintain themselves, in face of such dogged competition. If they can, it is only because Chinese products are articles which foreign goods cannot very well supplant. Chinese lacquer, silk, tea and porcelain have peculiar qualities and these still hold out in the Chinese market. An old inhabitant of China accustomed to the aroma and tinge of Chinese tea does not care to change it for a foreign one. Those who buy pongee would prefer the colour and material of the Hangchow pongee, and no endeavour on the part of the foreigners enable them to compete with these purely Chinese products. They can, however, make at a lower cost its prototypes, of gorgeous designs, intended to fascinate people of luxurious taste as well as satisfying the vain aspirations of the poor. The result is that only old-fashioned Chinese gentlemen and ladies still cling to Chinese pongee; the others have gone over to the foreigners. If the Chinese pongee industry is in such a situation, one can guess how other Chinese industries fare, surrounded by so many foreign foes. Many town folk today prefer foreign articles to the Chinese. Even edibles, beverages and raiment imported from abroad hold a distinguished place in the Chinese mind. This vogue of foreign goods we can only ascribe to the propaganda of the compradore and the agents of the Japanese *Yintan*. The more foreign goods that make their way into China the more home-made commodities will be driven out of the home market, as is evidenced by the prosperity of the department stores which dispense with the intermediary of the compradore and deal directly with principals in Europe and America. Since the coming of the foreigners many Chinese industries have either gone into bankruptcy, circumscribed their scope, or else closed down entirely.

Foreign Investments in China

Foreign capitalists are deprived of a good part of the profits by selling to China through the intermediary of the compradore and agents.

Moreover, the production and transportation expenses are heavy. To reap a larger margin of profit they resort to producing in China itself, taking full advantage of their ex-territorial rights and the low cost of Chinese labour. As a consequence, because of foreign purchase, the sheep husbandry has flourished to an unusual degree in North China. By the efforts of foreigners, tea and silk factories are set up in China to produce goods to be exported to foreign lands. Yarn made in China is sold in China.

This way of investment brings more profit than by importing home goods. A few illustrations will make the point clear: the Peking Syndicate is a financial corporation which invests in any Chinese gainful speculation, be it mines, railways, loans or factories. Many English functionaries, having relations with Chinese mandarins, are shareholders of the Syndicate. Every year they hold a meeting, make a report of the Chinese situation and generally break up with an admonition to the Chinese people complaining that the political situation has been such that it affected their profits to a remarkable degree. From the large amount of capital they wield, a certain sum is set aside for secret intrigue. In short the office of the Peking Syndicate is not unlike that of the notorious East India Company. Run in a similar manner is the South Manchuria Railway Company whose activities in the regions of the same name far surpass those of any ordinary railway company. It invests in any enterprise whether profitable or unprofitable as long as that effort in the long run brings benefit to the Japanese people as a whole.

Foreign Control of China's Transportation

Means of locomotion are the very life of a nation, yet every means of transportation and transmitting intelligence are tinged with foreign control and ownership. The post office is administered by a foreigner whose foreign underlings absorb yearly a fabulous sum from China. Railways are built by foreign loans; foreign ability must be employed, materials must be bought from that foreign country. The yearly receipts of the many lines hardly suffice for the payment of principal and interest on these loans.

In the shipping trade, only the vessels of the China Merchants fly the Chinese flag in the Yangtse. The bulk of trade is carried on by foreign bottoms. Chinese passengers having no choice of ships, must necessarily go on foreign ships, the accommodations of which are no better than that of those engaged in carrying live-stock in foreign countries. In short, a Chinese life is no more worthy the attention of the foreign capitalist than is the life of a live-stock waiting to be thrown into the great abattoirs. In Kiangsu, Hunan and Kiangsi, the Chinese shipping trade has been completely driven out by foreign shipping. The yearly shipping freight in China, it is said, amounts to over $10,000,000, the larger part of which goes to the foreigner, with a very insignificant part reverting back to the few ragged and impoverished wharf coolies

Conclusion

Chinese economic life is virtually at the mercy of the foreigner, and only by the grace of the Westerners can it carry on. In case China

incurs their displeasure the little that remains of productive energy will be destroyed. China has been robbed by the imperialists. Her economic existence is menaced by their intrigue. Her revenues are in their grip. Yet she has to shoulder a crushing, unlimited liability. Invective after invective is thrown on the Chinese Government for incompetency. The people are defamed as one who do not keep their word. How shall she face such a state of things? How can she transform an unlimited liability into a limited liability?

Foreign investments in China may be classed into two kinds; loans to the Chinese government and investments of private enterprises. The last includes the spinning mills and such other factories as the British-American Tobacco Company who have no contract with the Chinese Government but who acquire the right of investment in this country by virtue of the treaties. These enterprises should be treated as nationals, given due protection of the law and subject to taxation the same as though they were Chinese.

There must be limitations to this right of investment. National enterprises must not be exploited by the foreigners. Foreigners should give up or sell to private individuals or to the Chinese government enterprises that can be undertaken only by Chinese citizens. Every country has its own laws regarding investment of foreign capital in the country. China can more or less apply these laws in a liberal spirit.

As has been said, the bulk of foreign debts has been squandered, and the Chinese people can not and will not recognise them. Loans useful to China have to be paid back in proportion to China's income. Foreigners themselves have acknowledged that many of China's indemnities were unjust and were simply blackmail under the specious guise of indemnities, which the foreigners on their own initiative have written off, to be disposed of for the mutual benefit of the two countries.

Pacific Items

Extrality Issue

Following the Notes in which the National Government of Nanking was unsuccessful in its request that the Powers relinquish their extraterritorial privileges, China has persisted in the issue and has succeeded in getting the League of Nations assembly to adopt a resolution recognizing Article 19 of the covenant. This Article gives any member the right to request consideration of any treaty which might be inapplicable or dangerous. It is understood that China will refuse to renew the treaties with the extraterritorial provisions; those of Great Britain's, France's and the United States' will expire within the next three years. The Japanese treaty, which was the first to expire, is now under discussion between C. T. Wang, Chinese foreign minister, and S. Saburi, Japanese minister to China, though they have so far been unable to come to any agreement concerning the provisions for a new treaty. Japan, in the meantime, is still enjoying extraterritoriality under the expired treaty.

On August 31st an agreement was signed between China and Belgium for the rendition of the Belgian Concession in Tientsin. The text of this Agreement was made public on September 9th.

In Manchuria

Vague reports continue to come out of Manchuria to such effect as "China Arrests 1,300 Russians," and "Russ Holding 116 Chinese as Retaliation," and "Russ, Chinese in Desperate Naval Battle." The outside world, however, seems to be in the dark concerning the actual situation. Earlier reports of peace moves both on the part of the Soviet Government and the National Government, which came to no settlement, have apparently now entirely ceased.

Japan's Representatives to the Naval Parley

According to a report, former Premier Reijiro Wakatsuki and Minister of the Navy Admiral Hyo Takarabe, who, with Ambassador Tsuneo Matsudaira, have been appointed as Japan's delegates to the five-power naval disarmament conference to take place in London the latter part of January. In October Japan, Italy and France joined in accepting the Anglo-American invitations to the naval arms reductions conference.

China's Civil War

Civil war has again broken out in China. According to reports on October 2, virtual war was declared by the Nanking government against the forces of General Feng Yu-hsiang, Honan commander.

Filipino Independence Fight

On October 9 the Senate rejected the amendment to the tariff bill granting independence to the Philippines. On October 10 the Senate

rejected a second move to free the Filipinos. This latter was an amendment of Senator Edwin S. Broussard of Louisiana, which would request the President to invite other governments to send representatives to a conference to consider an agreement to "respect the independence and territorial integrity of the Philippines."

According to reports, however, Manila found the Senate vote encouraging, as the amendment offered by Senator William H. King of Utah was defeated 45 to 36, with several independence advocates voting against it on the ground it was an improper appendage to the tariff bill, and not as opposing it in principle. On October 15 the majority party of the Philippines legislature caucussed and voted to send a Philippines independence mission to Washington as a result of the reopening of discussion in Congress of the independence question.

Restriction of Filipino Immigration

The Filipino-American Institute in a letter to Senator Hiram Johnson asked the restriction of immigration from the Philippines, according to a report. The letter charged that thousands of Filipinos are lured to the United States by steamship companies which advertise promises of high wages, short hours and good working conditions, whereas "instead of gold they find race prejudice, greedy employers and antagonistic labor."

Death of Ex-Premier Tanaka

On September 29th Baron Gi-ichi Tanaka, former Premier of Japan, died of heart failure. The former premier was in his 66th year, and death struck him only a few months after his retirement from active direction of the nation's affairs.

Japan's New Minister

Mr. Sadao Saburi, recently appointed minister to China, was expected to leave for Nanking on October 7, to assume office as Japanese Minister to China. Mr. Saburi was recently counsellor at the Japanese Embassy in London, and was one of the moving figures among the Japanese representatives at the Washington conference when he was First Secretary of the embassy there. He was also a trusted lieutenant of Baron Shidehara when the latter was Ambassador to the United States.

China Envoy Named

Mr. Henry Kung Huimchang has been appointed as Consul General at San Francisco to succeed Mr. Ying Kao. Mr. Huimchang was formerly Washington Legation Secretary.

Defeat of Premier Bruce

On October 11 the Laborites in Australia won a decisive victory over the Nationalists, resulting in the defeat of Premier Stanley Melbourne Bruce for his seat in parliament. The issue concerned whether the several dominion states or the central dominion government should apply compulsory arbitration to labor disputes.

Withdrawal of Red Cross Aid

On September 27 the central committee of the Red Cross approved and adopted a report of the Red Cross commission to China, declaring that aid to the famine regions from foreign countries was not warranted. The chairman of the commission was Ernest Bicknell. The commission found that famine conditions were due chiefly "to the absence of any strong central government and the consequent exactions of war lords, depredations by bandits and confiscatory taxation."

World Engineering Congress in Tokyo

More than 900 delegates are expected to attend the World Engineering Congress which is to be held in Tokyo from October 29 to November 20, under the auspices of the Engineering Society of Japan.

Japan Sanctions Birth Control

The Municipal Bureau of Social Affairs announced on October 10th that thereafter birth control was to be employed by the municipal government of Tokyo so as to enable the city's poor to fight poverty and misery. "A correct knowledge of preventive methods of procreation will be disseminated to those who deserve information," read a report.

Progress of Communications

The advent of the Graf Zeppelin circling the earth is but one in a long series of developing events, planned to bring the world more closely together. Announcement is now made that there will shortly be an eight day service from New York to Honolulu; voice communication has also been established between Honolulu, San Francisco and Manila; while the arrival of the new Japanese liner Asama Maru in Honolulu on October 18 set a new record from Japan of seven days.

Visiting Soviets

During August over fifty executives and engineers representing Soviet industrial organizations arrived in the United States to make studies of a number of American industries and to take up matters connected with contracts recently concluded with American firms. Nearly 200 Soviet executives and engineers are at present in the United States.

Australian Tariff

A measure suddenly enforced by the Commonwealth Government of Australia since August 23 raising the import tariff on textiles from 20 to 30 per cent ad valorem has given a great shock to Japanese textiles traders, of whom Australia is the largest client of the world, according to a report in the *Trans-Pacific*.

Arrival of Canadian Minister

The first Minister Plenipotentiary of the Dominion of Canada to any country in the Orient, Mr. Herbert M. Marler, P. C. (Can.) B. C. L., Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary, arrived in Japan on September 9 accompanied by several persons who will join the new Canadian Legation in Tokyo.

Reflections

Editorial Opinion on the Pacific

These reprints are chosen as reflecting diverse points of view in and around the Pacific upon problems uppermost in the news of the area. They are not selected, in any instance, as indicative of the editorial attitude of Pacific Affairs.

LEAGUE SUPPORT BADLY NEEDED

From the *Nation,* New York, September 25, 1929

Without the support of the Western Powers China finds herself in a hopeless position, but is not yet willing to admit her blunder in seizing the Chinese Eastern Railway because such an admission would cause so much loss of face that the Chiang Kai-shek regime might immediately perish. In spite of the growling in Moscow against intervention by the League of Nations, the responsibility for the next move toward arbitration lies with the League, even if that move consists of nothing but some loud and earnest talking. At this critical moment it might even be possible by a little shrewd negotiation for the United States and the leading Powers of the League to give Nanking a face-saving concession toward the abolition of extraterritorial rights as compensation for her humiliation in Manchuria. Foreign Minister Wang has again asked the Powers to renounce their extraterritorial rights, and it now appears that Secretary Stimson's refusal, . . . of August 28, was not a flat one, since he indicated his willingness to discuss conditions. If the League of Nations agenda committee would show a little more respect for Chinese dignity and reverse its recent vote against considering the extraterritorial treaties, the Chinese might modify their pugnacious policy in Manchuria.

"CHINIFICATION" BEGUN

From the *China Weekly Review,* Shanghai, September 7, 1929

The Chinese Eastern Railway Administration, or at least the Chinese officials who are now functioning in the management of the road, on August 27 took an action which may turn out to be the most important of the many dramatic happenings of recent months in Sino-Russian relations. This action was the passing of a resolution making the Chinese language the official language of the railway. Accordingly, the meeting of the Board of Directors held on that date was conducted in the Chinese language. A complete copy of the resolution has not been made public, but it is understood that the Chinese language must be used in all official orders, communication, publications, etc., which are used in the operation of the line. Whether the Russians, when they resume relations with China, will agree to this is not known, but as it stands now the "Chinification" of this important railway property has begun.

TIME FOR THE LEAGUE TO ACT

From the *New Republic,* New York, September 4, 1929

Every competent student of international affairs in the United States, official and otherwise, realizes that by itself the Kellogg Pact is of no concrete value. It is quite possible that the present (Manchurian) situation is one which can be handled effectively by League machinery. President Hoover, of course, cannot go to Geneva and invite the League to make the next move. The next move must come from the League itself. The New Republic earnestly hopes that the League Council will cast off its timidity and invite Russia and China to submit their grievances to League procedure. It earnestly hopes that at this same time, or in advance, the Council will publicly invite the United States to cooperate with it in finding a settlement of this dispute.

INTERNAL RIVALRIES

From the *Trans-Pacific,* Tokyo, September 19, 1929

Those sensational incidents on the Manchurian frontier look like war and would mean war anywhere else, but in China where everything is paradoxical,

they are a form of diplomacy. The nuisance of China's policy just now is that negotiations with the Chinese only a few months ago induced the Japanese Government to withdraw its troops from Tsinan—a step which Nanking proclaimed as its first and most urgent requirement—then they had at the last moment to ask the Japanese to postpone their departure because Chiang Kai-shek had decided to treat Feng Yu-hsiang as an opponent instead of making him military governor of Shantung. Nanking's abortive offers to Moscow last week were due to pressure from the North and to the fear of a coalition between the Northern war lords. The breakdown is due evidently to some factor, still unknown, in the new situation in which Chiang finds himself menaced by a Northern alliance. Frontier pressure cannot affect Nanking which is indifferent to the slaughter of a few Northern soldiers or the destruction of Manchurian railroad stations. It can alarm Mukden and cause Mukden to press Nanking, and Nanking, by inviting Russian attack, has a weapon which Mukden fears. The key to the situation lies somewhere in those internal rivalries.

ANOTHER ASPECT OF EXTRALITY

From the *North China Herald,* Shanghai, September 7, 1929

It would scarcely have appeared possible to say anything new on the subject of extraterritoriality. Yet the British reply to Dr. C. T. Wang has managed to strike one or two notes, which if not precisely new, are unusual and arresting. Most noticeable is the exposure of the essential falsity of the cry of "unequal" treaties. On the contrary, the facts of history conclusively prove that the whole purpose of the treaties was "to secure recognition by China of Great Britain's equality with herself." We wonder whether it has occurred to the Nationalist Government that, if extraterritoriality goes, they would naturally be expected to allow foreigners to move freely about China, live where they please, trade as they please, buy houses, even to serve on local councils. We believe that in England there is nothing to prevent foreigners from serving on Municipal bodies and boards of guardians, and British subjects might reasonably claim the like freedom in China. Would they get it?

CHINA'S UNWISE DECISION

From the *Honolulu Star-Bulletin,* September 18, 1929

The wisdom of Nationalist China's insistent stand to abolish extraterritoriality now is very much to be doubted, especially in the application of the impending policy to the United States. . . . If present progress continues, it will only be a matter of time before we are willing to relinquish extraterritoriality, and it would seem the better part of Chinese wisdom for the present government there to be patient instead of stiffly demanding something we do not feel safe in granting. . . . For China to abolish summarily extraterritoriality rights would create a situation full of rancor at a time when China needs American friendship and continued aid more than ever. . . . The situation holds various dangerous elements, and it is to be hoped that a calmer policy prevails at Nanking before the demands are actually placed into execution.

JAPAN HOPES FOR SUCCESS

From the *Honolulu Star-Bulletin,* October 15, 1929

Any unfavorable opinion that may have been aroused by recent comment of Japanese naval officers against fleet reductions will be largely offset by last Sunday's statement of Premier Yuko Hamaguchi.

The premier revealed that true governmental opinion in Japan is conciliatory, reasonable and generous.

"Japan ardently desires," he said, "that the coming arms conference shall achieve not merely limitation, but also actual reduction of armament of all powers. The reduction should be made proportionately, thereby, in keeping with the spirit of world peace, lightening the taxation load of all people."

That statement involves a great deal technically, but that part of it is up to the naval technicians. What the plain people of the world will appreciate is the

intent behind the premier's remarks, and especially the reminder that among the vast benefits of naval reduction is the cutting of taxes by billions of dollars, pounds sterling and yen.

It would be disastrous for anything to interfere at this stage with the actual accomplishment of naval reduction, but the situation is highly optimistic.

WHY THE RED CROSS REFUSES AID

From the *New York Times,* September 30, 1929

First and foremost is the desirability that the Chinese themselves handle the problem of famine relief. To date almost all the funds for famine relief in China have come from foreign nations. It is not the custom for rich Chinese to spend their money for such enterprises as long as the foreigners are willing to shoulder the cost. Second is the responsibility of the various people in authority for seeing that supplies and funds designated for the sufferers reach their designation. The Red Cross report confirms the most discreditable of the stories sent from China during the summer—food permitted to rot or turned over to the military; bonds sold and their funds appropriated by the war lords; general neglect of current famine relief measures. Friends of China will join with the Red Cross in hoping that the unfortunate country will soon have a government not only willing but strong enough to bring about the necessary reforms and to provide the periodic relief by which alone the evils of famine may be lessened.

AN EXAMPLE TO FOLLOW

From the *China Critic,* Shanghai, September 19, 1929

It is most gratifying to read in a recent issue of the China International Famine Relief Commission Bulletin that a sum of 1,000 Yen has been contributed by the young Japanese students in small amounts for famine relief work in China. . . . We believe, if those Japanese officials in power could have the same spirit of helpfulness and neighborliness as these young students in wholeheartedly cooperating with China, the deep hatred of the Chinese towards Japan would easily be replaced by a spirit of friendliness to the benefit of both countries. However, we are awaiting with pleasure to see what the new China policy of the Minseito will be.

FLEETING IMPRESSIONS

From the *Week in China,* Shanghai, August 31, 1929

The fleeting impressions gathered by tourists who travel on round-the-world steamers contribute largely toward the creation of a world public opinion regarding the various nations. Travelers who remain but brief periods are vastly superior in numbers to all other visitors. It is therefore not surprising that the former's fleeting impressions rival, if they do not outweigh, the serious studies made by the latter. . . . It should be the earnest endeavor of each country to learn exactly what are these fleeting impressions, for they are certain to contain much truth, and what is not well founded may only be corrected after its basis has been learned.

NO HELP TO RACIAL UNDERSTANDING

From the *Honolulu Advertiser,* September 23, 1929

No one is quite so useless as an interpreter of Chinese politics to the western reader as the so-called observer who goes to China with the bias of "white superiority." That bias appears to be the main difficulty with the observations of Mr. Fred Hogue of the Los Angeles Times, who went to the Orient with the Carnegie party of American newspapermen and passed through Honolulu on his return the other day.

In his interview with an Advertiser reporter, Mr. Hogue spilled much contemptuous talk about the Chinese. They haven't enough courage to fight; they haven't enough brains to run a railroad; they haven't enough honesty to refrain from public treasury looting.

Mr. Hogue says Chiang Kai-shek has looted a million government dollars and sent them out of the country. That's an old yarn, very old. This is meant as the specific fact on which to base an inferential generalization about Chinese political corruption. It may even be true, although one has witnessed libel suits on the basis of similar charges against other Chinese officials and the cabled recall of the correspondent who made the charge. But all that aside, it strikes one as a curious charge for any American to make in the grand and "superior" tone. One should not forget so quickly American political corruption, one should remember oil scandals involving members of the President's cabinet. And for one so closely in touch with the corrupt political history of California, as Mr. Hogue is, it comes with particularly ill grace.

AUSTRALIAN CRISIS

From the *Spectator,* London, September 14, 1929

It is impossible to pretend that compulsory industrial arbitration in Australia, high though hope ran when it was introduced, has been a success in any of its many aspects. There is not a Government in the world which would now introduce such machinery. When the British miners read the Sankey Report they took fright at the obvious germ of compulsion which it contained—the compulsory renunciation of the right to strike. They had watched with dismay the results of the loss of that right in Australia. At least we ought to be grateful to the Australians for having, through much suffering, carried out an instructive experiment. The general moral seems to be that the will to agree is a prerequisite to true agreement.

"FOLLY OF POLITICAL INTERFERENCE"

From the *Sunday Times,* London, September 15, 1929

The seven years during which Mr. Bruce guided the political destinies of Australia have been a period of almost continuous industrial turmoil, and it was that problem which in the end brought him down. He is a victim of the system, not of his creation, which made intervention in industrial affairs a permanent and regular function of government. In the last and most violent of the strikes he was driven to scrap the machinery of intervention for the time being, and the Bill on which he was defeated last week proposed to scrap it for good and all. . . . Australia has not yet learnt, in spite of bitter experience, the folly of political interference in the affairs of industry.

"NO CAPITULATION" IN SAMOA

From the *New Zealand Herald,* Auckland, September 7, 1929

General satisfaction will be felt in New Zealand with the statement of the Prime Minister on Samoan affairs. "No capitulation with lawlessness" is Sir Joseph Ward's formula for the attitude of the Government toward the Mau, and all unbiassed observers of the position must agree that this expresses a fundamental principle from which there should be no departure. This Dominion, in accepting the mandate, undertook responsibility for the peace, order and good government of the territory, and has been told very plainly by the Mandates Commission that all requisite firmness is expected in the discharge of that responsibility. With that as axiomatic, Sir Joseph Ward rightly bases his renewed offer to consider alleged grievances of a section of the Samoans on a readjustment of their attitude to the Administration. Sir Apirana Ngata, supporting the principle, has indicated a way in which that readjustment may be facilitated. For his suggestion there is justification in the fact, emphasised by the Prime Minister, that the lawlessness of the Mau is not of its own making. These Samoans have been misled into conduct partaking of ingratitude for all that this Dominion has given and done; and that they are not primarily responsible for their hostility to the Administration entitles them to the utmost clemency as soon as they abandon that hostility.

DARK ECONOMIC OUTLOOK

From the *New York Times,* September 23, 1929

Governor General Davis's warning to the Philippine sugar producers not to expand their industry excessively is doubtless issued with a view to placating the

American sugar interests which have been trying so hard to limit the importation of Philippine sugar into this country.

Obviously, this sort of economic defeatism, if accepted and practiced by the Filipinos, would prevent the development of any article in the islands which a sufficiently powerful group in the United States did not wish to see produced in large quantities. Already the three principal Philippine crops, sugar, cocoanuts and by-products, and tobacco, are under fire. If their development is to be determined by American opposition rather than by the best interests of the Filipino people, the economic future of the Philippines is dark.

COURTESY ONLY FOR VISITORS?

From the *Manitoba Free Press,* September 10, 1929

For trade and other reasons it is desirable that very cordial relations should be established between Canada and Japan. Hon. Herbert Marler has just crossed the Pacific as Canada's first Minister to Japan, and a Japanese Minister will be sent to Ottawa.

This evening a party of twenty Japanese students who are touring the United States and Canada, will arrive in Winnipeg for a short visit. The more cordial the welcome extended to them and the more favorable their impression of this city and its people, the better. Travel abroad is part of the education of many Japanese young men before they settle down to their careers at home. Each member of today's party is acting as a correspondent for a local newspaper in Japan. For this reason and for the sake of the attitude which they will later have towards Canada, the people of Winnipeg and other western points will make no mistake if they see that they are well received and that every facility is given them for obtaining information about this country.

THE SOONER THE BETTER

From the *Manchester Guardian Weekly,* September 13, 1929

There is no reason why diplomatic relations between this country and Russia should not be resumed. At Geneva last week Mr. Henderson said that the invitation was still open, and Mr. Litvinoff has now replied that the Russian Government is willing to resume the discussions as soon as the British Government will indicate the place and the time. The sooner this is done the better. There is, indeed, nothing to discuss beyond actual procedure—even that hardly seems necessary: the simple thing to do is to welcome a Russian Ambassador to London and to send a British Ambassador to Moscow. The difficulties between the two countries should then be discussed in the normal diplomatic manner. But whether "procedure" is discussed first or not, normal relations are best resumed without any attempt to impose preliminary conditions.

SIGNS OF THE TIMES

From the *Honolulu Star-Bulletin,* October 10, 1929

A very few years ago you could produce violent manifesations of hatred and alarm in any representative group of American industrialists by tiptoeing up to them and pronouncing the words, "Soviet Russia."

Today that attitude has changed. The industrialists adopt a receptive air when they hear those words nowadays, and cluster around to see if a new business deal can't be arranged.

The reason is not hard to find. Russia is rapidly becoming a very excellent customer for American business men. Already her purchases from America are four times their maximum under the czar, and there is every indication that the surface has barely been scratched. The $25,000,000 and $50,000,000 contracts the soviets are dangling under the noses of American industrialists are beginning to have a very marked effect.

In a short time, one imagines, this nation will stop hearing about the iniquities and treacheries of the followers of Lenin.

Books of the Pacific

THE AMERICAN INDIAN FRONTIER
By William Christie Macleod
Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1928

"Since the Indian, during centuries of conflict with the white race, has been largely inarticulate, it is all the more difficult for us to comprehend the psychological effects of the discouragements and disappointments he has experienced. We can measure, here and there, the material effects of war, epidemics, and such, in lives and dollars; but it is not so easy to comprehend or to measure the spiritual bitterness of continuous moral and physical defeat." (p. 505.)

This statement, occurring seven-eighths of the way through the book, may easily serve as a keynote to the volume and to the author's attack. The earlier chapters—detailing the first devastating contacts with white civilization as manifested in its ruthless warfare, its exterminating diseases and the ravages of its rum—attempt essentially to be interpretations, lucid and interesting, of the psychological effects of all this upon the Indian, motivating as it did his hatred and savage resistance to the white race.

Approached from this angle, the work is far from being a conventional history. The author's version of the conquest by arms, trade and colonization are not very flattering to our self-esteem and the original documentary sources from which he frequently quotes are not to be found in the average history textbook. Nor is the volume a mere record of wars. The wars, in their treatment here as in their actuality, are woven into the woof of the economic and colonizing background. The historian points out, interestingly enough, how every act of policy which held such tremendous consequences for the history of the hapless Indian was but the chance reflection of a frame of mind or a petty feud or a twitch of the purse-strings, back in some European court.

The work represents, despite its unconventionality of treatment, a thorough and scholarly research and is adequately documented. In the early pages of the section devoted to where the "Indian" came from and how he lived, the author disposes of the popular myth of a "wild" unordered state of existence, and contradicts the old conceptions of a sparse pre-Columbian population. Instead of a vast continent with plenty of room to spare for newcomers, he presents the challenging picture of a land already maintaining the maximum population possible under the economic stage of development of the time. "The Indian was pressed for room just as much as the European and Asiatic populations of the day were" (p. 17). And, far from being "wild," he was "much and well governed," a fact which the author's descriptions of tribal and inter-tribal government amply bear out, particularly in the case of the Hurons and the Iroquois Six Nations, "great oligarchical republican confederacies which played prominent parts in history," and some of which ruled over territories of the size of Ireland or Scotland.

Yet, despite his stability of existence, his heroism, his strength, the Indian found one great disadvantage in coping with the invading white, and that was the vast industrial and technical gap between their civiliza-

tions. Add to this a wholly demoralizing susceptibility to the intoxicants which the invader brought and a total lack of immunity to his dreadful diseases, and the native population melted away before the white man's coming at a rate so appalling as to be almost incredible, rendering all the more surprising the partially effective resistance which the Indians were able to make in the desperate warfare of later years. The reviewer has not before seen these frequently obscured factors of disease, demoralization and depression so minutely examined in any treatment of American Indian history. In this discussion of disease the author quotes, though not with pride, from early records which reflect the "attitude peculiar to" the white colonists of the Atlantic Coast "that God had sent disease in advance of Christian colonization in order to wipe out the pagan population and thereby make room for his own people. Unfortunately, the good missionaries, interested more in the departure of the soul than in its arrival, recorded deaths but not births!" (pp. 49-50).

Passing from the realm of static facts into that of moving events, he treats Columbus, the traditional hero of white America, rather cavalierly. It is his belief that, in the light of the part which the Bering Straits have undoubtedly played in the racial if not political history of the continent, the significance of Columbus somewhat dwindles. Though not underestimating the importance of that mariner's role in the subsequent history of the Americas, he yet characterizes the "epic" event with this delightful brevity: "On October 2, 1492, exactly nine months after the fall of the Alhambra, Columbus was saved from an otherwise inevitable death at sea only by the divine interposition of America between him and Asia!" (p. 65). The accidental ending of a quixotic quest!

As for service rendered—the continent, the author claims, was never "lost," never needed "discovery," and such "discovery" via the Atlantic was, he intimates, "catastrophic" rather than fortunate. For it broke in upon a natural and inevitable process—or continuance—of contact due to Asiatic pressure eastward across the Pacific, a process which, he believes would gradually have brought the allied Indian culture up to an Old World level instead of annihilating it through conflict with the alien European civilization. (p. 55).

One gets a fine, swift sweep of history in the author's treatment of the Conquerors, the Traders, the Onward Rush of Empire. The *Conquistadores*—whose restless energies the fortuitous circumstances of the closing Moorish conquest let loose upon the native life of the new Americas. The era of the big trading companies—their firm implanting upon the land—avarice, disappointment, forced labor, slavery. . . . Then colonists, pioneers, the westward march of Empire. . . . Throughout he is historically exact and detailed, yet never dryly so; as witness the following random excerpts:

"Theoretically, however, Spain entered the New World not to conquer but to pacify. The Pope had granted the Americas to the Spanish Crown; therefore all that was required was to inform the Indians of that fact and require their allegiance." (p. 69). Of the missioners, whose "vaulting imagination" he admired: "They did not make the Indians charity wards; they taught them to labour and to produce; to grow their own food; to build their beautiful churches with the labour

of their own hands." (p. 111). Of the slave raiders of South America who argued that by "ransoming" captives after battle they thus "brought them to the coast, under the influence of civilization and Christianity, and were saving souls for heaven." (p. 126). Of the Puritan's mode of warfare, such a subhead as "Burnt Sacrifice of Sweet Savour in New Canaan," (p. 214) and references to their justification for pillage and enslaving because they "found precedent" for all they did "in Holy Script."

Later, in a "Social Retrospect," the author makes a careful survey of the contrasts in Indian treatment in Anglo-Saxon and in Latin-America. In the course of this he destroys what he terms the naïve historical explanation—namely that the Northern Indian was more savage and could not be subjected politically or economically, and that therefore the English colonist must needs slay him; while all was otherwise in the south. In this connection he says:

"The ferocious Indian of the tales of the frontier read by schoolchildren, the Indian of the wooden statues of the fronts of old-time tobacco shops, the Indian of the reservation—these are beings who are not comparable to the primitive Indian with the bow and arrow who settled under the domination and exploitation of his native aristocracies and overlords, contentedly tilling his fields or spreading nets in the rivers, scouring the wilderness for roots and wild grains.

"The Indian of later days, spoiled with an empty status of political independence and personal freedom, fed with rum, rotted with disease, supplied with guns and ammunition and steel scalping knives—this creature was a product of a misshapen Indian policy." (p. 314).

For the Anglo-Saxon colonist made an outcast of the Indian, treated him as a pariah warrior to be driven off the lands as they became successively desirable to white settlement. An outcast, never trained to labor, and with ultimate extinction as his only future. On the other hand the Latin segregated but trained, protected and made use, economically, of the Indian, who thus "in peace and quiet . . . was able to live, increase, and learn."

There is an interesting chapter on the origins of race hate and intolerance—factors absent in the early stages of contact. In fact "until the Indian wars of 1675 in Virginia, men like Peter Fontaine and Colonel Byrd openly advocated intermarriage of the races as the most effective means of saving the Indians." (pp. 357-358). But intermarriage, though occurring, did not take place on a large scale, the reason being one of farm and homestead economics. (Englishmen must have wives who knew the intricate technique of countryside economy.) Race prejudice, the author maintains, is a social, not a biological phenomenon, and in the Americas it had its origin in the wars, until "war and hate made a vicious circle."

After following the course of the later wars which in North America marked the steady ingress of seaboard colonists into the heart of the land—the ruthless destruction of women and children ("the seeds of increase"), the practice of scalp bounties, the westward-pushing frontier and frontier consolidation—the author reaches the period when a federal government made treaties of peace with the warring "nations," now all but exterminated by disease and slaughter. "It was cheaper," the officers informed Congress, "to feed the whole flock for a year than

to fight them for one week." So the reservation system came into being, and the era of pauperism and dependency was begun.

In spite of all this the author believes that the gradual liquidation of the Indian problem is in process. In his concluding chapter he portrays the anomalous position of treaty tribes as wards of the government, their lands held in trust until such arbitrary time as general allotment shall be made and citizenship granted—a time marking the final break-up of communal life and the inevitable passage of the land out of Indian ownership—(a time, it may be noted in passing, which has been universally dreaded among the Indian people of today.)

There are numbers of students and persons actively concerned with the Indians today who would not be inclined to concur in the author's optimistic conclusion that "the Indian problem dwindles rapidly in importance and will soon disappear" (p. 541)—unless he has reference to the dwindling and early disappearance of the people themselves. And this, wholly possible as it may be, can be regarded as nothing less than a major tragedy to American life, which might yet be enriched by the preservation of this ancient culture and measured philosophy of living. We have come close indeed to the shabby end, as the author says in his finis, of "the dramatic history of one of the most unique frontiers in history." —E. G.

THE PROBLEM OF INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS
And Other Lectures
By Henry Clay
Macmillan & Co., Ltd., London, 1929. 12s

The lectures, addresses and articles included in this volume cover the main developments of labour and wage problems in Great Britain from the eve of the world war to the present. Their author, widely known as the author of a most successful textbook, has for some years held a chair of economic research in the University of Manchester. His earlier connection with the Workers' Educational Association, supplemented by war work in the Ministry of Labour and by his experience on the South African Royal Commission which enquired into the economic problems associated with the basic wage legislation, put him in a position of authority in this field. The latest indication of this fact was his election to the chairmanship of the Economics Section of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, which met this summer at Capetown.

The powerfully developed trade unionism of Great Britain gives an added interest and importance to problems of wages, labour disputes, and unemployment in that country. The importance of the essays presented in this volume lies primarily in their bearing upon the practical problems of industrial organisation confronting British industry today. This is well illustrated in the fifth essay entitled "Unemployment and Wage-Rates" in which the author traverses the argument of a fellow economist that the prevailing unemployment is due to an uneconomically high level of wages. The complexity of the causes of unemployment, the obliquity of many of the bearings of wage-rates on the problems, and the exceeding difficulty of finding short-cut solutions, are well brought out by Professor Clay's realistic and lucid analysis.

The very titles of the essays are indicative of the central importance of the problems studied which lead into questions such as industrial

peace and the position of the export industries, that are vital to the economic welfare of Britain. Professor Clay is a Liberal; the closing chapter of his book, as befits the work of a Manchester economist, is entitled "A word for *Laissez Faire*." It is the more significant therefore that analysis of wages and labour problems should lead him directly to the consideration of other factors in the distribution of wealth and especially to problems of property, inheritance and the distribution of capital.

—J. B. C.

THE REAL SITUATION IN RUSSIA
By Leon Trotsky (translated by Max Eastman)
George Allen & Unwin, London, 1928. 7/6

LENINISM
By Joseph Stalin (translated by Eden and Cedar Paul)
George Allen & Unwin, London, 1928

These are two works that may well be read together. They give two opposing views of the developments in Russia. Neither can be called an analysis of the present political situation there. A good deal of each is devoted to denials and protests against views expressed in the other. There is much rhetoric and much self-justification on both sides, or so it would appear to the casual reader; both books are intensely partisan in character, and are none the less interesting on that score. They are both in accord on the one point that each is the true apostle of the original Bolshevism.

"Leninism" is, however, a serious attempt to bring together all the important work that has been written in recent times expounding the teaching of Lenin. It can therefore be regarded as a kind of handbook to those doctrines, and in that respect is likely to be an important source of information for the student. In another sense the book is an interesting revelation of the character of its author, Stalin. It is a collection of Stalin's more important writings and speeches and includes such pamphlets and lectures as "The Foundations of Leninism," "The October Revolution and the Tactics of the Russian Communists," and "The Work of the Fourteenth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union." The collection is thus reckoned to form, according to the author's note, a unified and complete work on the problems of Leninism.

Of more interest to students of international affairs is the first section (on the international situation in 1925) of the political report of the central committee to the 14th Congress of the Communist Party. One learns that the former world-wide capitalist system is now superseded by two opposing systems, the imperialist system (represented mainly by Britain and the United States) and the anti-imperialist (typified in the Soviet Union). Moreover "the League of Nations is an organisation designed to mask preparations for war."

Trotsky's book is of a different calibre. Of its three principal divisions, it is the second which gives the title to the book. The short opening section is called "The Fear of Our Platform" and the last hundred pages are given to an exposition of the manner in which "Stalin Falsifies History." For the student the most important material is probably to be found in Part II which is not, like Stalin's work, an analysis of doctrines and principles, so much as a description of con-

temporary affairs in Russia and of the work of the Communist Party there.

It is profitable to read the introductory note written by the translator in defence of Trotsky after his expulsion from Russia. This contains an illuminating piece of writing on the manner in which an idea, when embodied in a word like "Marxism" or "Leninism" may become, so to speak, petrified. These words, according to this writer, have tended under the Stalin regime, to lose all their original content and to become synonyms for all that is respectable and orthodox in the Soviet Union. Every policy must be invoked in the name of "Bolshevism" or "Leninism." And so the translator comments rather shrewdly that "Stalin will lead the Russian workers back to capitalism with the red flag flying. This ought to be intelligible to us in America where the worst depredations of the exploiting oligarchy are always undertaken in the name of 'liberty' and 'democracy' and where the 'Daughters of the American Revolution' are the most fervid anti-revolutionary body in the country."

—W. L. H.

PLUM BUN
By Jessie Redmon Fauset
Frederick A. Stokes Company, New York, 1928, G. $2.50

"A novel without a moral," the author calls it, though many texts might be drawn from it. The story is of a family of the better educated class, of mixed white and negro blood. It centers mainly about the experiences of the predominantly white daughter who is determined to get away from the eternal problem of color by going alone into a new environment where her "whiteness" was taken for granted. The writer deals understandingly, as only "one of them" could, with the poignant problems of such a situation as they unfold, and without undue emphasis reveals the tragic consequences of race prejudice, particularly as affecting the white members of this race. The story is entertaining, well written and a worthwhile contribution to the literature concerning the negro race in America.

—B. G.

AMERICA AND EUROPE AND OTHER ESSAYS
By Alfred Zimmern
Oxford University Press, New York, 1929. G. $3.00

Mr. Zimmern is one of the most constructive international thinkers of the present day. From his vantage points at Geneva and Paris he surveys the efforts that are being made to build up a new machinery by which democracy may conduct its business in the modern world. It is perhaps his mastery not only of the details but also of the spirit of Greek political thought and contrivance that enables him to keep a clear vision of essentials while bringing detailed illustrations of his argument from so wide a field of experience. It is not easy to discern beneath the complexity of modern institutional life the rudiments of a new order of society. To do so requires a rare combination of historical imagination and practical judgment. It is this combination which makes Mr. Zimmern's work so stimulating. The most substantial essay in this volume, the last, entitled "Prospects of Democracy," displays it at its best.

There are many suggestive and provocative statements scattered throughout the volume, some of them re-statements of well-known

ideas; but all put with freshness and vigor. Teaching experience in Cornell University has enabled him to contribute a very frank and somewhat disconcerting analysis of American universities. Brushing aside the conventional notions he reviews the possibilities of American student life realistically and appreciatively; but the net effect of his essay and particularly its appraisal of the consequences of administrative control along business lines is on the whole depressing.

Occasionally his interest in and enthusiasm for the developing organs of international coöperation at Geneva leads him into regions where the "practical politicians" are likely to shake their heads. This is particularly true of his arguments concerning the League and the British Commonwealth. One can imagine the uneasiness with which Dominion statesmen might read his assertions that the Commonwealth is likely to find its best methods of coöperation by working with and through the organs of the League. At least one Dominion Premier has publicly stated that if ever such a view should come to prevail it would be a pity that the League had ever been brought into existence.

The essays throughout are readable and their perusal is worth-while if only because they deal with fundamental ideas in a provocative fashion.

—J. B. C.

ANCIENT CHINESE POLITICAL THEORIES
By Kuo-cheng Wu
The Commercial Press, Shanghai, 1928

This study of the ancient Chinese political conceptions from as far back as the 24th century B. C. down to the time of Confucius and his disciples in the third and fourth centuries B. C., is based mainly upon the text of the ancient Chinese books, such as "The Book of History," "The Book of Poetry," "The Constitution of Chow," "Laotze" and so on. A list of these primary sources is appended to the book. Most of the book is given over to the study of the teachings of the great Chinese philosophers in the Golden Age of Chinese thought, the period from about 530 to 230 B.C. In turn the writer considers the theories of Laotze, Chwangtze, Kwangtze, Shang Yang, Han Fei, Micius, Confucius, Mencius and Hsuantze. Probably the best part of the book for the lay reader is the brief introductory sketch given in Chapter III of the Golden Age of Chinese philosophy. One can hardly help being struck with the close parallel between this period of social and political upheaval and renascence, and that later European upheaval in the 15th century, A. D. Political theories ranging from anarchism and communism to ideas of universal love and pure legalism all seem to have flourished in this era, now 2,300 years past. —W. L. H.

THE FORMATION OF THE CHINESE PEOPLE
By Chi Li
Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1928

The detailed anthropological enquiry presented in this book indicates among many other things that the homogeneity of the Chinese people and the stability of Chinese civilization are more apparent than real, and certainly not so axiomatic as they are popularly assumed to be. "Rightly considered, the formulation of the modern Chinese cannot be dismissed as a simple affair just because of their apparent physical

homogeneity. Physically they are in no way as homogeneous as they may appear at first glance, and their ethnography is full of ups and downs."

Following the distinction commonly drawn by the old Chinese historians and philosophers, between the "true" Chinese people and the "barbarians" or outsiders, the writer divides his study of the Chinese physical characteristics and ethnography into two broad groups, the "We-group" and the "You-group." A large part of the book is filled with anthropometrical tables and charts and with diagrams and maps illustrating the migrations and development of the several divisions of the Chinese people. One notes that "even now there are at least five distinct ethnical units under the flag of the Chinese Republic."

The book is a technical scientific treatise and not likely to appeal to readers outside of a limited scientific circle. —W. L. H.

INTERNATIONAL LAW AS A SUBSTITUTE FOR DIPLOMACY
By Marcellus Donald Redlich
Independent Publishing Company, Chicago, Second Edition, 1929

The thesis of this book is stated in the preface as "the belief of the author that diplomacy can never succeed as a substitute for warfare; that the diplomat is the assistant, not the rival of the soldier; and that peaceful settlement of international disputes can only be secured to the extent that both soldier and diplomat yield place to the international lawyer."

The presentation of the thesis is unsatisfying. In 170 pages the author presents a sketchy account of the history of international relations, the rise and status of diplomatic and consular officers. This account is built up largely of quotations from authorities which leave the reader with a feeling that the argument is not worked out, the field is too wide and the quotations unrelated.

The earlier chapters are merely a sketchy historical background. The final chapter deals briefly with the developing organs of international justice such as the permanent court. The author does not deal with the modern development of international law except very indirectly. Still less does he deal with the sociological background of international law. There is no mention in the bibliography of Salter's "Allied Shipping Control" which is now universally recognized as an authoritative and suggestive book on the rudiments of international organisation. As the quotations of the author show, the mercantile activities of the Middle Ages were the basis of our present international law and any treatment of recent or future developments is inadequate if it does not take into account the commercial and governmental changes which necessitate the further development of international law. The author seems to assume that the erection of a court is sufficient and that the court will create law. The public opinion he rightly regards as the ultimate sanction of law depends obviously, however, upon the sociological forces he ignores.

The book can hardly be satisfactory either to the lawyer or to the sociologist and it is too sketchy to be of much use to the layman.

—J. B. C.

DEPARTMENT OF INDUSTRIES AND COMMERCE
Twelfth Annual Report
New Zealand Parliamentary Paper H-44, Wellington, 1929

The report includes a general review of the Dominion's overseas trade together with statistics and notes of significant developments in New Zealand's manufacturing industries. Mention is made of the record export trade in the year ending March 31, 1929, a trade which left the Dominion with a favourable trade balance of over £11,000,000, the highest surplus in ten years. The export figures reveal a continuing relative decrease in trade with Great Britain, though absolute values show an increase. A similar tendency is found in the import figures though over 68 per cent of New Zealand's imports are still drawn from British countries.

There is an appreciable expansion of trade with Canada. This fact is of considerable significance, for as the report points out "in no part of the British Empire—or in fact, the world—is New Zealand treated so favourably in regard to her leading exportable products" as in Canada.

Trade with the Far East, especially in wool exports to Japan shows a considerable advance. The proposal of the present government to subsidise a shipping service with the Far East is thus a move of no little importance. Although New Zealand exports to the East have more than trebled in the last three years, they are still only about one third of the value of the imports from the East.

In the section on the Dominion manufacturing industries, it is interesting to note that the provisions of the Commercial Trusts Act of 1910 are being found more and more difficult to administer. Modern industrial tendencies toward combination and industrialisation are doubtless making the restrictions of the Act a little irksome. Various investigations have been made of such alleged breaches of the Act as price fixing and withholding of supplies, but no prosecutions have been made. Over the whole field of the manufacturing industries, the outlook does not seem encouraging. The industries have not been able in recent years to absorb the annual increment of young people leaving school. There has been no important investment in manufacturing industries even though capital seems available for investment. The report concludes with a plea for the establishment of a body for the investigation of some of these problems. —W. L. H.

THE SHOJI
By Kikou Yamata
The Dial Press, New York, 1929. G. $2.50

A collection of unrelated sketches touching life in Japan, by the daughter of a French mother and Japanese father. The material is slight and fragmentary and its treatment often far from clear. There are delicately beautiful bits which go to make up a readable little volume for an idle hour. —B. G.

NEW ZEALAND AFFAIRS
Written by Prof. Benson, Sir Apirana Ngata, Dr. Scholefield, Prof. Belshaw, T. D. H. Hall, Lloyd Ross, Dr. E. P. Neale, Prof. Tocker, Walter Nash, W. H. Cocker and J. E. Strachan
L. M. Isitt, Ltd., Christchurch, 1929

This volume, issued by the New Zealand Branch of the Institute of Pacific Relations, contains a series of twelve papers each written by

a designated member of the Institute. In the Editor's introduction, Sir James Allen, President of the New Zealand Branch of the Institute of Pacific Relations, states that although the time available did not permit each of these papers being discussed and revised by the New Zealand groups, yet the standing of the writers gives them the requisite authenticity.

In reading these papers one realizes how little yet New Zealand, in its Southern isolation, has been drawn into the strong and deep current of the Pacific. But if New Zealand is a spectator rather than a participant, she is a deeply interested one, and it is remarkable to note how well rooted in New Zealand is the Institute of Pacific Relations and its technique. In the four principal cities are four active branches, and in the twelve authors of the papers presented in "New Zealand Affairs" are to be found representative leaders from nearly every viewpoint of public life.

If New Zealand is still largely concerned with internal questions, it can readily be said from the papers on "Geographic Environment," "Production and Population" and the "Absorption of Immigrants," that New Zealand is destined to support a large and wealthy population. As the country with the lowest death rate in the world, and with a high rate of immigration, it is increasing in population at a faster rate than any other.

Of the population 91 per cent are of British stock. Of Asiatics there are only 3374 Chinese (in 1926) and 50 Japanese.

New Zealand is mainly pastoral (if dairying be considered amongst the pastoral industries) and over 90 per cent of the value of all exports are of pastoral origin. Secondary industries in New Zealand are not important and mainly supply part of New Zealand's needs.

A chapter by the Hon. Sir Apirana Ngata (Maori representative in Parliament and Minister of Native Affairs) on "Anthropology and the Government of Native Races in the Pacific" is a most valuable contribution and has already been reprinted in many quarters. For this chapter alone, the book has a value beyond the immediate needs of the Conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations at Kyoto.

—H. C. Tennent.

REPORT ON PROGRESS IN MANCHURIA, 1907-1928
South Manchurian Railway Company, Dairen, 1929.

This substantial illustrated volume contains a valuable collection of information for all students of problems and policies in Manchuria. A short introductory section on present conditions and trends in South Manchuria and on the principal geographical features of the area is followed by an historical survey of Manchuria from earliest times down to 1928 with particular emphasis on events in the last twenty years. The 44 pages comprising the third and fourth chapters are devoted to the organisation and management of the South Manchuria Railway and the leased zone of territory through which it runs. Economic factors such as trade, agriculture, industries, currency and finance are treated in the next five chapters. In them will be found an important collection of statistical material. Chapters X and XI deal with education and sanitation in South Manchuria and contain an interesting account of the

public health organisation and measures taken to combat epidemics. An appendix gives a list of the principal treaties and statutes relating to the railway policies of Manchuria, covering the period from the Treaty of Shimonoseki in 1895 down to the Sino-Russian agreements in 1924.

Not the least valuable feature of the book is its attractive arrangement. The various sections are presented in concise and interesting fashion and the whole volume is enhanced by some 36 excellent illustrations and a large map. Altogether it should prove a useful work of reference and one which is likely to be of definite value to the delegates of the Institute Conference at Kyoto. —W. L. H.

AN OUTLINE OF UNIVERSAL HISTORY
By George E. Sokolsky
Commercial Press, Shanghai, 1928

Mr. Sokolsky's work attempts to give in the compass of about 900 pages a fairly elementary account of the human race from prehistoric times to 1923. History students will probably find that 900 pages is not sufficient for such a task. The book gives that impression of scrappiness which seems to be the almost inevitable characteristic of simplified works on world history. Probably its chief claim to distinction lies in the fact that it places more than the customary amount of stress on Asiatic history, and notably on recent Chinese history. The author, an Occidental, attempts to look at the history of mankind from an Asiatic standpoint. It ought to be pointed out that the book is intended primarily for use in high schools and colleges of the Orient.

It begins with a comparison of several mythical accounts of the origin of the world, including the Hebrew, the Indian, the Greek, the Chinese—and the modern scientific theory. Thenceforth the 39 chapters, except for the 36th on "The Pacific Center" and the last on "The Republic of China" cannot be said to differ greatly from other popular world histories such as those of Wells and Van Loon. In the attempt to keep track of contemporary and collateral movements the reader is obliged to make disconcerting jumps from Joan of Arc and the beginnings of European nationalism to the origins of the Mongols and thence back to the Renaissance in Western Europe; from the Tang dynasty in China to the reign of Charlemagne.

Readers of "Pacific Affairs" will probably be interested in the author's account in the 36th chapter of the opening up of the Pacific countries of Asia to western ideas and commerce; and in the final chapter on modern China. His interpretation of this latter is warmly supported in a significant introductory note by Dr. Hu Shih, on Chinese history. Mr. Sokolsky himself makes an illuminating comment on what he calls "the rise of a poignant religious movement among the Chinese people"—the religion being that of San Min Chu I. This movement has shown "how religious ideals have seized the masses, have been exploited by genuine apostles and false followers, have been applied to give force and strength to popular tendencies, and have been used to screen deceit and corruption." It is not a new phenomenon in history.

—W. L. H.

Pamphlets

WORLD LABOUR PROBLEMS IN 1929 (No. 277)
League of Nations Union, London, 1929

A record of the Twelfth International Labour Conference.

THE SOVIET SECURITY SYSTEM
By Malbone W. Graham, Jr.
Published by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Worcester, Mass., Sept., 1929

UNEMPLOYMENT AMONG INTELLECTUAL WORKERS IN CHINA
By L. K. Tao
Reprinted from The Chinese Social and Political Science Review, Peiping, 1929

This paper deals with the supply of the intellectual workers in China, the extent of their employment, and suggestions for remedying their unemployment.

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF SIAM
Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, Dept. of Commerce, United States Government Printing Office, Washington, 1929. 10 cents

This pamphlet covers: General factors; education; transportation facilities; finances and currency; agriculture; forest products; fisheries; animal husbandry; mineral resources; industrial development; foreign trade; imports and exports.

WORLD SUGAR SITUATION. THE
League of Nations, Geneva, 1929. 25 cents

Report by the Economic Committee of the League of Nations.

REPORT OF THE DIRECTOR-GENERAL OF HEALTH, NEW ZEALAND
For the year ended 31st March, 1929
W. A. G. Skinner, Government Printer, Wellington, 1929

THIRTY YEARS OF AMERICAN-FILIPINO RELATIONS, 1899-1929
By J. W. Wheeler-Bennett
Journal of the Royal Institute of International Affairs, London, September, 1929

THE OUTLINE OF THE CAPITAL RECONSTRUCTION WORK
The Reconstruction Bureau, Japan
Printed by the Sanshusha, Tokyo, 1929

Contents: The great earthquake and the reconstruction scheme; The city planning; Land readjustment, or replotting; Public works and encouragement of fire-proof buildings; expenditure for the reconstruction works, etc.

GIBBON WAKEFIELD'S "LETTER FROM SYDNEY" 1829
By Prof. R. C. Mills, LL.M., D.Sc. Econ.
Printed by D. S. Ford, Sydney, 1929

The story of Edward Gibbon Wakefield's life (read before the Royal Australian Historical Society, April 30, 1929.)

FORCED LABOUR
Questionnaire, International Labour Conference
International Labour Office, Geneva, 1929

ADULT EDUCATION IN RUSSIA—AN OUTLINE
The World Association for Adult Education, London, 1929

The pamphlet also contains: The World Conference, Seafarers' Education, Prophet and Pioneer, and Lifelong Education.

INDUSTRY, GOVERNMENTS AND LABOR
World Peace Foundation Pamphlets, Vol. XI, Nos. 4-5, Boston, 1928

Record of the International Labor Organization, 1919-1929.

ORIGIN AND CONCLUSION OF THE PARIS PACT
World Peace Foundation Pamphlets, Vol. XII, No. 2, Boston, 1929
By Denys P. Myers, Director of Research

The Renunciation of war as an instrument of National Policy. Contents: Efforts to limit the war power; negotiation of the Treaty; entrance of the Treaty into force; American system of Pacific settlement; Appendices.

VOYAGES TO HAWAII BEFORE 1860
Published by the Society, Honolulu, 1929

A study based on historical narratives in the library of the Hawaiian Mission Children's Society.

In the Magazines

Note: All the following references to magazines published in the Orient are for English language publications. National ownership of such publications is indicated.

AUSTRALIA—GENERAL

AUSTRALIA; unsigned; the *Round Table,* London, September, 1929.

This article covers: "The Timber Workers' Strike; The Premier's Conference—Compulsory Arbitration; the Finances of South Australia; and the Royal Commission on Child Endowment or Family Allowances."

CONCILIATION AND ARBITRATION IN AUSTRALIA; by K. H. Bailey; the *Australian Intercollegian;* Melbourne, September, 1929.

"One of the most remarkable measures that has ever come before an Australian Parliament is being debated at Canberra. It is a Bill to destroy an institution which in the last twenty-five years has become the focal point of industrial relations in Australia."

EXPLOITATION OF ABORIGINALS IN NORTHERN AUSTRALIA; by Robert Toupein; the *Pan-Pacific Worker,* Sydney, September 1, 1929.

"In this article we are concerned mainly with their employment and treatment in the cattle industry by the great cattle station owners. On these great cattle stations, owned chiefly by absentee capitalists, the aborigines are worked by them as stockmen, drovers and general roustabouts. They are paid no monetary wages, and are given the roughest and poorest of food, principally damper and beef (the latter is of course a cheap item on these huge stations, the rental for which is generally about two shillings and sixpense per square mile) and they are given the scantiest of clothing and a small amount of stick tobacco of the worst kind (known as nickie nickie)."

MOTOR ROADS IN AUSTRALIA; unsigned; *Commerce Reports,* Washington, D. C., September 9, 1929.

"The provision of good roads to accommodate the increasing motor traffic in Australia is one of the most pressing of the many developmental projects of the Commonwealth. Because of the vast area of Australia, which is larger than that of continental United States, the small population of only 6,310,453, of which 63 per cent dwell in cities or towns, and the high cost of transportation, the construction and maintenance of a network of good roads become a difficult but very urgent economic problem."

FOREIGN AFFAIRS; editorial; *Stead's Review,* Melbourne, September 2, 1929.

In view of the cutting down of Australian expenditure on defence, the protest against delay in the Singapore Base is singularly audacious. As a matter of fact. the Singapore Base is of little use in Australian defence, and was never intended so to be. It is not planned as a great war base from which fleets of capital ships can be worked in war, but as a base protecting trade routes, with one or two battleships as the backbone of the protecting force. Advanced bases of this kind, with a hinterland of tropical country unhealthy for the white man, only supplying a few of his wants, and not affording any reinforcements, are of little value for war purposes. A base in Australia would be of far greater use for the Empire. The point is, however, that if an Australian base were built Australia would be expected to share the cost, whereas if the base is built at Singapore we can push the Mother Country on, but avoid our share of the expense.

CHINA—EXTRALITY

EX-TERRITORIALITY; editorial; the *New Republic,* New York, September 25, 1929.

Some of the delegates at the League of Nations Assembly, which is now in session, recognize the importance of developing legislative machinery to supplement existing judicial procedure and to bring about changes in the status quo. Attention was called to this problem by a resolution introduced by Dr. Wu of the Chinese delegation authorizing the Assembly to appoint a committee "to consider and report on the best method of making effective" Article XIX of the Covenant . . . which provides that the Assembly may

advise as to the reconsideration, by members of the League, of treaties which have become inapplicable. The proposal to establish a committee to make use of this Article has been bitterly opposed at Geneva, particularly by France and Rumania. These governments argue that the "unequal treaties" apply only to a few powers and should not, therefore, be placed before an international gathering. The argument is, of course, a pretext. France and Rumania realize that, if this commitee is appointed, a precedent will be established so that the League of Nations may, eventually, bring about, through Article XIX, a revision of the unjust provisions of the Treaty of Versailles.

How the Abolition of Extrality May Be Accomplished; by M. T. Z. Tyau; the *China Critic* (Chinese), Shanghai, September 19, 1929.

"Of all great independent nations China is the only country where the regime of extrality has not been abolished. . . . Chinese individuality ought to be preserved, just as the individualities of the Anglo-Saxon, the Celtic, the Slavic and other races should be preserved, in order that the experiences of the human race may be enriched and not reduced to a tasteless, humdrum monotony. It will be idle for the Powers to insist that Chinese judicial standards shall conform to the Western standards. No self-respecting people will ever yield to such an unreasonable denationalizing demand."

Belgian Concession, The; editorial; the *Week in China* (American), Peiping, September 7, 1929.

Diplomatic fate for the second time in less than a year has decided upon Belgium to establish a set of important treaty precedents in China. . . . Belgium's interests in China are small but still not too slight to be unimportant. Her nationals residing in this country are few but still not too few to be disregarded. This combination has created an ideal pioneer field for new treaty relationships between westerners and Chinese.

"Wang-Tao" Spirit and the Abolition of Unequal Treaties; by Hu Han-min; the *China Critic* (Chinese), Shanghai, August 29, 1929.

"Speech delivered at the Kuomintang Central Headquarters on July 15, 1929."

Full Text of America's Reply to China's Note Requesting the Abolition of Extraterritoriality; by J. V. A. MacMurray; the *China Weekly Review* (American), Shanghai, August 31, 1929.

Britain's Answer on Extrality; by Sir Miles W. Lampson; the *Week in China* (American), Peiping, September 7, 1929.

"Sir Miles Lampson replies to China on extraterritoriality."

Week in China, The (American), Peiping, September 14, 1929.

This issue contains the following articles:

"Text of Sino-Belgian Pact, France's Answer on Extrality, Dutch Extraterritoriality Reply, Text of Norway's Extrality Note, China's New Note to United States and Second Extrality Note to France."

CULTURES

Newer Aspects of Education in Mexico; by Prof. Moises Saenz; the *Pan American Union*, Washington, D. C., September, 1929.

"The educational work in Mexico, in some of its more significant aspects, is no mere school work but an all-around program of social improvement and rehabilitation—in short, of civilization. We are not interested in the pedagogical art as such; we face an urgent, challenging problem—we feel that we must incorporate the masses into Mexican life; that we must give expression to the genius of the people; that we must be true to our national tradition, but at the same time that we have to catch up with the times; that our problem is personal and unique in the sense that it is our own, for us to solve; and that the surest element of success in our undertaking of social rehabilitation is the validity of the aim and the sincerity of the means brought into play to attain it."

How Teachers May Promote World Friendship; by Ben Ellis; *World Unity*, New York, September, 1929.

"It is the teacher, not the sociologist, not the diplomat, not the philosopher, who can lead mankind into the pathways of peace—that long visioned, long sought, but far from attained, goal."

World League of International Education Associations Amongst Youth; by Alice Wilson; *World Unity,* New York, September, 1929.

"There exists in every Secondary School a small group of students who show a keen interest in world affairs, and another group more numerous whose interest is slight or even dormant. There also exists, or should exist, at least one teacher interested enough to group those students and awaken or develop in them that interest. The following plan was made with the idea of using that existing element and training it in such a manner, that it would be adequately prepared to play an important part in the international life of the next generation."

Fall of the Universities, The; unsigned; the *Japan Weekly Chronicle* (British), Kobe, September 19, 1929.

World League of Students; editorial; the *New Republic,* New York, September 18, 1929.

The Confederation Internationale des Etudiants held its eleventh congress in Budapest, from August 10 to August 24. This world league of students is an increasingly impressive organization. In America, we have heard almost nothing of this international student gathering. The newspapers do not regard students, en masse, as good copy. This journalistic diffidence is no doubt due to the general and deplorable inertia of American undergraduates, who are not internationalists by any stretch of the imagination—fond of a giddy summer abroad, seriously engrossed only with local issues—campus politics, dramatics, honorary societies, and football. . . .

In Europe the C.I.E. means something. Tangible results of their stated aims are: student hostelries, student employment agencies, scholarship exchanges, reduced rates in travel. Less tangible, but no less actual results are political self-consciousness, and a keen interest in each other. . . . The American branch of the C.I.E.—the National Student Federation—is handicapped by lack of funds or intellectual support, and does not take the part it should in international student affairs. It is an organization dying of malnutrition, through no fault of its founders or its present board, but because American students are incorrigible provincials; and because money, when it flows college-ward in this country, builds gymnasiums or chapels, and is not given to help support an organization which might crystallize American student opinion into an active, thoughtful force.

Matrimony in China and Russia Contrasted; unsigned; the *China Weekly Review* (American), Shanghai, August 24, 1929.

"Under this (Chinese) system, a boy and a girl are betrothed by a professional match-maker with the consent of their parents. The boy and the girl often know nothing of each other's outward appearance not to say taste, character, or other qualities. The fiance and financee see nothing of each other during the pre-marriage period. And on the wedding day, the two total strangers are united in matrimony.

"In Russia today religion and church have ceased to hold sway over a vast proportion of the populace—notably the youth. 'What therefore God hath joined together . . . ?' Ridiculous, flames the revolutionary; no God has or can have anything to do with the joining of men and women. 'Until death us do part?' Impossible! thunders the revolutionary. Life is too precious to be spent in waiting for death to redeem you from a union that may be blighting your every hour of existence."

Factors in the Chinese Situation; by Stephen P. Duggan; *Political Science Quarterly,* New York, September, 1929.

"The China of today has been invaded by a New Learning—Western culture. The essential element of Western culture is science. Science is based on a refusal to accept anything upon authority. It has no reverence for tradition. One can readily see what havoc the introduction of such learning would make in Chinese life. For nearly three thousand years the whole of Chinese civilization was founded upon authority, the authority of the ancestors."

La Veritable Tradition Artistique De L'Eglise; by Dr. H. C. E. Zacharias; *Le Bulletin des Missions,* Paris, May, 1929.

An interesting illustrated article on the application of modern Oriental

art to the traditional subjects of Catholic religious art in Europe, as encouraged by the Catholic missions in China and India.

YOUNG RUSSIA; unsigned; the *Round Table,* London, September, 1929.

"Despite Lenine's admonition that the new man must assimilate the useful cultural heritages of the former bourgeoisie, youth has no reverence and hardly any respect for the past nor for those habituated to its ways of life and thought. . . . The so-called revolt of the younger generation in America and in Europe is a good-humored caprice, almost a childish jest, compared to the passionate defiance of age by Russia's revolutionary youth. No two worlds could be farther apart in spirit and in manner than youth and age in Russia."

MORE ON JAPANESE ORIGINS; by Motoyuki Tokieda; the *Trans-Pacific* (American), Tokyo, September 19, 1929.

"The 'Korean' Language and 'South Sea' Dwelling Conundrum: A Simple Theory."

ANNUAL MEETING OF "VOKS"; editorial; *Soviet Union Review,* Washington, D.C., September, 1929.

The annual meeting of "Voks" (All-Union Society for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries), was held in Moscow in July. In reporting on the work of the Society for the past year Olga Kameneva, the outgoing President, stated that during 1928 "Voks" had organized 34 exhibitions in other countries, which were visited by over four million people, while between January and March of the present year 25 exhibitions had been arranged abroad and three in the Soviet Union. The tourist section of "Voks" received 962 tourists from abroad in 1928—including 782 individuals, and 15 delegations. The Book Exchange Department received from abroad 212,411 books during the past year, and sent 211,457 to other countries. Over 60 international gatherings were held by "Voks" in Moscow during the year, attended altogether by almost 50,000 people.

DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS

MOSCOW AND LONDON; editorial; the *Manchester Guardian Weekly,* Manchester, September 20, 1929.

Mr. Henderson lost no time in making an official overture to the Russian Government through the intermediary of the Norwegian Government, which, in the absence of diplomatic relations, is in charge of British interests in Russia. It is only right that the initiative in opening the door should come from the side which, with such extraordinary energy, shut it and banged it. The sooner normal diplomatic intercourse is unconditionally re-established the better.

SOVIET AMERICAN RELATIONS; by Dr. J. M. Pavlow; *Monthly Bulletin,* Moscow, June-July, 1929.

"Economic intercourse between the U.S.A. and the Soviet Union is at present limited to trade relations in the strictest sense of the word, that is, to buying and selling. Such intercourse is, in fact, rather mediaeval, and is now practised chiefly between some Asiatic countries. Modern trade must, as a rule, include such elements as long term credits, capital investments and flotation of loans. Although these elements are as yet absent in Soviet-American trade relations, trade between the two countries in 1928 was two-and-a-half times greater than it was before the war. None of the other European countries has increased its trade with America to such a degree, though all of them are more favourably situated with regard to the American market than the Soviet Union."

SEA POWERS AND THE LEAGUE, THE; by James T. Shotwell; the *New Republic,* New York, September 11, 1929.

"A former ambassador of the United States to one of the great powers of Europe has recently published in an American weekly which claims the largest circulation in the world, an article in which he challenges the whole direction of the peace movement of the post-war years. He maintains that the real path to world peace lies through the agreement of the three great powers that control the seas—Great Britain, the United States, and Japan. The League of Nations in his eyes is an ineffective gesture. The veto upon war lies in the hands of the great sea powers; let them plan together to use it. Let the United States, as the most powerful of them, make a new start. The

League may be kept alive for minor things, but the vital decisions for preserving peace should be kept where they belong. . . . It is obvious that with or without a League of Nations there must be agreement among the great powers, or the international action to prevent war is definitely impossible. . . . That there is no progress to be made by scrapping the League of Nations in favor of a triple entente of the great sea powers should be evident to anyone who has studied the drift of politics in both of the other two, the British Empire and Japan. Anxious as Japan has shown herself to be on the best of terms with the United States, and loyally as she has met our advances, it must not be forgotten that she enjoys at Geneva a recognition and a standing of the greatest value to her. In her permanent membership on the Council she has the advantages without the embarrassments of power."

ECONOMICS IN PACIFIC—GENERAL

JAPAN'S GOLD POLICY; editorial; the *Commercial,* Manchester, September 19, 1929.

The statement of the Japanese Minister of Finance, Mr. Inouye, that he will not free gold for export this year will probably not cause any surprise to those who have heard this declaration made regularly since the embargo was imposed as a war-time measure. Yet on this occasion an expression of surprise would not be without justification, for the new Japanese Government in its statement of policy published only in July last asserted that the lifting of the embargo was essential for the re-establishment of sound financial conditions and more or less pledged itself to remove it in the near future. The Finance Minister later, in a speech delivered in August at a conference of Prefectural Governors, repeated this view, but went on to declare that until public expenditure was cut down and the adverse trade balance reduced, until the cost of living was lowered and the yen appreciated, it would not be possible to free the export of gold. In this statement must be found the explanation of the present postponement. The fear is widely held that the removal of the embargo would result in too rapid an appreciation of the yen, which would cause loss to many people, would increase the volume of imports, and might lead to a rapid efflux of gold. The gap might not prove so formidable if the crossing were approached boldly. The present policy, at any rate, can only mean a continuance of instability and uncertainty.

GROWTH OF JAPANESE COTTON MILLS IN CHINA; unsigned; the *Commercial,* Manchester, August 29, 1929.

"Most of the big Japanese spinning and weaving companies have mills in China, and therefore, although Japanese yarn exports have fallen heavily during the last four years, and will probably dwindle to very small proportions during the next few years, this has not hit the Japanese spinners so badly as might otherwise have been expected."

RETRENCHMENT AND THE PROBLEM OF GOLD EMBARGO; by Junnosuke Inouye; the *Japan Trade Review* (Yokohama), September, 1929.

"While it is recognized that the nation has been facing in general many difficulties owing to the financial depression, however, the public seems not to be fully conscious of the present financial status. . . . Being still attached to the past glory, most individuals as well as business organizations are unable to effect a decisive curtailment in their living expenses or the operating expenditures, in proportion to the shrinkage in their earnings."

ECONOMIC COOPERATION OF JAPAN AND CHINA IN MANCHURIA AND MONGOLIA; by Yosuke Matsuoka; the *Far Eastern Review* (American), Shanghai, August, 1929.

TRADE COMMISSIONER TO CHINA; editorial; *Commerce and Industry Journal,* Manila, August, 1929.

The legislature has under consideration a bill presented by Representative Jorge Delgado which would create the position of a trade commissioner of the Philippines in China. The bill takes up a highly important phase of the necessary trade promotion work that must be undertaken by the Government and should receive the full measure of attention and careful study that its importance deserves.

WORKING CONDITIONS IN SHANGHAI COTTON MILLS; unsigned; *International Labour Review,* Geneva, August, 1929.

"The first cotton mill in China was established in the eighties of the last

century." Figures are given to "show the enormous development there has been in the period of little more than forty years that has elapsed since then."

List of Chinese Internal Loan Issues Outstanding on July 1, 1929; by E. Kann and J. Baylin; the *China Weekly Review* (American), Shanghai, August 3, 1929.

China's Debts and Their Readjustment; by S. Y. Liu; *Chinese Economic Journal* (Chinese), Shanghai, September, 1929.

"The history of China's national debts covers a period of only a little over sixty years. The first loan, according to available records, was contracted in the 4th Year of T'ung Chih, or 1865, when a London bank advanced a sum of £1,431,664 to the Chinese Government. Prior to that time the public finance of China was conducted on a very sound and conservative basis. The necessity for borrowing rarely arose and where it did, the borrowing never took the form of a modern loan."

China and the American Banking Group at Amsterdam; by George E. Sokolsky; the *Far Eastern Review* (American), Shanghai, August, 1929.

American Investments in the Far East; by George Bronson Rea; the *Far Eastern Review* (American), Shanghai, August, 1920.

"Over $1,600,000,000 of American capital now invested in Far Eastern Governmental Securities and private business enterprises. Japan and China offer fields for illimitable future investments."

Agrarian Revolution in China, The; by Earl Browder; the *Pan-Pacific Worker*, Sydney, September 1, 1929.

"During the six-year period, 1918-1924, the average imports of agricultural machinery amounted to 560,000 Chinese dollars. Comparing this to the number of separate farm households, about 75,000,000, this will be seen to average about two-thirds of a cent (Chinese) per farm per year—certainly an insignificant figure even for Chinese peasants. This is small even when compared to India."

T. V. Soong's Financial Policy; by George E. Sokolsky; the *Far Eastern Review* (American), Shanghai, August, 1929.

"The Significance of Mr. T. V. Soong's Resignation in China's Reconstruction: The Foreign Loan Policy of the Nanking Government; Public Supervision of Finances a Necessity: A Definite Policy is Needed."

Population Problem in China; by Leonard S. Hsu; *Sociology and Social Research*, Los Angeles, May-June, 1929.

"In discussing this problem, the first difficulty is the lack of accurate statistics. For example, the 1910 estimate of the Ministry of the Interior placed the population of the eighteen provinces at 331,188,000. In the same year, the Post Office estimate placed the population of the eighteen provinces at 438,425.000. There was a discrepancy of nearly 100,000,000. The total size of the Chinese population is a mystery."

Shensi Treasure—Coal, The; by Boris P. Torgasheff; the *China Weekly Review* (American), Shanghai, August 31, 1929.

"In China, coal-fields are scattered throughout the country, occurring nearly in every province, but it seems over nine-tenths of China's probable coal reserve is represented by the great North Shensi Coal Basin, which has been recently credited to possess up to 2,100,000 million tons of coal. . . . Of what great world importance this China's coal treasure is, may be seen from the fact that on the 1st January, 1927, the aggregated world's reserves of coal, proved and probable to 2000 ft. below sea level, were estimated at 5,492,085 million metric tons ('Internationale Bergwirtschaft,' February, 1927)."

Dangers For Foreign Business Men Seen in New Chinese Patent Law Revoking Peking Enactment in 1927; unsigned; the *American Chamber of Commerce Bulletin*, Shanghai, July-August, 1929.

". . . foreigners are denied the right of taking out patents to protect their goods in China, Article 1 of the new Lew specifically limiting such right to those of Chinese nationality."

Outlook For Filipinos in Hawaii, The; by Kilmer O. Moe; the *Honolulu Mercury*, Honolulu, October, 1929.

Afforestation in New Zealand; by H. Belshaw; the *Commercial,* Manchester, September 12, 1929.

"The Empire Marketing Board recently approved a capital grant not exceeding £30,000 to be devoted to research on Empire timbers at the Forest Products Research Laboratory at Princes Risborough, under the Department of Scientific and Industrial Research."

Mexico and Her Debts; editorial; the *Review of South and Central America,* London, September, 1929.

Mr. G. Butler Sherwell, a North American investigator, has published some interesting facts relative to the financial position of Mexico and her foreign debt obligations. Such a study is necessarily of keen interest to investors in Britain and the United States. They quite naturally ask why arrangements entered into between the Mexican Government and the International Committee of Bankers cannot be fulfilled. Mr. Sherwell suggests that Mexico could pay more regularly than she does, but at the same time he succeeds in demonstrating that most of her exportable wealth is foreign-owned and therefore cannot be used to pay foreign debt charges.

Selling Goods To Russia; unsigned; the *Commercial,* Manchester, September 12, 1929.

"A great extension of the American textile trade with Russia is in view, according to a statement made by Mr. Samuel C. Lamport, who has just returned to Paris after successfully negotiating large contracts to supply the Soviet garment industries with American cotton and woollen goods. . . . Mr. Lamport went to Russia as the representative of companies controlling 20,000,000 spindles in the American cotton industry. Some years ago he took an important part in introducing American cotton goods in India, and now he regards Russia as the world's greatest market in this field."

JAPAN—GENERAL

Social Policy in Japan; unsigned; *Industrial and Labour Information,* Geneva, September 2, 1929.

"The new Japanese Government, headed by Mr. Hamaguchi, has announced the setting up of a Commission on Social Policy. The function of this Commission will be to investigate such social problems as may be referred to it by the Prime Minister and to recommend concrete methods of dealing with them."

Japanese Migration Statistics; by Romanzo C. Adams; *Sociology and Social Research,* Los Angeles, May-June, 1929.

"Allowing for an ordinary death rate, age considered, it appeared that the 1920 census should show approximately 127,000 foreign born Japanese in Continental United States. The actual census figures were 81,338—an apparent discrepancy of over 45,000."

Quantitative Phases of the Japanese Population Problem; by K. S. Inui; the *Trans-Pacific* (American), Tokyo, September 12, 1929.

Economic rationalization and birth control suggested among other remedies.

"I. Growth of the Japanese Population. (a) No problem in the pre-Restoration period. (b) Present situation. II. Its Relations with Economic Fundamentals. (a) Increase of 'Land.' (b) Increase of Productive Arts. (c) Rise in Standard of Living. III. The Problem of Food. IV. Solutions Suggested. (a) Reclamation and Development. (b) Importation of Foreign Food. (c) Economic Rationalization. (d) Development of fishing and under-sea gardening. (e) Development of International Maritime Service. (f) Emigration. (g) Industrialization. (h) Limitation of Births. V. Conclusion."

Story of Medical Education For Women in Japan, The; by Yoyoi Yoshioka; *Stead's Review,* Melbourne, September 2, 1929.

"At the time of the Meiji Era (1868-1912) a woman doctor in the true sense of the word first appeared in Japan. That pioneer was Miss Ginko Ogino. When she, at that time, was at a certain hospital in Tokyo, she disliked the gynecological treatment performed by men doctors of that institution. This revolt against existing methods led her to become herself a doctor. But as the Government at that time did not permit women to take the medical license examination, she found herself confronted with much difficulty in the consummation of her desire."

MANCHURIAN SITUATION

RUSSIAN VIEWS OF THE RUSSIAN-CHINESE COLLISION; unsigned; the *Literary Digest,* New York, August 24, 1929.

SOVIET-CHINESE TRADE; unsigned; *Soviet Union Review,* Washington, D.C., September, 1929.

"As a result of the economic position of the Soviet Far East the balance of the Soviet-Chinese trade (as, by the way, was also the case with pre-war Russo-Chinese trade) has always been active in favor of China, as may be seen from the following table:"

MANCHURIA, *Pan-Pacific Progress,* Los Angeles, September, 1929.

This is a "Manchurian Number" containing the following articles:

"Why Should Japan and China Maintain Economic Entente in Manchuria and Mongolia"; "Agriculture in Manchuria"; "Manchuria Controlled by the Chinese Eastern Railway"; "The Through Railway Traffic Between Europe and Asia via Siberia and Chinese Eastern Railway"; "Pictorial Review of Pan-Pacific Peoples and Current Events"; "The Bone of Contention in China"; "The Pacific Geographic Society."

RUSSO-CHINESE CONFLICT IN MANCHURIA, THE; by K. K. Kawakami; *Foreign Affairs,* New York, October, 1929.

"Russia will not concede what China wants . . . without a struggle. So long as her traditional idea persists that she must have under her control the shortest possible route to Vladivostok, so long will any Russian Government, Soviet or otherwise, strive by all means, perhaps even war, to keep what is left of her once complete domination of the Chinese Eastern Railway. Whatever may be accomplished by the Chinese and Russian delegates at the pending parley will not be the final solution of the vexed question. And the unbiased chronicler of events will have to close his chapter with the familiar words: 'And the end is not yet.'"

JAPAN LOOKS AT THE RUSSO-CHINESE DISPUTE; by K. K. Kawakami; the *Nineteenth Century,* New York, September, 1929.

"Undoubtedly many of her (Japan's) statesmen think the continued presence of Russia in North Manchuria desirable, provided no satisfactory arrangement can be made to safeguard Japanese interests in South Manchuria. . . . This is not to say that Japanese public opinion and Japanese leaders are generally favourable to Soviet Russia. As we have already said, there is a strong undercurrent of sentiment, a mingled feeling of suspicion and fear, against what may be termed 'Red imperialism,' a new-fangled policy of conquest, employing a new technique, but exploiting much the same field as did its prototype, Tsarist imperialism."

MISCELLANEOUS

CANADA; unsigned; the *Round Table,* London, September, 1929.

"The development of a Canadian diplomatic service became inevitable when the Dominion began to take over control of its international relations. Control, without satisfactory machinery to exercise that control, would be as useless as a license to drive without a motor car. That machinery is now being developed in the Department of External Affairs in Ottawa and in the establishment of legations abroad."

OUTLOOK FOR SCIENCE IN CHINA, THE; by Dr. A. W. Grabau; the *Week in China* (American), Peiping, September 7, 1929.

"Address delivered at the annual dinner of the Science Society of China—August 25, 1929, in Peiping."

LATIN AMERICA; unsigned; *Commerce Reports,* Washington, D.C., September 16, 1929.

"The development of the highway system in north-eastern Mexico has resulted in increasing numbers of tourists from the United States visiting that section of the country, and strong efforts are being made to make other sections of the country more accessible to travelers."

MEXICAN IMMIGRANTS AND AMERICAN CITIZENSHIP; by Helen W. Walker; *Sociology and Social Research,* May-June, 1929.

"Statistical information from the county court house in Southern California shows that a very small per cent of the aliens petitioning for United

States naturalization papers is Mexican. Yet by far the greater per cent of Southern California's foreign population is Mexican. There must be very good reasons why more of these Mexicans are not becoming naturalized."

FILIPINO IMMIGRANT PROBLEM, THE; by Emory S. Bogardus; *Sociology and Social Research,* May-June, 1929.

"The present situation represents two extreme positions. On one hand the Filipino is admitted freely to our country; on the other hand, his opponents would exclude him entirely. Both positions are subject to serious criticism. Unlimited immigration needs definite modification, but it is unnecessary to go to the opposite pole. An adequate solution must take into consideration Filipino culture and personality traits."

MANILA ONE HUNDRED SIXTY YEARS AGO; by M. Le Gentil; *Philippine Magazine,* Manila, September, 1929.

PEOPLING OF THE PACIFIC, THE; by Roland Burrage Dixon; *Philippine Magazine,* Manila, September, 1929.

"There is, perhaps, no other great area in the world which presents so fascinating and so complicated a series of anthropological problems as the island world of the Pacific. . . ."

"RACE CONSCIOUSNESS"; editorial; *Opportunity,* New York, September, 1929.

If there is one thing which the careful observer of the Negro in America can be reasonably sure of, it is the fact that the Negro responds more readily to the stimulus of national consciousness than he does to consciousness of race. The Negro in America has not yet learned to think black. Invariably he thinks American and no one who fails to understand this apparent paradox can hope to understand the attitude of the Negro to the conditions of American life. . . . The protagonists of a bi-racialism which comprehends a contented Negro occupying eternally an inferior status in American life may awake one day to find that they have created a new Negro and destroyed an American.

NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL WORK AND THE NEGRO, THE; editorial; *Opportunity,* New York, September, 1929.

The National Conference of Social Work, which held its fifty-sixth annual meeting in San Francisco June 26th-July 3rd, is probably the most liberal organization on the question of race relations of the national movements which touch the life of the people of America in almost all its human aspects. During the sessions of the Conference race problems were discussed not only as they affected whites and Negroes, but as they concerned whites and Orientals, Indians and Mexicans.

PRINCIPLES WHICH SHOULD GOVERN THE RELATIONS OF WHITE AND COLORED PEOPLE IN THE UNITED STATES; by Julian D. Steele; *Opportunity,* New York, September, 1929.

"The above question was submitted to candidates for degrees with honor in the Divisional Examination in Social Ethics at Harvard University."

A CONGRESS OF WORLD BUSINESS; by Merle Thorpe; *Nation's Business,* Washington, D.C., September, 1929.

"In July, 1,146 active business men from 46 countries left their desks—some of them foregoing well-earned vacations—to meet in Amsterdam where, for six days, they attended sessions of the Fifth Congress of the International Chamber of Commerce."

STRUGGLE FOR PEACE, THE; by A. J. Rykov; the *Pan-Pacific Worker,* Sydney, September 1, 1929.

"As you know, the League of Nations has been busy with the disarmament question for eight years. Our delegation to the 5th Session distributed among the participants a report showing that the various organs of the League of Nations have held 121 meetings during this time for the discussion of the limitations of armaments, and have passed eleven resolutions. The work of the various organs of the League of Nations on the disarmament question is recorded on. Up to the present it has not been possible to lessen armaments by one soldier, one gun, one cruiser, or one cartridge. Only 14,000 pages have been written, and the utmost perseverance applied to spoiling enormous quantities of paper (laughter)."

Institute Notes

The information published in this department is issued officially by the International Secretariat of the Institute of Pacific Relations at Honolulu.

Visitors at Central Headquarters

Dr. Frederick P. Keppel, President of the Carnegie Corporation, arrived in Honolulu on October 9th, for a three days visit before going on to the Kyoto Conference sessions.

Mr. Wallace Alexander, American delegate from San Francisco, and Dr. Edouard Lavergne, who will represent France as an observer, stopped in Honolulu, both leaving on the 11th for the Kyoto Conference.

Unable to Attend Conference

Word has just been received that Miss Ada L. Comstock, Mr. Sewell L. Avery, and Dr. Stephen F. Duggan will not be able to attend the Kyoto Conference.

To Attend Conference

Word has been received stating that Mr. Ivy Lee of New York will attend the Kyoto Conference as an American delegate. He is traveling to Japan by way of Moscow.

President Aurelia Reinhardt, a member of the American Group, planned to sail from Vancouver on October 3rd.

Dr. Robert E. Park, Sociologist at the University of Chicago, will attend the Kyoto Conference as a member of the American Group.

Mr. H. R. Cummings, of the Information Section of the League of Nations Secretariat, left Geneva on September 20th to attend the Conference. He is taking with him a memorandum for the Conference on the activities of the League of interest to the region of the Pacific.

Preliminary Conference

Prospective Kyoto Conference members for Japan met in preliminary conference to hear progress reports of committee secretaries and discuss program and arrangements, on September 15 in Tokyo. An afternoon of discussion and other business followed a luncheon at the Tokyo Kaikan. Dr. Inazo Nitobe, Chairman of the Japan Council, presided and introduced J. Merle Davis, General Secretary, and Elizabeth Green, Editor Pacific Affairs, who had just arrived in Japan from central headquarters in Honolulu. Reports were heard from Honorary Secretary Soichi Saito; Mr. Hampei Nagao, General Arrangements Committee; Professor Yasaka Takaki, Research Committee; Mr. Motosada Zumoto, Press Committee, and Mr. Saito for Mr. Yusuke Tsurumi, Cultural Committee. Mr. Davis was asked to explain the proposed organization of the Conference, as planned in cooperation between the Central Secretariat and the Japan Council.

Among those present were: Baron Sakatani, ex-Mayor of Tokyo, ex-Ambassador Hanihara, Count Kabayama, Mr. Y. Matsuoka, formerly Vice-President of the South Manchuria Railway, Count Soyeshima,

Captain Yasutomi, who recently resigned from the Imperial Navy in order to devote himself to work for the furtherance of disarmament, Miss Aiko Hoshino, President of Tsuda College, Professor Takayanagi of the Imperial University of Tokyo, Mr. Tamon Maeda of the Tokyo Asahi, Miss T. Yasui, President of Tokyo Women's Christian College, and Mr. M. Odagiri, Director Yokohama Specie Bank.

Japanese Publications

Besides the twenty pamphlets on various aspects of Japan's cultural past, written by authorities in the several fields in question, the Japan Council has undertaken a new study in preparation for the conference, through a committee chaired by Mr. Yusuke Tsurumi.

This committee is studying the actual present-day situation in Japan from different angles, its objective being to discover how democracy is working its way in Japan in the various strata of society. This study will bear fruit in the form of several published theses, as follows:

Mr. Kamekichi Takahashi, a leader of the Proletarian Party, looks at the year 1929 in Japan from the economic viewpoint. Mr. Ken Sawada, a popular biographer, analyses the present political situation following the nation's first experiment with Manhood Suffrage. Mr. Kameo Chiba, foremost literary critic in Japan, surveys the new tendency in *belles lettres,* with particular attention to the sway of radical influence over young people, paramount in the literature of the day. Miss Fusaye Ichikawa, leader of the woman suffrage movement in Japan, writes of the progress and significance of modern tendencies among the women of the nation. A fifth study on modernization in social life, the effect of jazz, movies, and other western influences on society, is being arranged for.

These papers will present modern Japan dynamically—Japan as she lives and changes today, not, academically, as she was in the past. They should form a valuable contribution to cultural study.

Correction of Authorship

The article entitled "The Chinese Peasant," which appeared in the September issue of Pacific Affairs as a translation, was an original article by Mr. Chu Yu-fen, and not one translated from the Chinese as indicated.

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ELIZABETH GREEN
Editor

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The object of the Institute of Pacific Relations is to study the conditions of the Pacific Peoples with a view to the improvement of their mutual relations.

PACIFIC AFFAIRS

No. 12 DECEMBER 1929

Nara and Kyoto

THEIR OPENING SIGNIFICANCE

By Elizabeth Green

The Japanese people of today speak of the Yamato plain, nurtured by the low, wooded hills of Nara, as the cradle of Japanese culture. It was in these environs, now level with waving rice, that Japanese history first emerged out of the mists of mythology, with the coming of the Emperor Jimmu into its seclusion, there to establish a rule which has extended unbroken through twenty-six centuries of imperial power. Since that time there has been a succession of imperial seats, set here and there over that plain, each as transitory as the essential power has been permanent. These evanescent dwelling places of royalty have left little visible trace, but the essence of their passing has added a ponderable something to the atmosphere of this place, a sense of ancientness sensible even to the alien who treads the soil and one to which the Japanese patriot is acutely sensitive.

This is the psychic environment of Nara. Nara itself is the visible embodiment of that spirit, preserved in red-lacquered Shinto shrines and dim Buddhist temples redolent of a thousand dusty years of existence, and in quiet parks—the age-long haunts of temple cedar, gentle deer, the transient devotee pilgrim. And nothing has come in, from the hurrying outside world of today, sufficiently potent to change the spirit and the brooding beauty of this ancient place. On the contrary, one feels that it must itself subtly alter whatever comes within its quiet influence.

So perhaps this new Pacific life, beginning now to be shaped through the conscious efforts of its widely separated humankind, may in its plan and direction feel the impress of these surroundings. There is a certain fitness—the fitness of the bizarre, perhaps—in the fact that here, where one of the most remote and long-secluded civilizations of the world had its origin, the council of a new Pacific internationalism should be laying its future plans.

On October 23 the Pacific Council of the Institute of Pacific Relations met at Nara to deal with the business of the biennium just past and to make decisions for the Institute's future. On the same day the Program Committee, created for the occasion, met to draft a preliminary schedule for the conference sessions at Kyoto. The International Research Committee, a standing committee headed by Dr. James T. Shotwell, with Dr. J. B. Condliffe of the Central Secretariat as Secretary, here undertook its deliberations looking toward the continuation of the research program already under way and the formulation of projects for the succeeding two years.

At the opening session of the Pacific Council Dr. David Z. T. Yui of China was in the chair, filling as second vice-chairman the post successively vacated this year by Dr. Ray Lyman Wilbur and the Hon. Junno-

suke Inouye. Dr. Yui was asked to retain the chairmanship of the Council during its Nara sessions and until the regular business of election of officers for the coming biennium should be consummated. It was concurrently voted that Dr. Inazo Nitobé, Council member for Japan, be named chairman of the third biennial conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations at Kyoto.

Those attending this opening session were Dr. David Z. T. Yui, Chairman; J. Merle Davis, General Secretary; Frank C. Atherton, Honorary Treasurer; and, acting as national chairmen and secretaries, for China, L. T. Chen; for Canada, Hon. N. W. Rowell replacing Sir Robert Borden, and John Nelson; for Australia, Hon. F. W. Eggleston and G. F. Taylor; for the United States of America, Jerome D. Greene and E. C. Carter; for Britain, Lionel Curtis, with Lord Hailsham as alternate, and H. A. Wyndham; for Japan, Dr. Inazo Nitobé, with Baron Sakatani as alternate, and Soichi Saito; for New Zealand, W. B. Matheson, acting for Sir James Allen, and Dr. H. Belshaw, acting for Dr. Guy H. Scholefield.

At this session initial attention was given to a memoriam for the late Dr. Masataro Sawayanagi, Japan's Pacific Council member for the two past sessions of the conference. This gesture of respect was proposed by Mr. F. C. Atherton of Hawaii.

The General Secretary's biennial report, plus the individual department reports of the central headquarters, were then laid on the table for future consideration, and a nominations committee for Pacific Council officers was named by the chair. E. C. Carter of the American Council was elected chairman of the Program Committee.

At the second session of the Pacific Council on the morning of October 24 the several department reports—finance, research, information, conference and office—were introduced to the attention of the council by the individual department heads. At subsequent sessions preliminary proposals for future department work, together with tentative budgets, were considered without being finalized. The sessions came to an end at noon on Saturday, October 26, subject to the call of the chair during the succeeding two weeks. In the afternoon of that day the members devoted themselves to relaxation as the guests of the Governor of the Nara prefecture, in beautiful Nara park, before returning to Kyoto that evening.

Sunday saw the final gathering of conference members from their respective travels and vacationings over this part of the world. The Miyako Hotel, set on the inner rim of hills overlooking Kyoto, was the scene of great movement and interest. Here the Japanese preparation committee and the central headquarters staff had been functioning for two weeks on conference arrangements, welcoming the guests who poured in from all quarters of the globe, and setting up the machinery for the conference sessions.

Kyoto, looked at from the windows of conference headquarters, is a bowl filled with tiled Japanese roofs, knolls of trees, and temple enclosures. The undulating rim and sloping sides are soft and shadowy with evergreen, touched here and there with the delicate early tints of autumn maple, which will later become a glorious flame. The imperial palace grounds and parks, the gardens of Shinto shrines, are embroidered

with this coppery and crimson tracery. The narrow lanes of small shops, habitually gay with lanterns and banners, lend an air of festival to the commonest occupations of the city, tempting visitors from serious tasks to the pleasanter lure of loitering.

On the morning of Monday, October 28, the town took on still further aspects of festival. Trams and taxis were flaunting the red and white flags of Japan, public buildings had run up banners, and from the roof of the Miyako Hotel a great I. P. R. pennon fluttered. If the young Institute has a separate sentient entity it must, in its modesty, be a bit aghast at the attention here centered upon it. It is interesting to speculate upon the effect which this first flattering experience may be apt to have upon so youthful and, heretofore, so unassuming an institution!

The official opening of the Third Conference sessions took place at the Hinodé Auditorium in down-town Kyoto, before an international audience of several hundred local notables in addition to the conference membership. The membership this year has reached the peak of 214, the total being swelled to 335 by the presence of families. This large gathering filled the hall and was further augmented in various unlikely and precarious spots by the brigade of cameramen which has never been more than a few feet distant from the center of activities since the first few "distinguished visitors" began to gather in Kyoto.

The same enterprising newspapers responsible for the cameras, referred to this opening occasion as an "epochal parley" in which the beautiful haze of an autumnal day prevailed without and the clarity of international accord prevailed within.

The "epochal" event was in reality very simple—as befitted both the spirit of the Institute and the harmony of the setting against which it took place—a setting typically Japanese in the simplicity of undecorated gold screen in the background, dwarf pine and chrysanthemums to one side. The Pacific Council and speakers sat against this background.

Dr. Inazo Nitobé, Chairman of the Japan National Council and newly named chairman of the Conference, opened the program and the conference with an address which evoked much enthusiasm and which has been printed in full elsewhere in Pacific Affairs. Following in rapid order messages of greeting were read from Mr. Yuko Hamaguchi, Premier of Japan, Mr. Shinichi Sagami, Governor of the Prefecture, and Mr. Kahei Toki, Mayor of Kyoto. The latter gentlemen dwelt on the singular appropriateness of a gathering such as this in old "Hei-an," the Capital of Peace, which was the earliest name for Kyoto.

There was an astonishing array of cabled messages from overseas—read by the respective national group representatives. Mr. Eggleston of Australia had a premier's greeting in either pocket, he announced, but he read only that from the newly elected officer. Mr. MacKenzie King, premier of Canada, Dr. C. T. Wang, Minister for Foreign Affairs, China, Mr. Joseph Ward, Premier of New Zealand, and President Herbert Hoover of the United States sent felicitations. Dr. Y. Sugimura, Deputy Secretary-General of the League of Nations, Geneva, and Mr. G. A. Johnson of the International Labour Office, both spoke in person on the relationship existing between their two bodies and the Institute.

In response to these several greetings Lord Hailsham, of the British conference group, spoke in behalf of the overseas visitors, and J. Merle Davis, General Secretary of the Institute, drew interesting parallels of development and possible development, out of a sketch of the Institute's past.

The meeting then adjourned to the Miyako Hotel where a welcoming luncheon was held by the Japanese Council hosts for the conference members and their accompanying families. Dr. Nitobé acted as toastmaster after this luncheon, introducing Mr. T. Osawa, President of the Kyoto Chamber of Commerce, Dr. S. Shinjo, President of the Kyoto Imperial University, Dr. Chang Po-ling for China, Professor A. H. Charteris for the British Dominions, Dame Edith Lyttleton for the English group, and Roland W. Boyden for the United States. A message of goodwill from President Chiang Kai-shek of China was read.

In the evening of the same day, the 28th, at a meeting presided over by Dr. Nitobé, the leaders of the several national groups presented brief resumés of their group opening statements before members, families and a few invited guests, including representatives of the press. The meeting was opened by the reading of a paper prepared by Viscount Shibusawa, who was unable to be present.

Mr. Eggleston, for Australia, called attention to the New Pacific in the southern hemisphere, a country "blessed with no history," and occupied solely with constructive problems. He made an appeal for the regional approach to the problems of this general area.

Lord Hailsham, for England, reviewed Chinese-British relations since the last conference and spoke of Britain's mission in the mandated territories and in the protection of backward peoples.

Mr. Rowell for Canada called attention to the fact that the birthday of modern Japan and united Canada fell in the same year, 1867, and that this present year was made notable by the first exchange of ministers between those countries. He asked the conference, in considering problems of China's foreign relationships, to take cognizance of the complicated task which that country is facing, with confidence in its ultimate satisfactory outcome.

Dr. Yui for China emphasized the fact that his group was not here to cause embarrassment, air grievances or make demands, but to pool facts as gathered, and to learn from other friends such differing interpretations as there might be thereof.

Dr. Nitobé, stepping from the chair and speaking for the Japan Council, outlined briefly the process of Japan's development through the same trials as have been facing China, and expressed Japanese sympathy with the efforts of a sister nation.

Mr. Matheson for New Zealand presented his report unread and spoke instead of his group's intense appreciation of Japanese hospitality.

Mr. Benitez for the Philippines spoke of the humility which he felt in comparing the statements here made by independent nations, and the tremendous problems which they represented, with his own position, representing perhaps the last body of Christian people in this area which still remains a political dependency.

Mr. Jerome Greene, speaking for the United States, created a sensation by asking the indulgence of the assembly for a *lapsus linguae*—a lapse into his native tongue occasioned by the sentiments aroused in

him on this return to Kyoto, his boyhood home. He then spoke his appreciation in Japanese, to tremendous applause.

So, out of a somewhat tense medium, created by the knowledge that diverse forces had gathered to discuss extremely controversial and delicate facts, there developed on this opening day the harmonious and tolerant atmosphere necessary to the lucid and restrained discussion of these problems in the conference round tables.

The round tables were organized on Tuesday morning, the 29th, four simultaneous groups inaugurating the discussion of "The Machine Age and Traditional Culture." On the two succeeding days these groups dissolved into four new round tables, two of which continued the cultural discussion and two of which considered "The Economic Aspects of Industrialization" and "Food and Population Problems." Two days, November 1 and 2, were given to simultaneous discussions, within four groups, of China's Foreign Relations, specifically Extraterritoriality, and Concessions and Settlements. This general subject was scheduled to continue on Monday and Tuesday, November 4 and 5, under the specific subject, the Manchurian Question. Optional discussion syllabi were presented by the program committee after Wednesday, the 6th, on the Financial Elements in the Chinese Situation and Diplomatic Relations in the Pacific, with a return, on the part of certain groups, to a further consideration of the problem of China's concessions and settlements. Saturday, November 9, was reserved for national group meetings and international round tables to consider respectively the relationship of the Institute's national and international work, and the conduct of future conferences.

This round table program was supplemented by evening plenary sessions, partly in lecture and partly in discussion style, to which visiting families and the press were invited. Afternoons were left free for group and committee meetings, informal conversations and social events. The program of entertainment arranged by the Japanese Council was complete, even superlative, in every detail, providing not merely pleasant excursions and social diversion, but intimate glimpses into the life and charm of Japan which are privileges rarely accorded the foreign visitor.

Such was the setting, the opening, and the plan of this third conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations. Of the details of the developed program, the problems which arose and the fundamental queries to which the conduct of the conference gave rise, there is no opportunity here to treat, as the conference is still in progress while this manuscript is being written. Such a report will be reserved for the succeeding issue of PACIFIC AFFAIRS, together with an evaluation of the immense gains and possible losses accruing to the Institute plan from this highly important experiment of bringing its problems onto Japanese soil.

"An international mind is not the antonym of a national mind. . . . It is the expansion of the national, just as philanthropy or charity—if it is not to be the kind that increases directly with the square of the distance—should begin at home."

—DR. INAZO NITOBÉ,
in opening address, Hinode Hall, Kyoto, October 28th.

To Our Japanese Hosts

By Lord Hailsham

Response to Addresses of Welcome, Opening Meeting of the Kyoto Conference, October 28, 1929

It is no affectation to say that I feel a real diffidence in accepting the invitation of your Executive to respond for the delegates at this morning's meeting, and that diffidence has been greatly enhanced by the real eloquence of expression and beauty of thought that have characterized all the speeches to which we have listened and notably the presidential address which you, sir, have just delivered. It is no light task to attempt to express the corporate thought of a conference composed of no less than seven groups drawn from different races and widely separated areas of the globe and deliberately chosen in each group so as to represent the most diverse points of view. Nevertheless I am confident that I am fulfilling the wish of every delegate when I begin by expressing to the government and to the whole people of Japan, especially to the authorities and inhabitants of this province and city, our most sincere thanks for the opportunity which they have afforded to us of holding our meeting in their most beautiful country, and that I tender our deep appreciation for the hospitality and cordiality with which we have been received. As I came down to this hall I noticed that even the tram-cars were decorated in our honour; and the passes which have been showered upon us are a sore temptation to us to be deflected from the strict path of duty to the enjoyment of the scenic and historic beauties which surround us.

We know from the newspapers that at least one other great international conference is taking place in Tokyo coincidently with our own. As we pass through the countryside and walk along the city streets our eyes assure us that we have arrived at a busy season of the year; yet it is no exaggeration to say that our reception has proceeded as if the only preoccupation of the people of Japan was to devote themselves to our entertainment. I can only express the hope that the presence in this country of so many distinguished men in various walks of life and the opportunity which they are willing to give of hearing their views and of learning from their experience may be some recompense for all the hospitality and kindness with which we are surrounded.

And next, ladies and gentlemen, I think you would wish me to tender on behalf of us all our congratulations to our new president, Dr. Nitobé, on his accession to office. That at least was my thought when I came here. But as I have watched Dr. Nitobé and listened to him this morning, I have begun to wonder whether our congratulations ought not to be addressed rather to the conference for the privilege which it enjoys of having him as its president. Dr. Nitobé brings to the chair wide knowledge and experience in international gatherings. We are confident that the dignity and tact which we have learned to associate with his name will be manifest in his presidency during the ensuing fortnight and we shall be fortunate if in our discussions we are able to maintain that high level which he has set for us in his opening address. But I would warn

Dr. Nitobé that the presidency of this Institute is not without its dangers. Two years ago a distinguished American, Dr. Wilbur, was elected as the chairman of the Institute. Within the last few months he has been torn from his private avocation to fill an office of responsibility in the Cabinet of his country. He was succeeded by Mr. Inouye as the first vice president. Within a few months we find that Mr. Inouye has been chosen by the government of his country to fill one of the most responsible positions in the Ministry. So far Dr. Yui has avoided that danger but I think that more than one of us who have sat under him in the Pacific Council have thought that China is indeed fortunate if she has enough talent in her government to pass over such a man as Dr. Yui. It is perhaps with equal discretion and courtesy that Dr. Yui himself has suggested that the chair be filled by Dr. Nitobé, the Chairman of the group of that country in which the Conference is held. To all these gentlemen this Conference desires to express its high appreciation of the services which they have rendered to our movement.

I think, too, we must place on record our appreciation of the messages of encouragement and good will from so many of the leading statesmen and peoples represented here this morning. The fact that these men, full of the preoccupations of their high offices, have found time to send us these messages is in itself a testimony to the great place this Institute has already attained. And I think it is a tribute to the vision and prescience of those men who only a short five years ago in faraway Honolulu conceived the idea of this Institute and laid the foundations upon which we are hoping to build during the coming fortnight.

The very success which has attended their efforts brings dangers in its train. The more importance there is attaching to the meetings of this conference, the more temptation will exist for the government concerned to attempt to take an official part in our deliberations. That temptation, whether the governments have felt it or not, has been most gallantly resisted by the national councils concerned, for I am sure that most of us are convinced that one of the great features which characterize this conference and give it value is that fact that it is unofficial and that it represents no one government but all sections of opinion in every country. And as more and more attention is concentrated on our meetings, more and more does it become the duty and the desire of the press of all countries to give a full record of all that we are doing, and I hope that my friends of the press will not misunderstand me when I say that although we are most grateful to them for the fidelity and fullness with which they have recorded what we are doing so far, our conferences themselves must remain essentially private meetings.

Our whole object in conference is to endeavor by the frank interchange of opinion and of fact to suggest a solution of problems which if unsolved tend to threaten the peaceful relations of the people of this area; and it is an essential condition of such conferences that those who take part in them should be able frankly and fearlessly to express their whole hearts and whole minds untrammeled by any fear of embarrassment to their governments, or of the reaction upon themselves or upon their parties or upon public opinion which might result if their thoughts were too fully recorded. If the conferences were to become public, then

what was intended as a discussion with a view to reconciliation would soon become a public debate. The conference room would become the platform and we should find in the meetings of the Institute no real solution of difficulties but rather the enunciation of the views of conflicting elements upon the sounding board which the Institute would afford.

In truth the purpose with which we meet is well stated in the Constitution of our body: "The object of the Institute is to study the conditions of the Pacific peoples with a view to the improvement of their mutual relations." Study is the cardinal feature of our organization. Study by two methods: first, by the method of research; secondly, by the method of conference. The two things are essentially complementary. By research the facts are accumulated which render our discussions possible and profitable and which sometimes afford the key to the solution of the problems which we study. By conference, difficulties are brought to light; points upon which information is needed are laid bare. The lines of future research are laid at the same time that the fruits of research in the Pacific are coördinated and made available.

In the program which has been devised for our consideration at Kyoto, are the study of such problems as the machine age and industrialization, foreign relations of China, the tangled web of Manchuria, the old story of diplomatic relations in the Far East. There is in the program thus provided ample material to absorb the energies, to engage the best thought of the best minds that any of our nations can produce; but let us not forget that it is study and not decision for which the conference calls. I have been asked, if we reach no decisions what then is the use of this conference? For myself, I think there are two results to which I look forward. First of all, I think experience shows that where men of different nationalities, who have been studying separately the same problem but viewing it from the different angles of their own peoples, come together to discuss the points to which they have separately arrived, it may often happen that they will succeed in concert in hammering out a solution which none of them separately could have reached.

Secondly, since in our groups we represent not one but every school of thought in our respective countries, we who come to pool our experience and our wisdom, such as it be, gain by hearing from the other nations how the difficulties present themselves to their minds. We learn to see our nations in the light of other peoples and get other angles of thought. We learn to see ourselves as others see us, a gift which the great Scottish poet has indicated is one of the most desirable gifts that human experience can provide. And as we attain that wider comprehension we are able to go back to our home countries and to act to our own friends there as interpreters of those friends whom we have made abroad; we are able to put to our own people that point of view which leads to a fuller understanding and sweeps away the tendency of jealousy and mistrust which ignorance is apt to engender.

Such then is the nature of the results which these conferences have produced in the past and which I am confident they are capable of producing in the future. It is perhaps a fortunate thing that we are holding our conference in Japan, because my Japanese hearers will have in mind

the five articles which your great emperor Meiji laid down and proclaimed in the oath that he took at the time of the restoration not many years ago:

First, that all government affairs should be decided by public opinion;

Second, that all officials, civil and military, should with one heart devote themselves to the development of the national welfare;

Third, that justice and equity should be followed as the basis of action;

Fourth, that all people, official and non-official alike, should be allowed to realize their aspirations;

Fifth, that knowledge should be sought throughout the world and thus the Empire should be placed on a more solid foundation.

Surely that last principle especially, to search after knowledge throughout the world in order that the great empire of civilization and of peace should be placed on a more stable foundation, may well be taken as the foundation and keynote of the Institute of Pacific Relations. It is true that the term "Pacific Relations" describes only a geographical area and not a political state. I might almost be tempted to add that some of us who have recently traversed the Pacific Ocean have felt a doubt whether the term "pacific" is altogether justified, but I think that none the less the Institute of Pacific Relations may well become an Institute of pacific relationships between the nations represented in our body. We have been reminded that we are meeting in the city which bore the ancient title Hei-an, place of peace. I have read that the topmost ridge of the sacred mountain under whose shadow we meet is known in this province by the title of Shimigatake, or the place of the four points of the compass, and that that name is given to it in poetic allusion to the light which floods the mind from all sides when the truths of religion are clearly understood.

Is it too much to hope that as we people from the North, the South, the East and the West meet together under the shadow of that mountain and in this city, the light that we shall collectively be able to bring on the problems set for our consideration will serve to illuminate the darkest places which still remain, and that that light will sweep away forever the age-long mists engendered by mutual jealousy, hatred and mistrust between our peoples? So indeed, this city at which our deliberations are to be held, may justify its ancient title and be known as the home of peace.

"Foreign friends insist that no steps be taken in the direction of abolishing extraterritoriality until China has first cleaned her house, apparently forgetting that one of the factors which makes it extremely difficult for her to do so is the muddy boots of her guests."

—David Z. T. Yui,
in opening statement, Kyoto, October 28th.

"I am inclined not to agree with the philosopher who, in propounding the distinction between substance and matter, said that 'in the Orient everything Occidental is accidental.'"

—G. A. Johnson,
Observer from the International Labour Office, Geneva, Kyoto, October 28th.

Will Kyoto Find the Trail?

By J. Merle Davis

Address by the General Secretary of the Institute at the Opening Session of the Third Biennial Conference, Kyoto, Japan, October 28, 1929

The third biennial conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations which is being opened today and at which I am privileged to represent the Central Secretariat has been called a significant meeting. We are told that the eyes of many are turned upon it and that important results affecting the relations of the peoples of the Pacific area are expected from it. The significance of these statements is due to the fact that this meeting is not an isolated event. This conference is a part of a developing process and the embodiment of a living spirit. This conference possesses a heritage of meetings which have preceded it and of effective labor that has been proceeding for several years in the countries of the Pacific area. It is of this background and inheritance that I will first speak.

The first meeting of the Institute of Pacific Relations held in Honolulu in 1925 was frankly an experiment in human relations. Its assets were good will, a determination to understand and to be understood, and the capacity to be utterly frank with one another. Among its liabilities were the total lack of precedent for such a gathering, a shortage of data, of facts pertinent to the discussion, and the absence of some of the principals to the discussions undertaken.

The second meeting two years later built upon this experience by making an earnest effort to supply both data and a wider group of participants. In this third conference the process of widening and undergirding the Institute has been carried still further. A creditable mass of data has been gathered; an eminent and expert personnel has been assembled, and the conference itself has been convened in a region of the Pacific which furnishes some of the most vital questions that appear upon its agenda.

The unique character of the Institute of Pacific Relations must be kept clearly in mind in this connection. It is inevitable that in evaluating the Institute it should be compared with other international organizations, but as a matter of fact there are none that are analogous to it. The League of Nations, the Pan-Pacific and the Pan-American Unions, international associations for the promotion of education, trade, science, art or religion, while having some common elements, each differs in certain vital respects. Consequently one must measure the Institute of Pacific Relations by new yard sticks which are found in the changed world conditions from which the Institute has emerged.

As stated in the Constitution, "The object of the Institute is to study the conditions of the Pacific peoples with a view to the improvement of their mutual relations." For the attainment of its objective, the Institute of Pacific Relations is not only a voluntary association of groups of peoples in the nations of the Pacific area, but it is an unofficial grouping of those peoples. It is an association for the study and discussion of mutual problems, the problems of adjustment arising from the meeting

of the diverse civilizations of this area. The Institute is not concerned with propaganda nor the formation or support of policies. An Institute leader in Japan aptly characterized the Institute of Pacific Relations by saying: "We Japanese are interested in this Institute because it comes with nothing to sell, nothing to teach and nothing to preach, in short, nothing to put over on the Far East."

The Institute of Pacific Relations is a spontaneous movement. To those who have watched the progress of events in the Pacific area since 1914 there is no mystery about the origin of the Institute. There is a certain logic in its appearing at this time. The machinery by which men have been dealing with one another since the beginnings of history has been evolved on the basis of the inevitability of war, the dominance of the few and the acquiescence of the masses. Since 1914 a world-tide born of a new vision has been rising, and certain new principles of international relations have been invoked:—the rights of the weak, open diplomacy, self-determination, the intelligence of the many. The Institute of Pacific Relations has been generated by this tide and now emerges as one of the mechanisms which the new era provides for meeting its requirements.

But the Institute of Pacific Relations is in essence a regional movement. It has come into being because of the new Pacific era and the special requirements of the peoples of the Pacific area. The conditions under which this era is developing and the problems of the peoples of this area in meeting one another are unique in modern history. Its peoples, while heavily indebted to European experience and achievement, have determined not to be limited by the European pattern. History is making progress with such speed that it may be possible for mankind in the East to leap from peak to peak of achievement which in the West were ascended only by laborious valley trails. And just as it is a question for China whether she should henceforth omit the steam railway stage of national communication and concentrate upon the development of aerial transportation, so the Pacific peoples are feeling their way toward the creation of new mechanisms of dealing with one another. Their comparative absence of inherited antagonisms and any consciousness of historic injuries and alignments makes possible a degree of mutual confidence in the Pacific region that is a guaranty of progress and cooperation. Where it is probable that the people of the Atlantic area know one another too well, the men of the Pacific are still in the period of mutual discovery, a process that has possibilities for enriching and cementing life in this part of the world.

"To what concrete accomplishments can the Institute of Pacific Relations point?" is a question that is frequently asked. The answer is qualified by the definition of the term, "accomplishment." This is further conditioned by the conception of the objective of the Institute of Pacific Relations. If it is conceived to be a mechanism only for the immediate settlement of international disputes and the speedy solution of questions of interracial tension, the questioner will doubtless be disappointed. Even here, however, the unofficial discussions at Honolulu may furnish the sort of added light needed by governments in deciding on modifications of policy.

If on the other hand the Institute of Pacific Relations is conceived as a device for the study and discussion of the underlying factors that condition the harmonious adjustment of the peoples of the Pacific one to another, and for the furthering of a better understanding, a deeper respect and livelier good will,—in short, if the Institute of Pacific Relations is engaged in meeting the fundamental issues of the Pacific area and is taking the long look and the objective attitude born of the long look, then the seeker of concrete results will not be disappointed, although only the foundations of the structure have been laid. The fact that after four years and two biennial conferences the members of the Institute team are still harmoniously pulling together in spite of such formidable obstacles as the greatest of oceans rolling between them, language differences and various interpretations of the common task, is in itself an achievement that gives promise of greater service.

The Institute of Pacific Relations has already evidenced the value of certain distinguishing characteristics which are worth mentioning, such as the discovery that by working together upon a common task men are drawn near to one another in sympathies and understanding. Out of this coöperative effort comes the realization of a solidarity of interests among the peoples—of the fact that the problem of one nation may be the problem of all, and that the experience of each group in any of the fields under investigation is made available to all. There are few self-contained countries in the Pacific. The growth of trade and specialization of industry have been knitting us of this area into a vast fabric the sudden rupture of any strand of which would mean almost irreparable destruction.

In the philosophy of the Institute of Pacific Relations the preëminent value of the differences between the peoples of the Pacific area is fundamental. It is true that the contrasts in race, philosophy, social institutions, government and religion that exist in the Pacific area present problems of adjustment and of synthesis sufficient to challenge the earnest efforts of experts in each of the countries concerned. But in this variety of ideals, and in the various ways of life lies also the hope of the Pacific future. The Pacific area, from this viewpoint, is conceived as a neighborhood composed of different folk with different ways of looking at life, various opinions and individual faces. It is a community which exists and thrives because of the different contributions each member makes to the community life.

By the same token, it is reasonable to look on the differences in philosophy, in temperament, in social customs and aesthetic values as priceless sources of enrichment to the life of the neighborhood. The Institute of Pacific Relations does not propose to iron out these differences nor to facilitate the process of domination on the part of any one culture pattern over the rest, but rather does it hope to make the contribution of each available and serviceable to all. It believes that two types of culture, developing separately for many ages and having at last met, are each essential to the other if each is to present a balanced and stable entity. The force, practicality, impetuosity and individualism of the West can well be supplemented by the elements of self-control, dignity, aesthetic appreciation and social solidarity of the East. Both civilizations contain within themselves the seeds of decay, but each has the possibility of providing for the other an antidote for this decay.

It has been said that the Institute of Pacific Relations is discussing and researching upon problems between the nations for which the only historic solution has been war. But we must realize that new tribunals have appeared for the measurement of national problems and policies. Science, the laboratory, economic theorems are accepted today in all the countries around the Pacific. They speak a common language on the basis of a logic that is inexorable, and that makes possible a universal appeal to reason which was absent until very recent times. It is not sentiment or patriotism alone that is invoked today in the capitals of the world, but facts and figures, facts which all parties to the problem have a share in preparing, facts which are accessible to all, discussed by all and which must stand ready for any possible challenge.

The Institute method is conceived as a continuous process, conference stimulating research, research strengthening discussion and providing new data for progressive conference work, while the findings of both create a basis for better understanding on the part of all concerned.

The conference, therefore, is not a place where unanimity of opinion is sought. Rather, it is a forum for the expression of divergent opinions based on individual experiences and conviction based on an understanding of facts. The round table provides a clearing house for data and for varying interpretations of the same data. It is scarcely necessary to state that the conception of the round table as an opportunity for one group to match strength against another or as a place where any group is to be put on the defensive is wholly foreign to the spirit of the Institute.

We will do well to bear constantly in mind the serious handicap which the Eastern members of the conference have accepted in working with foreign tools of language, organization, technique and approach to the great issues which they have agreed to discuss and study. This willingness of the Far Eastern members to conduct the discussions in a foreign language is a splendid example of sportsmanship, and offers a challenge to the West in meeting the psychological factors involved. The East finds it as difficult to understand the impetuous approach of the Westerner to Oriental problems as the West does the polite reticence and deliberation of the East. This psychological contrast conditions every step of the enterprise—its discussions, decisions of policies and program, its research and publicity. It is as basic as the very atmosphere of the conference, nor is the problem made less difficult by reason of the fact that not a few members of this conference may never recognize it as a problem at all.

This third meeting of the Institute will test the soundness of the organization as it has not yet been tested. It will throw light on the question as to whether the movement is ready to leave the quiet cradle in which it has been nurtured and is sturdy enough to encounter the buffetings of a realistic and disillusioned world. It will demonstrate whether questions of vital concern to the honor and welfare of great peoples can be put to the test of objective discussion. It will challenge the participants to the exercise of their imagination, self-control, and respect for one another as well as for scientific data. A new technique of reaching international understanding is on trial here in these succeeding days. Honolulu has pointed the way. Can Kyoto find the trail?

Premier Hamaguchi's Greeting

TRANSLATION OF THE PRIME MINISTER'S ADDRESS READ AT THE OPENING CEREMONY OF THE THIRD BIENNIAL CONFERENCE OF THE INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS, KYOTO, OCTOBER 28TH, 1929.

Mr. Chairman, members of the Third Biennial Conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations, ladies, and gentlemen:

It is my high privilege to welcome you to Japan in the name of the Japanese Government, and I account it such because, personally, I appreciate the work of your Institute to the full and pray for a happy result of your labours.

I understand that you are about to discuss among other matters the questions of the contact of alien civilizations; and what better forum could you find than Japan, where the two principal streams of our modern civilization converge and where one can watch the reaction of one upon the other, generally peaceful, in rare cases, jarring. To what extent and by what methods a satisfactory synthesis can be made of these systems of culture is indeed a matter for grave discussion, affording a problem, in the solution of which the Institute can properly play a leading part. In all Japan no more fitting place could be found as the stage for your debates than Kyoto, which is a classic center of Japanese civilization and culture. In this haunt of ancient peace, your deliberations cannot but be permeated by a feeling of amity and kindness; so that we may be sure that even the discussion of controversial questions, which it may be impossible altogether to avoid, will be accompanied with no danger of developing heat or acrimony and that a general good understanding on all such subjects will be the outcome.

In the Pacific area the ever-increasing intensity of human activity has unrivalled opportunities for elevating civilization to a still higher plane than it has yet attained. We are, on our part, pledged to curtail our national armaments so far as may be consistent with the safety of the realm and to cultivate the most amicable relations between Japan and the rest of the world, thus playing our part in furthering universal peace and the welfare of mankind. I can accordingly assure you, ladies and gentlemen, that the Institute of Pacific Relations commands the fullest sympathy of my Government and, on its behalf, I wish you every success in the important task on which you are embarking.

"I propose to lay before you this hypothesis: that not only is the machine a step forward in the progress of culture, it is so great a step, the era that it inaugurates is so different from all preceding, that, viewed in the perspective of history as a whole, the introduction of science is the beginning of culture—the beginning of civilization. Behind us lie the barbaric centuries; before us the possibility, the dream and the promise of intelligent life."

DR. JAMES T. SHOTWELL,
evening forum on the Machine Age and Culture, Kyoto, October 29th.

"If this conference has significance, it is because it is not an isolated event. It has the heritage of a past, and it looks forward to a future."

—J. MERLE DAVIS,
in report of General Secretary—October 28th.

Governor Sagami's Greeting

DELIVERED AT OPENING MEETING, HINODE AUDITORIUM, KYOTO, OCT. 28, 1929, BY THE GOVERNOR OF KYOTO PREFECTURE.

Your Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen:

On behalf of the people of the Prefecture of Kyoto, I have the honour to extend to you our most cordial greetings and a hearty welcome to Kyoto, the oldest and most beautiful city in our country.

With the rush and bustle of modernization in recent years, we Japanese, I am afraid, have not been able to snatch the time for a proper appreciation of the beauties and wonders that Nature in her bounty has bestowed on us, however, it is fortunate indeed for us that this ancient city, known as the "Capital of Peace" for more than one thousand years, could happily stand against the modern trend of the times and retain and conserve for itself, and for us who love it, most of the elements of ancient Japanese beauty and elegance that has made this city noted throughout the world.

Today, Kyoto represents, happy to say, all that is best in our culture and arts and we hope it will ever remain so.

You have conferred on us a high honour by your selection of this ancient city as the venue for your deliberations and we fully appreciate it. An international gathering of such brilliant minds and talents, convened to work amongst us on such an inspiring and notable cause is something that will always be a happy and proud memory to us.

It is a significant fact that the present century has seen the shifting of the centre of world affairs from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean, and the nations whose shores are washed by her seas should unite and strive for a stable and permanent basis for peace, understanding, and mutual coöperation.

It is our most earnest desire that your work and efforts will be blessed and crowned by success and we wish that you will have a fruitful and happy time amongst us and that when you leave our shores you will return to your respective countries and homes with the feeling and conviction that the Japanese people are eager and anxious for peace and coöperation, in friendship and understanding, with our neighbors and friends.

"Those who regret to see the rise of new and less distinctive schools of art in the Orient would in effect put a stop to creative development. In our ancient art the convention was rigid, limiting creativity and naturalness. It is said that Japanese art is deteriorating through imitation of the West, but actually our modern conventional artists are deteriorating through an imitation of the old. Though the new forms may as yet be crude, they are transitional, and they offer new media and new creative avenues."

—Japanese statement in discussion of Cultural Modifications.

"May Kyoto beat Honolulu."

—SIR FREDERICK WHYTE'S *cabled greeting to the Conference—October 28.*

The Contribution of the Press to International Relations

An Address Delivered in Japanese at a Public Meeting of the 3rd Biennial Conference on Friday Evening, November 1, 1929

By Dr. D. C. Wu

Nations are like individuals. To live a life all by one's self is impossible. This is especially true in these days of easy communication. Nations or countries formerly quite apart are now brought into close and constant contact and and have to live like neighbors.

It needs scarcely be said that in these elbow-rubbing days, the well-being of one country depends in a large measure upon its relations with the surrounding countries. Indeed, the well-being of the whole world often hinges upon the relations of two particular countries.

We know from history that hitherto the relation among nations assumes one of two forms; peace or war. There has been no consistent policy. War might be declared upon one neighboring country and peace concluded with another. With reference to the same neighboring country, war might be waged during one period, and peace concluded during another. The press, or indeed any other agent of publicity, has always been instrumental in bringing about either war or peace. The press, like the government under which it operated, had no consistent policy either.

But since 1918 the wind seems to have changed its direction. The Great War proved a lesson to the belligerent as well as non-belligerent countries. They were brought to see that modern warfare is no solution of international problems, not even a method of redressing a country's grievances, or a means for making up a country's losses sustained in other ways. Before the modern tribunal of Mars, justice is accorded to none, but penalty and punishment to all who participate. They were brought to see, therefore, that international disputes must be settled, if settled at all, through peaceful and amicable means. The Kellogg Anti-war Pact is nothing but the culmination of this slow and painful process of realization as to the futility of war, to say nothing of its destructiveness.

But the anti-war pact will forever remain a pact on paper, if no effort is made to render it a living reality in the hearts of men. So to make it will necessarily call for the service of popular education. And certainly of all organs of popular education, none is more effective and far-reaching than the press, particularly the newspaper press. Were it only possible that the newspapers of all countries could devote a few paragraphs, or even a few lines, to the cultivation of what might be called the anti-war sentiment, war would become obsolete in one or two generations. Such a sentiment, like patriotism, needs to be cultivated and kept vital. Just to raise a hue-and-cry against the spectre of war when it is already imminent is not only quite useless, but may precipitate disaster all the sooner.

The newspapers can do many things for popular education. Comparative studies in culture, recent progress in science, are certainly rich fields in which to labour. But for the present, certainly no field deserves more attention than the one of international ethics. The spirit that is embodied in the Anti-War Pact must be perpetually kept alive, and made to permeate the thoughts and feelings of all men. News and discussions on international affairs will not be wanting, but they must be presented in such a way as to engender the sense of justice, the desire to understand and the feeling of sympathy. When a newspaper man will have become at the same time an educator, and truthfulness and a keen sense of justice an integral part of his professional ethics, the world will then be on the way to a better social order.

I for one would be willing to commit myself to the task of educating the Chinese people to a sense of international equity and justice, to a love of peace and of peaceful settlement of international disputes. Indeed, for about a decade past I have been largely engaged in the work of the Ta Kung Pao, (called in French L'Impartial) a daily newspaper in Tientsin, the Kuo Wen Weekly, and the Kuo Wen News Agency, all of which are well known to my compatriots in the audience. I sincerely hope that the press in this country will join us in this common enterprise of a new type of popular education.

A word more before I leave the platform. The Japanese and Chinese, both being Oriental peoples, are richly endowed with emotions. There is then the danger in the two peoples of letting these emotions play a much stronger role in our attitudes toward each other than our reason, whereas reason after all should be the supreme arbiter of our opinions, judgments and actions. And it is here that the press may contribute toward what I may call the rationalization of our emotions. I believe the duty of the journalists of the two countries lies in supplying to the public every morning or evening something that resembles a cold shower, a potion that cools our heads and makes us rational beings, but not heated draughts that intoxicate us and call forth the basest of human instincts. I believe I am not exaggerating if I say that the happiness of all the peoples lies in the hands of the pressmen.

"As space is a factor in determining architectural forms, so time is a great factor in determining manners. Etiquette and ceremony were the outgrowth of a leisurely existence. Today we have no time for politeness!"

—*Chinese statement in discussion of Cultural Modifications.*

"The Philippines has only one big question, and that is independence."

—Dean Conrado Benitez,
in opening statement, Kyoto, October 28th.

"The problems which arise when two different civilizations meet could, I am certain, be better solved by the building of friendships than of warships."

Dr. S. Shinjo,
President Imperial University of Kyoto, at welcoming tiffin, October 28th.

The Little Conference

Entertainment Features

Every conference orator, however silver-tongued, has found words failing him in any attempted reference to the quality and spirit of Japanese hospitality. Each one has been obliged to turn to the simplest, most unassuming phrases in order to express what this hospitality has meant and what have been its reverberations in the hearts of every one. It is significant that no grandiloquent terms can do it justice, and therefore none but the most simple and sincere have yet been used.

Any complete record of Japanese conference hospitality would necessarily include the friendliness of the man in the street; the patience and forbearance of the great body of public servants in trams and trains, taxis, stations, post offices and everywhere that this flood of incomprehensible foreigners eddied about. It would have to record the helpfulness of students; the generosity of private citizens; the gayety of entertainers; the hospitality of officials; and the smiling attention of the humblest servitors. But there is no space here for such a chronicle, and this record must be content briefly to recount the official entertainments arranged through the Japanese Preparation Committee and enjoyed by the conference members as a body. That is in itself a task.

The first affair of importance which members were invited to attend in Kyoto (although not all had arrived) was a special grandstand viewing of the *Jidai Matsuri,* the Autumn Festival procession which, augmented from place to place, tours the entire city of Kyoto for the better part of the day on October 22 and marches at last under the huge red torii and into the gardens of the Heian Shrine. This is a religious festival of great significance whose associations are closely tied in with the historical and the patriotic. To the foreigner who has studied the old life of Japan it is like seeing pages of history come alive as section after section, gorgeously costumed, wend by—a pilgrimage of daimyos bearing tribute—an ancient noble's hunting party—the famous archer band of Yoshitsune—the retainers of the Emperor Meiji going to battle—a procession of priests and abbots, themselves modern, yet much as they might have been in Hideyoshi's day.

The second event was in Nara at the close of the four-day session of the Pacific Council, when the Mayor and the Governor of the prefecture entertained the foreign guests and several thousand sacred deer at tea. The guests were sheltered in a charming pavilion in the park while the ceremony of calling in the wandering deer was performed, and the four-footed guests were entertained with dried sweet potatoes and biscuits in a lovely green glade of the garden just without.

The formal affairs began in Kyoto with the opening luncheon tendered by Dr. and Mrs. Inazo Nitobé and the Japanese Council to the foreign visitors on October 28—in the dining room of the Miyako hotel, overlooking a vista of green and crimson autumn hillsides. On the fol-

lowing afternoon, the 29th, the Japanese hostess committee entertained at tea in the lounge of the Miyako hotel.

On the afternoon of October 30 came the first of several rare privileges accorded the conference visitors—privileges that meant more than all the public entertaining that could possibly have been done. Members and families were invited into the privacy of the Nomura summer villa in the hills near the Miyako in order to observe the intricacies of "Chano-yu," the tea ceremony famed in the annals of Japan. This ceremonial preparation and partaking of tea was witnessed, shared in and explained in the several tea houses scattered through the beautiful grounds of the estate; but the privilege of wandering through these exquisite private gardens, of seeing rare bits of intimate beauty seldom visible to foreign eyes, of feeling the true inwardness of Japan's esthetic sense as expressed in home surroundings, was one to be particularly prized.

On the afternoon of November first the Japanese Council was host to an outing party on patriarchal Hiei-zan, the venerable guardian mountain of Kyoto, famed for its high secluded temples and its thousands of fighting monks who in the ancient days might at any moment swarm from their impregnable retreats and come down into the world of turmoil there to ally themselves with one or another of the warring lords. From that height these modern visitors were swung down by suspension cable car to the shores of Japan's treasure lake, beautiful Lake Biwa, and for a boat trip upon her placid bosom.

On November 2nd Baron and Baroness Fujimura entertained with a garden party in the incomparable hillside gardens of the Inabata estate. This was another of those glimpses into intimate beauty that was so much a privilege of this conference. In addition, most elaborate arrangements had been made for entertainment—a series of beautiful dances, staged on a high level lawn overlooking the wooded ravines, rushing waterfalls and quiet pools of the garden; a chrysanthemum exhibit and an exhibit of famous Kyoto brush artists at work; music of many varieties, and tea.

On Sunday, November 3, the visitors were the guests of the municipality of Osaka for the day, a special train taking them in the forenoon to Osaka station where reserved tram cars, beflagged and beflowered, took them to a reception and luncheon party arranged by the mayor and other authorities in the municipal hall. Luncheon was followed by a specially arranged performance of the most famous puppet artists in Osaka, noted for its puppet stage, and this was in turn followed by a tour of the most interesting modern and ancient sections of the city.

On November 4th Nijo Palace, one of the oldest in Kyoto, was opened for an inspection of its magnificent apartments, decorated lavishly by the most famous colour artists of ancient Japan and rich in historical association both with the early Shogun era and the imperial restoration.

On November 6th Mrs. T. Osawa threw open her lovely home in afternoon hospitality to the conference guests.

On November 7th the Imperial Household sent a representative to Kyoto in the person of Baron Hayashi to welcome the entire gathering to the Shugakuin Palace gardens, where they were entertained at tea

following a leisurely and extended stroll through landscaping of the most superlative natural and artistic beauty—gardens that are seldom seen by human eyes, other than those of the keepers, from year's end to end. No one who looked upon this loveliness of autumn mists in dark ravines, vistas of soft blue-grey hills rolling earthward, erratic pine and crimson maple mirrored in still lakes, could forget one of the greatest beauties that man has ever contrived with nature's aid.

The Kyoto Imperial University held a conference reception on the afternoon of November 8th, and the Governor, Mayor and other dignitaries of Kyoto prefecture were hosts to an elaborate garden-party fair in the park adjoining the Heian Shinto shrine, on the afternoon of Saturday the 9th. This was the last official affair in Kyoto before a special train transferred the conference bodily to Tokyo on Sunday, the 10th.

There were further entertainments in Tokyo. Baron Mitsui invited the guests to a special *Nō* dance performance in the private theatre of his home on the afternoon of the 11th, and in the evening of the same day Baron Dan, President of the Japan Industry Club, was host at a soireé held in the Club's reception rooms in Marunouchi.

On the 12th Viscount Shibusawa honored Institute members with a reception and luncheon on one of the floors of the Tokyo Kai-kan. The autumn woodland had moved into the dining hall for the occasion, and it was fresh with tall green pines and spreading maples in crimson foliage and with gnarled old persimmon trees bearing their gay colored fruit. The Viscount spoke a simple and friendly welcome which was responded to by the Hon. Newton D. Rowell for the Pacific Council.

Guests were transported directly after luncheon to the Imperial Gardens where his Imperial Majesty had graciously invited the foreign guests to view the magnificent display of chrysanthemums which the season then afforded. The great park was a moving mass of brilliant color as the streams of visitors in ceremonial wear converged along the avenues from the several gateways and awaited the coming of his Majesty and attendant members of the royal family. After their passing the guests sauntered at will through the flower gardens and along thicket-bordered paths, enjoying the stately beauties of the place. Tea was served on the wide pleasaunce near the main gateway.

The Hon. Junnosuke Inouye, Minister of Finance and past chairman of the Institute's Pacific Council, entertained at luncheon on the 13th, and on that same afternoon Foreign Minister Shidehara held a garden party and reception.

This completes the round of elaborate official entertaining which attended the conference, itself contributing much to the atmosphere and temper of the gathering and to the insight and comprehension of the foreign members. This takes no account of the personal entertainment which every conference visitor enjoyed at the hands of individuals and groups, or of innumerable charming excursions and explorations taken with Japanese friends. Those things have passed into the rich personal heritage of all of us and do not submit themselves to documentation. But they do constitute, nevertheless, some of the most vital by-products of the conference in Japan.

—E. G.

The Originality of Japanese Civilization

By Arthur Waley

There exists in Europe a notion that Japanese civilization is purely derivative. The fault is indirectly that of medieval Japanese commentators who, more as a kind of learned game than as a result of any definite conviction, tried to affiliate the whole of Japanese literature to corresponding Chinese works. Thus *The Pillow Book* of Sei Shōnagon was matched with the *Tsa Tsuan* of the T'ang poet Li Shang-yin, *The Tale of Genji* made a descendant of the Historical Records by Ssu-ma Ch'ien, and for every poet in the *Manyōshū* [1] Chinese prototype was found.

I do not think that those parallels were meant to be taken very seriously. No one who had read both books could suppose that the spirited *Pillow Book* was in any sense an imitation of the dull and humdrum *Tsa Tsuan*.

What those scholiasts were seeking to establish was, as I have said, an affiliation—a sort of schematic relationship between the literature of the two countries: and in this attempt they were obviously influenced by the success of Japanese theology in working out a scheme by which each of the Buddhas and Bodhisatvas is shown to manifest himself, disguised but recognizable, in some native divinity of Japan. What, indeed, these critics sought to imply was not definite literary imitation but a sort of spiritual kinship. In recent times this has been misunderstood, and many statements about the influence of Chinese upon native Japanese literature have been repeated by Western writers, who had no idea that they were subscribing to an obscure form of medieval mysticism.

As regards art, the prejudice is one that the West has arrived at independently. There is among many European collectors a notion that a work of art loses its beauty from the moment that it can be proved to be Japanese, not Chinese.

A lady the other day brought a piece of wood-carving to the British Museum. "Aren't they wonderful, these old Chinese artists?" and she caressed the wooden figure. Told, however, that as a matter of fact it was Japanese, not Chinese, she exclaimed in horror, "Oh! my husband will be disappointed!" and turned upon the work of the "wonderful old artist" a look of contempt and disgust.

In these notes I am going to discuss one or two aspects of Japanese originality. In doing so, I do not of course mean to deny the immense influence of China on Japan any more than I would deny the influence of Greece on Rome.

The Early Poetry

It is not possible that the rest of the world will ever realize the importance of Japanese poetry, because of all poetries it is the most completely untranslatable. Its beauty consists in the perfection with which a thought and a body of sound are fitted into a small rigid frame. An *uta* runs into its mould like quicksilver into a groove. In transla-

[1] The earliest collection of Japanese poetry.

tion, only the thought survives; the poem no longer "goes," any more than a watch goes if you take its works out of their casing and empty them upon a sheet of paper. In the few examples that I am about to give, the reader must for himself discover the *possibility* of poetry. If he is a poet, this will present no difficulty; just as a watch-maker would see in the scattered springs and wheels the possibility of a watch.

It is in its folk-songs that the *Manyōshū* comes nearest to European poetry and yet at the same time displays its greatest originality. For in their set pieces the Court writers were bent not so much on expressing themselves in poetry, as on showing that what had been done by poets in China could also be done by poets in Japan. Take the following two songs, robbed in English of all their poetry, at least as statements marked by a magnificent simplicity:

I have got her,
Have got Yasumiko;
She who for any man
Was thought hard to get,
Yasumiko I have got!

The men of valour
Have gone to the great hunt;
The noble ladies
Are trailing their red petticoats
Over the clean sea-beach.

Or this:

He. Dawn, dawn, dawn! the crows are calling.
She. Let them cry!
For round the little tree-tops
Of yonder mountain
The night is still.

The following two songs are also from the *Manyōshū*:

Clear as gleams the road
That to-day the workmen were digging
I have heard it at last,
The tale that of my lady is told!

My hand that is sore
With pounding the rice,
To-night again
The young lord's son—
Will he hold it and sigh?

If we seek a parallel to such folk-epigrams as this, wholly devoid of learned or literary influences, it will be in the *coplas* of Southern Spain:

Tu querer es como el toro	Your love is like the bull,
Donde lo llaman, va;	Where they call him, he goes;
Y el mio como la piedra,	But mine like the stone,
Donde la ponen, s'esta.	Where they put it, it stops.

But whereas a *copla* rises to the height of poetry only in one example out of several thousand, the *uta* produced, in every country from the seventh to the thirteenth centuries, an ample succession of exquisite verses:

If but a seed shall fall,
Even among the waterless stones
A tree will grow.
If you love and I love
Can it be we shall never meet?

10th century.

As stung by tempests
A wave I have seen
Dash itself against the rocks,
So in these bitter hours myself only
Am by my thoughts destroyed.

End of 10th century.

Like the waters of a river
That by a great rock are divided
In the swift flow of the stream—
Though our ways seem to have parted
I know that in the end we shall meet.

Middle of 12th century.

And I will add a 20th century example:

By the sound of the samisen
Alone they live—
These ancient streets
Of the river-mouth,
Through which at night I love to roam!

But to return for a moment to the *Manyōshū*. Perhaps the most completely unique and original poems which it contains are the narrative poems which Europeans, for want of a better term, have usually called ballads, though in their smooth grace they are far indeed removed from the poetry that the West has called by this name. Of these the most celebrated is *The Fisher-boy of Urashima,* which I here give in a new version,[2] since the rhymed one by Professor Chamberlain seems to me unsatisfactory. It is, however, impossible in English to do justice to the delicate undulating movement which pervades the original from the first line to the last.

THE FISHER-BOY OF URASHIMA
An 8th Century Japanese Ballad.

One day in spring
Watching upon a tall cliff all alone
I saw the fishing boats rocking and rocking
Down in the misty bay, and to my mind there came
This tale of long ago.

There was a boy of Urashima
In Mizunoye, who so eagerly
Followed his fishing that in seven days
He came not home, nor brought his load in
Of tunny-fish and bream. One day it happened
While he was rowing over the waves alone
He found a maiden, a princess of the sea,
And took her for his love, and lay with her.

[2] By Beryl de Zoete.

To the immortal world under the sea
He went down with her gladly; hand in hand
Those two went down to the Sea-King's city,
Together stood before his throne.
In that world life is unending and always lovely,
There is no change, sickness nor decay.

The boy was simple; he came from another world.
One day he spoke to his lady, praying her:
"Let me go up to the world above the sea
Not for long, for a day let me go up
And see my father and mother and come back
To-morrow." So he spoke—"To-morrow."
"I wonder if you will come back," she said.
No more—but took a box and gave it to him.
"Never, never must you open this box if you would
come again."
He went up with it to the world of men.
He looked for his village, but could not find it,
Looked for his home in vain.
"How strange," he said. "How strange! Three years only
I have lived under the sea. How could all vanish,
Leave no trace, not a hedge, a broken wall?
Can it be she is a witch
And has laid a spell on all my home things
To hide them from me? If I look in," he said,
"I shall see it all as it was before."
He raised the lid. "What harm if I look in?"
He opened wide the precious box . . .
Out of the box a cloud came tumbling
And crept in white trails to the shore.
Then horror seized him: he screamed and ran,
His sleeves flapping. . . He ran and stumbled,
Rose and fell again.
He writhed upon the ground, his heart suddenly
Grew faint, his strength failed him, his young skin
Withered in a moment, his flesh dried up.
His black shining hair grew dull and gray.
Moaning, moaning, drawing each breath with pain
A little while he struggled . . .

And still they tell where once the house was
Of the fisher-boy of Urashima
In Mizunoye.

The Nō Plays

It is as regards the Nō plays (14th and 15th centuries) that the Japanese have been most anxious to acknowledge a debt where none existed. The theory that they were an imitation of the Yüan dynasty dramas was not the result of a comparison between the two, for the Chinese

[8] China, 13th and 14th centuries.

plays were written in colloquial, which was not studied in Japan at the time when the theory first arose. It was simply an assumption that, since the theatre flourished in the two countries at about the same time, the Japanese drama must necessarily have been modelled on the Chinese. Such an idea could not possibly survive the reading of a single Chinese play. The points of resemblance are negligible, and the whole spirit and quality utterly different. At the most it might possibly be proved that both dramas owe something to a common source—the Buddist mystery plays which certainly existed in Japan and can be presumed to have existed in early China, though at present we cannot trace them back beyond the 18th century.[4]

Fiction

Even regarding that most supremely original of all Japanese inventions—the discovery of the psychological novel—there has been some tendency to shift the priority to China, a country which did not in fact produce a novel that could possibly be classified till some eight hundred years later. "Who knows," wrote a German art-critic as recently as 1924, discussing *The Tale of Genji, The Pillow Book,* and other works of the Heian period, "whether after all it is only the names and background that are Japanese, while everything that is essential in these books was taken direct from China?" The Japanese themselves have never gone so far as to disown *The Tale of Genji* altogether. But there existed in the Middle Ages a school of commentators who are bent on discovering in Murasaki's most natural phrases an influence of Chinese works such as the *Springs and Autumns,* the *Historical Records* (Shih Chi) or that strange little Chinese romance, *The Cave of the Amorous Fairies,*[5] that loomed so largely in the minds of Japanese scholars, but could in the nature of things have made, with its jejune and stilted preciosity, so little impression on a grandiose work of realism such as *The Tale of Genji.*

Meanwhile, in painting, Japan was producing a secular art that is no less original than her fiction. No better example of this art could be taken than the rolls which illustrate *The Tales of Genji* itself. Here are exploited two factors which the Chinese left almost untouched—costume and the interior. Chinese art and literature tend always to illustrate a generalized, theoretical, average life rather than to mirror the oddities of the individual or the extravagances of the moment. The "Sage under a tree" of Chinese pictures might equally well be Confucius reading the *Book of Changes* or Sun Yat-sen reading the Bible. But the tilted lovers with extravagantly nodding *eboshi* and vast billowing skirts who sprawl motionless in front of some lady's screen or curtain, anchored it seems not so much by devotion as by the giant voluminosity of their own pinions—these are figures of a moment and a place, figures undreamed of by the artists of China, unimaginable, when the moment was over and the place changed, to the sombre Confucianists of Japan.

Ukiyo Art and Literature

As is well known, when Japanese art was first "discovered" in

[4] A mystery play dealing with the story of Buddha's disciple Maudgalyayana was still performed during the 19th century in several villages near Wuhu, Anhui Province.

[5] Yu Hsien K'u.

Europe it was the colour-prints of the 18th and early 19th centuries that chiefly attracted attention, and the existence of the medieval schools of sculpture and painting was for a long time hardly even suspected. These coloured wood-cuts were supposed to represent a sort of plebeian or even proletarian art, and their discovery seemed to substantiate the growing legend that in the Far East every coolie and workman is an aesthete in disguise. In reality the Ukiyoye,[6] as this school of painting is called, was the creation not of peasants or work-people, but of the new intellectual aristocracy that had grown up in Yedo during the peaceful days of the Tokugawa régime—an aristocracy in which birth and profession counted for nothing at all. The greengrocers, fishmongers, actors, innkeepers who dominate this new society owe their position to wit, accomplishment, or sometimes even to mere eccentricity, but never to inheritance. That culture had become the monopoly of the untitled is noted by Ōta Nampoo in his *Kana Sesetsu*.[7] Far away, and seeming almost out of sight when we study Ukiyo books and pictures, were the Court and the official world, resolutely faithful to the wildest unreality, debating the hypothetical virtues of purely legendary Chinese prayers, writing (with the aid of the thesaurus and rhyming-dictionary) intricate poems in the style of the T'ang dynasty, painting views of landscapes that they had never seen in a technique laboriously extracted from treatises and copy-books. In contrast to all this, the art of the "new aristocracy" was essentially an art of actuality and an art purely illustrative. It was, moreover, largely an art of collaboration between poet and painter. This literary side of Ukiyoye has been almost ignored in Europe, and is indeed to a large extent already inaccessible to the Japanese, so momentary and evanescent are the allusions which gave point to the *hokku* and "mad poems" [8] of the Ukiyo writers. Great pleasure, of course, can be got out of the prints of Harunobu without knowing what is written on them; but the pleasure is as incomplete as that of hearing the music of Petroushka without seeing the ballet.

The minds of daimyos and bureaucrats were directed towards an alien, remote, and unhistorical past. The commoner classes did not look so far afield; but oddly enough they shared with us that feeling for the picturesqueness of the immediate past which has lately been so rampant in our theatres and music-halls. For them the Genroku period—the women with hair tied up in front with little pieces of ribbon and worn at the back rather George Eliot-wise, low over the neck: the men with shaven heads or small round caps like tam-o'-shanters—had the same fragrance as for us the crinoline and ringlets of the Victorian era.

In the above notes I have, as I set out to do, merely illustrated in a summary way a few phases of Japanese originality. Obviously a history of Japanese civilization cannot be written in the compass of one

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[6] "Pictures of the fleeting world."

[7] 1824. Yuhodo Bunko edition, p. 467.

[8] "Mad" only in that they mirrored contemporary life, instead of hypothecating a fictitious and antique Chinese existence.

short essay. I must not therefore be reproached with the omission of whole spheres — such as sculpture, architecture, calligraphy, the tea-ceremony—about which it would have been possible to write at equal length and possibly—for here I must plead comparative ignorance—with equal enthusiasm.

The Social Psychology of Oriental-Occidental Prejudices

By Kimball Young

I

Race prejudice is not an instinct. Yet many well-informed people continue to speak and write as if it were. This is unfortunate because it feeds the popular notion that there is something very mysterious, something deterministic, something fatalistic about racial animosity. Everywhere race prejudice continues to be thought of as founded on something innate and biologically inevitable. The real bases of prejudice, however, are not biological but social and cultural. Prejudice rests upon the formation of attitudes and habits. It expresses itself in a sense of social distance from others. Moreover, it is centered around economic, political and such social phenomena as religion and morals quite as much as around race. In fact, the purely "race difference" argument for prejudice seems to be largely a rationalization behind which these other factors operate.

In any discussion of a social process, there are both general and specific factors to be taken into account. This is true in a study of racial prejudice. We shall examine some of the more general aspects of the problem and then turn to more specific features.

Prejudice means just what it says, to prejudge a person or group. Now the tendency to prejudge comes from both personal and cultural conditioning. Prejudice always has an element of dislike if not fear and hatred in it. Antipathy for others is quite natural. We early build up antagonistic, unpleasant attitudes towards some people, and favorable, pleasant ones towards others. These attitudes are fostered by differences in manner, voice, language, color of skin and habits. But like or dislike based on personal experience with people does not necessarily constitute prejudice.

Prejudice really rests upon the construction and acceptance by a group of certain generalized notions or pictures of typical characteristics about another group. That is to say, prejudice is found only where there is a customary group-accepted set of stereotypes or ideas and emotions about another group thought of as a unit. The individual member of the other group is always seen through the veil of the group-stereotype. Mr. Matsumoto is not an individual of education and travel first, and secondarily a citizen of Japan. No, he is a "Jap" first and then Mr. Matsumoto in the second place. Mr. Woo Fang Choo is thought of as just a "Chink" by the people who buy vegetables from him. He is never thought of as a personality aside from this group-made picture of his racial background.

Thus we are introduced at once into the fact that prejudice cannot be understood without regard to the societal forms of any given race or people. For our purposes we may classify all group relations into two parts. On the one hand we have the "in-group" or "we-group" to which we belong. In contrast stands the "out-group" or "others-group" to which we do not belong and toward which we have negativistic attitudes. In-groups are illustrated by our own family, by our neighborhood, our lodge, our political party, our business men's organization, our labor union or our scientific or literary society. The simplest in-groups are the face-to-face, primary groups of family, neighborhood and playground described by the late Professor Cooley. More complex we-groups are those that have been called secondary and tertiary groups, such as school, economic, political and religious organizations. The in-group is characterized by attitudes and habits of loyalty, mutual aid and coöperation with each other, sense of social solidarity or unity, and above all a sense of understanding and common feeling. Toward the out-groups there is indifference, antagonism or open fear and conflict. Where inter-group relations are of little consequence to in-group survival, the relations to out-groups may be mildly indifferent, but when the survival of the in-group is threatened, violent antagonisms come to the front.

It will be generally accepted that the in-group versus out-group relationship is fundamental to the understanding of any racial or other prejudice. Around these relationships all sorts of standardized attitudes and habits have been built up which the anthropologist calls culture traits or, in the larger organization of them, culture complexes. These constitute the cultural heritage of the past. This heritage it is which is passed on from parents to children, from teachers to pupils, from older persons in all life situations to younger members. Thus, if a child develops out of his purely personal experience certain antipathies for another, whether these attitudes will become significant for the child's reaction to an entire group depends on the further cultural conditioning. If a neighbor is disliked by a child, this dislike will be enhanced many-fold by the parents telling the child that the neighbor is of a different religion, or of different political faith, or of a different race. In fact, there is universal evidence that children of various races, religions or economic status play together very naturally when not interfered with by adults. On the basis of a large number of pretty complete life histories of Jewish and Christian students in various American colleges, I am convinced that prejudice toward the Jew as a race or cultural group, for the most part, is not felt by the Christian until adolescence and later when the two groups come into competition and when the stereotypes of the past begin to be applied to each group by the other. Oriental and white American children play together as spontaneously as any other until their parents, teachers or other adults inject the cultural meaning into the situation. Prejudice is thus kept alive by mature people who attach emotional meanings to old forms of in-group out-group relationships.

It is clear, then, that prejudice—racial, national, creedal or class—depends upon a cultural content which is passed down from generation to generation, fed and colored by every crisis, large or small, which arises when two races or groups come into competition or conflict. Let us

examine some of the prominent cultural interpretations which come into the life of the white man to color his reactions to the Oriental. One set of meanings rests upon myths and legends believed by one group about another.

Myths and legends are not what some people imagine, fanciful stories found in story books for the amusement of children on rainy afternoons. These are largely literary creations reproduced from exotic cultures for our entertainment. Myths and legends of real significance are those current in our society about our contemporary in-groups and out-groups. As Malinowski says:[1]

> Myth . . . is not merely a story told but a reality lived. . . . Studied alive, myth . . . is not symbolic, but a direct expression of its subject-matter. . . . It expresses, enhances, and codifies belief; it safeguards and enforces morality; it vouches for the efficiency of ritual and contains practical rules for the guidance of man. Myth is thus a vital ingredient of human civilization; it is not an idle tale, but a hard-worked active force.

Myths and legends furnish the rationalizations for those habits and attitudes which express prejudice. Much of what is taken by the ordinary citizen for factual history turns out, upon examination, to be legend if not pure myth.[2] There are a great host of legends and myths about the Orientals, as there are of other races, nationalities, creeds and far-removed groups. We shall mention only a few of the most outstanding, especially those of race difference, religious difference, moral and social standards, which influence our attitudes and furnish the content and meaning of our prejudice.

Every race believes itself superior. The white race has for centuries taken this attitude toward the colored races. And of all the white groups the Anglo-Americans have carried this attitude of superiority to the extreme. Impressed by the material progress of the past two hundred years, in ignorance of the factors which produced it, one writer seriously remarks:[3]

> All we can do is to ask for the evidence that other races are our equals. All the evidence in hand seems to indicate the superiority of the whites. . . . The maximum good of the world lies in the continued prosperity of the white race. . . . Does it not seem that the race which has extended its sway over the world, politically, militarily, and industrially, is a superior race?

In contrast to this, the Orientals consider themselves the equals of if not superior to the whites. Before China had been opened up to Western contact, one of the emperors wrote to a Western ruler advising him and his people that true wisdom was to be found only in the Middle Kingdom.

Sun Yat-sen expresses the present attitude:[4]

> Our Chinese civilization has already advanced two thousand years beyond yours (the whites'). We are willing to wait for you to progress and catch up with us, but we cannot recede and let you pull us down. Two thousand years ago we discarded imperialism and advocated a policy of peace. . . . We have got rid of the old savage, pugnacious sentiments and have attained to a true idea of peace.

And Taraknath Das remarks:[5]

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[1] B. Malinowski, *Myth in Primitive Psychology*, 1926, pp. 18, 19.

[2] Legend may be defined as the tale which has some historical person or event as a basis. Myth, in contrast, is the tale with no factual basis. Both are intermingled in all history, as every careful student knows. An excellent series of examples of the creation of present-day legends and myths will be found in H. D. Lasswell, *Propaganda Technique in the World War*, New York, 1927.

[3] C. C. Josey, *Race and National Solidarity*, 1923, pp. 152, 224.

[4] Sun Yat-sen, *San Min Chu I*, 1927, pp. 94, 96.

[5] Taraknath Das, *Is Japan a Menace to Asia*, 1917, p. 123.

> The Whites are in the habit of taking a narrow view of the white world. They have not always been a superior race. They learned religion from the Hebrews, astronomy, chemistry, and mathematics from the Arabs, and the invention of the compass and gunpowder from the Chinese. They are the pupils of those whom they call the colored races. They are, however, forgetful of these facts, and look down upon the Orientals as belonging to inferior races.

Both sets of quotations represent the secondary, elaborated rationalizations of academically trained men in the Occident and the Orient. They are but an intellectualization of notions already found in the common folk of both groups. The Americans are well filled with the idea of the superiority of the whites to all colored races. The domination of the Negroes by the whites in this country is one clue to this view. Yet it extends for the common man from Negroes to the other colored races. It need but be mentioned that the best evidence of anthropology and psychology does not bear out this stereotype of white superiority so far as Japanese and Chinese are concerned. The work of Professor M. L. Darsie[6] and of K. T. Yeung[7] indicates that the best intelligence tests give no support to such beliefs. And the equalitarian point of view of Professors Boas[8] and Kroeber,[9] to mention but two anthropologists of this country, is generally accepted by students of race and culture.

The belief in racial superiority and in racial difference in the United States is revealed not only in the *mores* which prevent intermarriage and close social contact of Oriental and Occidental, but by the common experience of many dark-skinned Orientals among us. The whole relationship is made more difficult because of the common confusion of these dark-skinned Orientals with Negroes. A friend of mine, a professor in a Philippine university, who came to the States to finish his work for the doctorate, was constantly faced with this problem during his two years' residence in a middle western city. For example, he attempted to secure an apartment for his family near the campus only to be turned away time and time again. Finally he was forced to take a place on the periphery of the Italian and Negro section of the city. This constituted his most difficult adjustment while among us. Both he and his wife came from the superior social classes of the Orient, but the fact that he was dark-skinned classed him as negroid in the minds of the usual run of people. Even when landlords appreciated his situation, they refused to admit him because of fear of complaints from other tenants. Hindoo students often report being confused with Negroes. And even with the lighter skinned Japanese and Chinese, the very difference of color carries with it an association of inferiority and an attitude of avoidance on the part of the whites.

The extent to which popular mythology goes in contrast to the scientific view is shown in a number of cases involving the legal status of Orientals as determined by our courts. In case after case the courts have ignored the facts of anthropology. In the words of Justice Sutherland, "the federal and state courts, in an almost unbroken line, have held

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[6] M. L. Darsie, "The Mental Capacity of American-Born Japanese Children," *Comparative Psychology Monographs*, 1926, Vol. III, No. 15, pp. 1-89. *Cf.* also footnote on Darsie's preliminary report, E. G. Mears, *Resident Orientals on the American Pacific Coast*, 1928, p. 355.

[7] K. T. Yeung, "The Intelligence of Chinese Children," *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 1922, Vol. V, pp. 267-274.

[8] F. Boas, *The Mind of Primitive Man*, 1911.

[9] A. L. Kroeber, *Anthropology*, 1923.

that the words 'white person' were meant to indicate only a person of what is popularly known as the Caucasian race."[10] Nothing could show better that not cold facts but the living myth and legend constitute the working social reality which determines the relations of one group to another.

Alongside the general notions of racial superiority toward the Orientals, stereotypes about other characteristics are common enough. The Chinese are surrounded by mystery. They are wily and cruel. They are given over to tong wars and opium smoking. Their Chinatowns contain dens of vice and sin. Lasker, in his enlightening book, *Race Attitudes in Children*, reports all sorts of instances of prejudiced attitudes built up in children. One boy wrote:[11]

> I do not like the Chinese because they are so sly and I am afraid they will plunge a knife into me when my back is turned.

And still another:

> The Chinese and Japs are a stealing and distrustful people.

And another:

> I do not like the Chinese because they have a certain air about them, a sneaking, slimy air.

It is a common opinion among thousands of people, especially on our Pacific Coast, that the Japanese are fundamentally dishonest in their business dealings. I have heard from intelligent men stories of how Japanese business men attempt to cheat American firms, just as one hears from the lips of the common workman how shrewd the "Jap" is in worming his way into better economic status.

The very strangeness of daily habits and of speech makes for sense of difference. Any uncommon gesture or behavior may easily be interpreted unfavorably and in time of a crisis may greatly enhance the prejudice.

Then, too, the Orientals are a "heathen" people. Although many American Christians contribute to missionary funds, when they come into close contact with Orientals they cannot forget that they worship strange gods. In short, all these factors set up barriers to common understanding and add to the essential isolation of one group from another in spite of physical contiguity.

We may, then, in conclusion of our general examination of prejudice, dismiss the arguments for biological or psychological divergences of Oriental and Occidental. We must recognize, moreover, that the prepossession of the whites in regard to the yellow races is not dependent on any instinct which makes for avoidance. Rather it rests upon culture stereotypes of difference fed and enhanced by literary and theatrical representations, by political ambitions and by current crises arising out of in-group out-group rivalry and competition. Let us turn now to a socio-psychological analysis of some of the specific factors which have entered into the present status of Oriental exclusion and the whole treatment of Orientals by the people of the United States.

II

It will not be necessary to trace the history of Oriental-Occidental relations. Nevertheless, we must realize once for all that present be-

[10] *Ozawa* vs. *United States* 43, Sup. Ct. Rep. 65. *Cf. In re Singh*, 257 Fed. Rep. 209, 211-212, and other cases cited by Mears, *op. cit.*, p. 513.

[11] B. Lasker, *Race Attitudes in Children*, 1929, pp. 140-41.

havior cannot be understood without taking into account the historical antecedents. Stubbs' famous dictum that "The roots of the present lie deep in the past" is as important for social psychology as it is for the analysis of institutions. In spite of the proverbial isolation of China and Japan from the Western world down till the nineteenth century, there has always been some diffusion of both material and non-material traits between the two parts of the great Euro-asiatic continent. But it was the rapid expansion of the American people toward the Pacific rim after 1850 which brought the Oriental Mongolian peoples into contact with the people of the United States. I wish to treat this matter under three major headings: the relation of mobility and numbers to economic competition, the problem of amalgamation and assimilation, and the shift from local to national and thence to international concern.

1. When but a few foreigners enter another country there may be curiosity, fear and avoidance, but there need not develop any marked antagonism. It is the mobility of large numbers of people and the consequent contact of divergent races and cultures which produces conflict and prejudice. This is the case with the Oriental on the North American Pacific Coast. The rapid influx of eastern Americans and other white groups to California following the discovery of gold there found an increasing number of Chinese also coming into the country. At first the Chinese were received with approval. They were valuable as common laborers, as cooks, laundrymen and as "gap fillers," as Mary Rhinehart Coolidge once called them, to do menial tasks which the white man would not undertake. Moreover, in the sixties and seventies large numbers of Chinese were deliberately imported by American capitalists to work on the rapidly expanding railroad lines then under construction. Upon the completion of the Central Pacific in 1869, thousands of Chinese were thrown out of work, and soon the lower economic levels of the white race found themselves in sharp competition with cheap labor from the Orient. In fact, it was the white immigrant labor which felt the pinch of competition with the Chinese most keenly. Thus began the agitation to stop Chinese immigration. This led to the so-called Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882. In 1883 and in 1885 two other transcontinental railway lines were completed, again throwing upon the labor market large numbers of Chinese laborers. The Chinese spread to mining and other railway camps in the West. In the period of fifteen or twenty years great popular sentiment had been generated against the Chinese. Race prejudice broke out into violent form. Lynching and race riots occurred in a number of places. After 1890, however, Chinese immigration dropped practically to nothing. Gradually antagonistic sentiment against the Chinese disappeared. So long as the Chinaman did not come into serious competition with the white laboring classes he was tolerated. What Chinese remained have spread themselves all over the western part of the United States and even into the Middle West and East. They are tolerated as laundrymen, market gardeners and domestic help. When they no longer constituted a menace to white labor, the open antagonism disappeared.

Yet soon after the prejudice against the Chinese began to subside, the Japanese appeared upon our Pacific slope. In 1885 the Imperial government at Tokyo granted permission for Japanese subjects to emigrate. They came in increasing numbers to California, Oregon and

Washington as laborers. Many settled in the Philippines and Hawaii. After the latter became a part of our national territory, many Japanese removed to continental United States. The picture of the anti-Chinese agitation was repeated, but with certain differences. The Japanese did not accept the American social-political-economic pressure so docilely as had the Chinese. Antagonism arouses antagonism. When the government of Japan officially through Washington took up the cudgels for her people against the local laws and alleged mistreatment, the people of California, especially, increased their agitation for exclusion. The labor unions joined the small-business groups in the fight against the Japanese "invasion," for the Japanese had entered into competition with white labor and with the small merchant. But the whole matter was brought to a head by the controversy over ownership of land. The thrifty Japanese had gradually shifted their place from that of contract labor, practically speaking, to tenant farming and thence to ownership of land. A hue and cry was raised against this threat of agricultural competition. Agitation for exclusion went on apace. The "Gentlemen's Agreement" of 1907 was an effort to allay the agitation without giving offense to Japanese national dignity. The whole conflict localized itself into a number of problems: citizenship, land ownership, education, continued importation of Japanese women by the "picture bride" route and the growing fear of Japan as a first-rate military power. In support of the American position the defense mechanisms of prejudice were invoked. Fear of rapid Japanese increase, assertions of military plots against America, the myth of an aggressive "Yellow Peril" looming over the Western horizon—these and others fanned the prejudice to flaming heat. The whole problem of amalgamation and assimilation became at once serious.

2. The intermixture of the white and colored races is highly offensive to most Anglo-Americans. It is one of their deepest-rooted culture traits. The Latin people have never been so opposed to miscegenation. But the repugnance is so firmly rooted in our British-American cultural heritage as to be taken by the popular man for biological instinct. Although there was occasional intermixture between whites and Orientals, the cases were rare. Enough cases occurred, however, that newspaper agitation stirred up all the latent animosity of the Anglo-Americans. The purity-of-race doctrine was everywhere invoked to warn our citizens of a grave danger!

Hence, for the most part the feeling against biological amalgamation was so strong that the whole matter of cultural assimilation was looked upon as doubly difficult. The Native Sons movement, a local phase of an older Native Americanism, led to the organization of the Asiatic Exclusion League of North America. In the Preamble to the Constitution of this organization, formed in 1905, we find these sentences among others:[12]

> Two or more unassimilable races cannot exist peaceably in the same territory. . . . The Caucasian and Asiatic races are unassimilable. Contact between these races must result, under the conditions of industrial life obtaining in North America, in injury to the former, proportioned to the extent to which such contact prevails. The preservation of the Caucasian race upon American soil, and particularly upon the West shore thereof, necessitates the adoption of all possible measures to prevent or minimize the immigration of Asiatics to America.

[12] Quoted by E. G. Mears, *op. cit.*, p. 435.

Various other organizations of a patriotic sort have given like voice in opposition to the acceptance of the Oriental as a member of the American community. Yet in spite of exclusion acts and denial of citizenship to Orientals born in their native states, our Constitution provides that children born of foreign parentages on our soil are *bona fide* American citizens. Therefore, whatever the view and feelings of the white American citizens, they cannot avoid the problem of cultural assimilation of the Chinese, Japanese and other Orientals who are by birth-right American citizens.

Between the first and second generation Orientals much the same conflict has arisen as between all other first and second generation immigrants to our country. One of the most apparent difficulties lies in the fact that the Oriental children acquire the English tongue in our schools. This makes communication between the old and new generations difficult. It cuts the children off from the cultural heritage of the Orient. The rise of private schools to give instruction in Japanese, particularly, has been viewed as a pro-Japanese nationalistic venture. It is likely, however, that the desire of the parents for their children not to lose all contact with Oriental culture is the real motive for these schools. At any rate, they are making an effort to prevent the complete disintegration of Oriental culture in the second and third generations. Professor Mears points out that with the restrictions on travel between this country and the Oriental homelands, the former personal mobility has necessarily been checked. Thus, the Orientals in the United States are thrown more and more upon their own resources if they anticipate the retention of any of their former culture. This reaction only tends to produce further misunderstanding on the part of the whites.

The public schools and recreational facilities furnish a natural matrix for cultural assimilation of foreigners. The attempts of California to segregate the Orientals into separate schools met with great resistance. It was one of the focal points of the American-Japanese negotiations during the Roosevelt administration. To many of the superpatriots of Nippon these threats were clear evidences of anti-Japanese plans on the part of Americans. Such reactions furnished the basis for the Orientals to develop further their emotional stereotypes of foreign oppression and aggressive American efforts to humiliate a great people. However, public opinion in other parts of the United States was so vigorous that in the end nothing was done in the matter of segregation. The agitation on both sides was so great that the project was dropped, but American fears were allayed by the Gentlemen's Agreement.

In recent years, in many sections of the Pacific Coast states, the Americanization of the Oriental has gone on pretty successfully through the schools in spite of occasional violence of attitude on the part of One Hundred Percent Americans. Lasker cites a number of instances of local opposition to honors granted Japanese or Chinese students. In one case an American-born Japanese girl with a brilliant high school record was chosen valedictorian for her graduating class exercises. A storm of protest broke out in the newspapers, but the principal of the high school, in spite of threats, held his ground, and the girl made her address. The incident got into both the American and Japanese press and doubtless helped to foster more friendly attitudes on the part of some, while it might as easily have enhanced negative attitudes among others.

In another case a good deal of comment was aroused in Seattle through the jingo press when it was discovered that a Japanese boy in the fourth grade had been chosen by his schoolmates to play the rôle of George Washington in a school play.

Such episodes are indicative of the strain which accompanies all acculturalization. Apparently when larger issues of state, national or international importance are in the forefront of consciousness, this local strain is increased. Otherwise the process of assimilation goes on without undue stress. In times of larger crises, however, leaders on both sides seize upon trivial examples as illustrative of plots and designs of one nation against another. Then, the larger conflict reverberates to the local community members to make assimilation increasingly difficult.

The playground is a remarkably effective area for assimilation. When unmolested by adult stereotypes, children of various races or classes usually get on well together. When the traditional cultural prejudices are injected into recreational activities, resistances are set up. For the most part, the evidence seems to be that the whites on the Pacific Coast do not raise the objections to the Orientals on playgrounds and at public resorts that one finds elsewhere in reference to the Negro. There are some recreational places around San Francisco, however, which bar Orientals along with other colored peoples. One is at a loss to estimate the effects of these restrictions on assimilation. The recreational facilities under the guidance of the public schools are open to all. Although the Oriental boy or girl may have to overcome some personal handicaps, if he or she makes good in athletics, for instance, membership on the teams is usually accepted. Again, difficulties almost always arise when adults, either parents or newspaper personnel on the look-out for sensational news, interfere with and object to the Orientals' participation in games and sports.

It is hard to say how far a certain acceptance of the Oriental as an athlete or brilliant student in high school or college will carry over to acceptance as business or professional equal in the adult field. As with the Jew, so here, when the foreigner comes into vocational competition or professional relationships with the native American, the ancient taboos seem to operate most thoroughly. Moreover, while I should not gainsay the beneficial effects of educational and recreational participation on the assimilation of the Oriental, on the removal of prejudices and on the rise of favorable attitudes toward him, not as a member of an alien race but as an individual, it nevertheless seems true that all these efforts are greatly limited because of the larger issues of national and international importance with which as adults we have to deal.

The church is probably a very minor factor in assimilation. While Christian missionaries have done much to bring Western creeds to the Orientals, for the most part, the church has played little part in the assimilation of the Oriental on the Pacific Coast. Mears notes that but few Chinese are Christians. There are relatively more Japanese Christians. Interestingly enough, the Buddhist churches on the Coast are duplicating methods of the Christian churches in an effort to hold the native-born Japanese children in the old faith. Professor Mears reports, however:[13]

[13] E. G. Mears, *op. cit.*, pp. 379-80.

Yet, in Los Angeles, where the Japanese community is fairly typical, it appears that not more than 30 per cent of the Japanese are in the habit of going to church (Christian, Buddhist or Shintoist); and on the whole Pacific Coast, "only 20 per cent of the Chinese and less than 8 per cent of the Japanese are reached even by the very limited program of the mission boards, though at a cost of about $15 a year and $120 in buildings for every Chinese and Japanese church member and school pupil reported by the missions." The work of the churches, too, is greatly hampered on account of duplication of effort, due to rivalry, not only between Buddhists, Shintoists, and Christians, but also within Christian denominations.

Furthermore, this inter-denominational rivalry has been capitalized by anti-Orientals to prevent a more sane unification of the churches which would, in time, aid in the process of more adequate assimilation. There is no evidence that the Christian communities are any freer from race and religious prejudice toward the Orientals than they have been in regard to religious prejudices among themselves. Orientals not infrequently comment upon the failure of the Christians to live up to the standards set by their alleged master, Jesus, in this matter of human relationships. The evidence of race and religious prejudice among the Christians is doubtless an inhibiting force in bringing Orientals and whites nearer together.

Furthermore, cultural assimilation is prevented by the development of the Oriental ghetto. Segregation of the Chinese and Japanese into certain neighborhoods keeps them from contact with white Americans except in very impersonal relations. And contrariwise, it enhances their sense of Oriental solidarity. It encourages the use of the Oriental language and customs. It makes for isolation and sense of inferiority. So long as restriction of Orientals to separate sections of towns and cities remains, true assimilation in terms of social-economic status and individual capacity will never be complete.

3. The entire question of inter-race relations has extended from the locality in which competition and conflict originally arose to state, then to national and international importance. The problem of assimilation is essentially one for the community, but the intrusion of larger issues constantly affects this process. Whenever the newspapers take hold of a simple occurrence, such as the case cited above of the Japanese child playing the part of George Washington in a school play, it not only arouses a community but may set off attitudes and opinions over the entire country. And the reverberations of such an episode may hinder the natural processes of assimilation in the locality. Likewise, when the Oriental immigrant problem became serious in California, the state took the matter up, only to find that the attempts at restriction of immigration and control of privileges of foreigners involved more than the governmental function of a commonwealth. The federal government had to deal with the matter, since the foreign relations of the United States can only be handled through Washington. We need not go over the historical ground involved in the Chinese and then the Japanese restriction legislation. But it is important to note that as the issues became drawn on international lines, the whole set of prejudiced stereotypes and legends became related to wider issues. Such matters as equality of treatment of nationals, equality of treaty-making powers, and struggle for markets and outlet for surplus population come into the picture.

The Chinese government has always protested against any unjust

treatment of its peoples in this country, but in no vigorous fashion. It submitted to the exclusion acts in the last century largely because of its cultural ethos of passivity and because it had not then developed a strong nationalistic feeling. It was at the time more or less under the complete domination of Western powers who were taking advantage of China to secure extraterritorial rights and various economic privileges. In reality this meant that China lacked an equality in treaty-making power.

The Japanese, however, have pursued a very different policy. The Tokyo government has evinced an unusual interest in the whereabouts and welfare of its subjects. As Professor Millis remarks:[14]

> Appeals to the government at home have been frequent and the response has been quickly made. The closeness of the relation between the government and its subjects and the solicitude of the one for the rights and welfare of the other have been important in explaining the situation which has developed in the West. Solicitude in Japan has begotten some of the hostility in America.

The "Gentlemen's Agreement" may not have been satisfactory to the Japanese, but at least it left Japan with its national pride intact. The Exclusion Clause of 1924 had a very unfortunate effect upon Japan. The late Dr. M. Sawayanagi expressed one phase of the Japanese view in 1925 in these words:[15]

> What we object to is discrimination on account of race. Such discrimination is highly offensive to our self-respect as individuals and as a nation. I would not be telling you the truth if I did not say that there exist among our people deep feelings of disappointment and dissatisfaction and even resentment over the discriminatory immigration law passed by the American Congress last year.

The anti-American jingoes of Japan seized upon the 1924 Act as evidence of American aggression toward Japan, as proof that America was out to dominate the whole Pacific rim without regard to the "rights" of other countries. In similar manner, of course, the anti-Japanese jingoists in the United States had used the statistics of Japanese immigration and various episodes in Oriental-Occidental relations in America as positive evidence of Japan's own sinister purposes toward the United States. In short, the international relations growing out of a sectional problem of immigration take on serious aspects involving talk of war and domination which are not apparent so long as the matter is confined to the locality proper. The matter shifts psychologically from the accommodation of the family of Woo Fang or Kurishige with the American neighborhod of Smiths, Joneses and Kelleys to the abstract matter of Japanese versus American aggression. Stereotypes of nationalistic flavor completely screen off the real persons involved in daily contact. In other words, the national stereotypes obscure and confuse the issues of assimilation and accommodation. Publicists, statesmen, scholars and petty politicians, both of the Orient and the Occident, get involved in consideration of these wider issues. The whole ground shifts to one of international relations involving economic and political problems of all sorts.

Not only the Japanese but the Chinese are now aware of this larger problem. Mr. T. Z. Koo pointed out at the 1925 meeting of the Institute of Pacific Relations that China was moving out of its former indifference, that she was rapidly developing a nationalistic consciousness and

[14] H. A. Millis, *The Japanese Problem in the United States*, 1920, p. 249, quoted by Mears, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

[15] Quoted by E. G. Mears, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

was "anxious to recover what has been wrested" from her in the past by stronger Western nations.

Both Chinese and Japanese are concerned with the matter of American policy in the Orient. The struggle for markets, the exploitation of resources and the problem of population pressures are involved. The American business man is extending his influence over the entire Pacific rim. This is looked upon as a new form of imperialism which ultimately must affect Japan and China. So, too, there is the problem of the control of exploitation of natural resources in undeveloped parts of the Orient. What part has any Western power in this? The whole matter goes back to an ideology of "rights" and "duties" in regard to one's own and neighboring territory. If one accepts the rationalization of Professor Josey, then on the basis of past experience the white race is primarily fitted to continue to "inherit the earth," as it has in the past, because it is wiser and more fitted to do so. The developing countries of the Orient object to such a view, however, and out of this objection can be built first-class "reasons" for war and conflict.

Then, finally, there arises the population problem. Many Americans feel that the influx of foreigners generally has been bad for our native biological strain. These people have been concerned with the restriction of all immigration except of strong biological stocks related to our own. In reference to the Orientals the whole issue is confused with the resistance to biological amalgamation of Occidentals with Orientals. The Yellow Peril has been conjured up in terms of the hordes of Orientals sweeping the white races off the map. Propaganda of all sorts has been spread over the Western world, building up the myth of Oriental aggression. Again, the whole matter of population pressure involves stereotypes of "rights" and "duties," as does the problem of exploitation of natural resources. The "White Man's Burden" was once a favorite phrase in regard to the moral obligation of the Occidentals to the "uncivilized" world outside of Europe and North America. But the colored nations are objecting to the form which this has taken. Many Orientals complain that Canada, Australia and United States, to mention the three most serious cases, have no "right" to bar Orientals from their countries when the population pressure is what it is. Dr. M. Sawayanagi expressed himself as follows during the 1925 meeting of the Institute of Pacific Relations:[16]

> It may be questioned from a purely moral point of view and from the standpoint of world economy, whether any groups of human beings can rightly enclose a large extent of land and make little practical use of it, when there are other and larger groups who are in urgent need of a breathing space.

Of course, this is an old argument. And the evidence seems to be that the pouring out of excess population from one country to a less sparsely settled area does not reduce excessive population growth at home. But from the angle of social psychology it is significant that Orientals are raising the question of "rights," "humanity" and "duty" in regard to these matters. If this ideology becomes current it may lead in time to attitudes and actions fostering open conflict between Orient and Occident. The exclusion of Orientals may be looked upon as immoral, wrong and inhuman. If no other redress is to be had, it may be sufficient cause to take up arms to correct the matter.

[16] Quoted by E. G. Mears, *op. cit.*, p. 46.

It may be pointed out in passing that it may be a naïve assumption to hold that great populations are justifiable and right without regard to adequacy of food supply and quality of civilization. Ultimately, perhaps, the industrialization of the world may lead to more or less deliberate restriction of the birth rate in these countries which now have excess of population.

The upshot of the matter is that out of international competition and rivalry grow various stereotypes and myths which furnish food for everyday prejudice toward members of the respective groups. The matter is one of ideology. If the fundamental conception of a national life is one of great population, unrestricted by sane birth control, or is one of great industrial and material expansion, or is one of domination, it is but natural that such a nation will come into conflict with other nations. Especially is this true if the other nations have like ambitions. Out of such contact, war and conflict are bound to ensue. On the other hand, if the fundamental ideology changes to one of quality of culture, rather than extent or quantity, if the basic purpose seems to be a sane adjustment to other peoples and their ambitions, the daily relations of men of Orient and Occident may be profoundly altered. Thus, in the end, prejudice largely reflects the life philosophy of various peoples. Whether we can ever change the in-group and out-group competition and rivalry is doubtful, but we may change its content and direction. Prejudice may take a less dangerous form even if it never disappears. And one of the chief roots of racial prejudice will have been cut when people recognize that race is primarily a cultural differentiation, and that it is stupid to judge individual members of a race by a stereotype derived from rumor and myth.

NIPPON THE FAIR

By Canon Streeter
Fellow of Queen's College, Oxford

In the embrace of shrine-clad hills
  We moot the destiny of man,
But I forget there're human ills,
  Drunk with the beauty of Japan.

This is the age of the machine,
  Mightiest, we're told, since earth began.
It is not potent to bemean
  The graciousness of old Japan.

Soon from the ship farewells I'll call
  When linger here no more I can,
But then, I know, perforce I shall
  Leave half my heart in fair Japan.

The foregoing verses were translated into Japanese by Mr. Yusuke Tsurumi, at the outset of one of the general sessions.

Economic Co-operation of Japan and China in Manchuria and Mongolia

Its Motives and Basic Significance

By Yosuke Matsuoka*

(Translated from a pamphlet published by the Sino-Japanese Association of Manchuria.)

Internationalism in Manchuria and Mongolia

The old conception of the State as an independent entity exclusively concerned with the pursuit of selfish national interest is no longer accepted as satisfactory by a world in which the interdependence of peoples is increasingly more obvious; rather is it conceived of now as a free unit in an essentially cooperative society of nations, just as the individual man is a unit in society. We no longer apply a perverted Darwinism to the life of nations and conceive of international politics as a perpetual struggle for existence, as in the life of the jungle. We recognize co-existence and co-operative life as inherent features of human society. The world's statesmen who since the Great War have been seeking means by which lasting peace may be established agree on certain fundamentals, amongst them:—that every race should be protected in its right to existence: that every race has a right to equal opportunity for its enjoyment of civilization; and that co-operation among the nations is the best road to this desirable end.

As this consciousness of the rights of other nations grows, we see a corresponding decline in the territorial ambitions which even recently were thought to be legitimate. While it may be long before the spirit of racial self-determination, or non-discrimination, exercises its full force in international life, it is gratifying to observe the increasing tendency to recognize the right of all states to equal treatment in the family of nations.

From this it follows that the nation which should attempt to monopolize a superfluity of national resources of which other nations stood in need would be open to condemnation from the international point of view. If the individual man is inalienably endowed with the right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, it follows that the individual nation's right to exist is no less sacred. If this is admitted, it follows that each nation should make its surplus resources available for the needs of others. President Wilson, in his memorable message of 1917, said in effect that though economic equality was impossible except through peaceful and co-operative development of the world's resources, yet every race had the right to be regarded as on a plane of equality. Policies which propose to assure the economic and political existence of any nation by means of international reciprocity and mutual aid stand therefore on unassailable grounds of reason and right.

In discussing the economic co-operation of Japan and China in Manchuria, I wish to probe the question to the bottom, and to offer a

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* Vice-President of the South Manchuria Railway Company.

solution which is not only the best that can be conceived of in existing circumstances but which conforms to the principles of international good will and mutuality invoked above. For the present purpose the question will be considered under four heads: namely, (1) the Russo-Japanese war and Manchuria; (2) the past and present of Manchuria; (3) Japan and Manchuria; (4) Economic co-operation of Japan and China.

Russo-Japanese War and Manchuria

Russia, under the Tsarist regime, in its unbroken expansion to the east and to the south, swept over Mongolia and Manchuria. The advance of Russian influence, growing in its force and menace, placed our country in a position of extreme jeopardy. If Manchuria or Mongolia had been capable of holding their ground against the invading power, or if China had had adequate force to protect these countries, the Far East would have remained in undisturbed peace. It was unfortunate, indeed, that China found herself quite unable to cope with the situation, abandoning Mongolia and Manchuria to their fate. What was even more unfortunate was that China had at the time in charge of her affairs a statesman like Li Hung-chang who, as we know now, was not above virtually selling Mongolia and Manchuria to Russia in driving his own bargain which was eventually to plunge not only Japan but the whole Far East into perils of the most serious nature.

At this point, let me make it clear that Japan, at the time of her war with Russia, had but few nationals living in Manchuria. She had scarcely any investments or special interests in the balance. Japan found great cause for alarm in the attitude of China who had been showing herself ready to submit even to Russia's own terms. It was when Japan found that the situation, before which China remained indifferent, involved her own vital issues and her very existence as an independent nation that she had to go to war with Russia. In the wake of the war that Japan single-handed carried on successfully against Russia, Japan's influence began to move on into Manchurian territory. This coming of Japan into Manchuria was a natural consequence of her life and death struggle with an enemy which had cost her two billion gold yen and a hundred thousand lives; and was not due to any aggressive designs on her part. The right of any race to live when presented on its minimum basis, is in any case a proposition that admits of no dispute and that is as a rule approved of not only on the international but also on humane grounds. Mongolia and Manchuria which China had at one time all but abandoned to the mercy of Russian invasion, have turned under Japan's helping hands into lands of peace and security, steadily advancing in civilization and developing on economic lines, with promise of even greater things for the future. Of this phase of the question, I am sure, the intelligent people of China are well aware. But I find it necessary to add one fact. At the armament limitation conference in Washington, it was made known that the immediate motive or cause for the great Russian advance into Manchurian territory was the agreement into which Li Hung-chang of China had entered with Lobanoff of Russia. China, having made a secret arrangement with Russia, was to have offered facilities to the Russian army on its southward advance, making a common enemy of Japan. When so much is known of the truth of the matter, we may say that China should find no ground for complaint against Japan's entry

into Manchuria or as to the situation there as regards her own interests. I may perhaps go so far as to say that it is China's duty to weigh this particular aspect of the matter in a cool and fair frame of mind, even as is now done, I am pleased to note, in certain books of Chinese authorship.

Past and Present of Manchuria

Now let us consider the case of Manchuria. We know that, until the advent of the Manchu dynasty, Manchuria remained separate from China proper, subject to perpetual disorder and disintegration due to tribal strife, where China could never make a legitimate territorial claim without meeting with challenge. The Manchu dynasty which had its origin in Manchuria set that portion of the country apart as a living place for its Manchurian guardsmen, preserving it as a source of revenue exclusively for their benefit under an independent administrative system. In other words, Manchuria was a crown land under the Manchu power, and was never made Chinese territory. Towards the last days of the Manchu dynasty so many immigrants began to come from China proper that Chinese elements grew predominant in the peninsula provinces of Manchuria. In later years, signs of agricultural labor began to be seen in the plains of which Changchun is the center. But Manchuria, even though placed under direct care of the ruling power, remained for the most part as it had ever been, uncultivated and without seeing the birth of any industry out of its marvellous resources. These conditions prevailed until the Russo-Japanese war. The coming of Japan into this country as guardian and guarantor of peace in the Fast East brought many significant changes. The integrity of the territory was assured; railways were opened for traffic; capital was brought in. Industrial enterprises began to spring up. The population of the country increased apace.

In order to realize the progress and development made in Manchuria since Japan's coming there, nothing is more convincing than to compare the country at the present time with what it was two decades ago.

Mongolia and Manchuria are great agricultural domains. But the portals of these countries had remained closed to the inside no less than to the outside. When the Chinese Eastern Railway was completed, the side door was opened, as it were. The opening of the main portals did not come before the South Manchuria Railway Company had taken over operation of the railways. What Manchurian territory sorely needed was means of transportation rather than capital or labor. When Japan began to operate the railways on an economic basis, the situation was completely changed. Lands in the interior which had been left in neglect because there was no way to dispose of their produce now began to be cultivated. The South Manchuria Railway Company was soon to find the short line of railway under its charge, a matter then of no more than seven hundred miles, anything but adequate for its ambitious plan of opening up the country, and began to give encouragement to Chinese schemes of railway construction. Japan has consistently shown her readiness to aid such enterprises not only with adequate capital but also with expert knowledge and building material. In such manner four railway lines have now been completed; namely, the lines between Ssuping-

kai and Taonan, between Taonan and Angangchi, between Kirin and Changchun, and between Chinchou and Fuchou. It is interesting to note, too, that the great railway boom which we have of late been seeing in Manchuria and Mongolia is really due to the railway propaganda and campaign of Japan, and particularly of the South Manchuria Railway Company. The table below shows the development of railways in Manchuria.

TABLE I. GROWTH OF RAILWAYS IN MANCHURIA

Year	Principal railways in operation	Miles in opr.		Total	Population per mile	Mileage per 100 sq. ri
		Standard gauge	Light railway			
1908	South Manchuria Railway, Chinese Eastern Railway, Mukden-Peking, etc.	1,912	202	2,114	8,116	3.29
1915	In addition to above Kirin-Changchun Railway, Nuerho-Tayaokou Colliery Railway, etc.	2,182	32	2,214	9,084	3.44
1923	In addition to above Ssupingkai-Taonan, Tumen-Tienpaoshan Lines, etc.	2,540	109	2,649	9,171	4.12
1928	In addition to above, Taonan-Angangchi, Mukden-Hailun, Hulan-Hailun, Takushan-Paiyintala, Chinchou-Pitzuwo Lines, etc.	3,306	141	3,447	7,982	5.36

This growth in railways has had remarkable effect upon the development of the country. J. O. P. Bland, in his "China, Japan and Korea," says in speaking of the progress in Manchuria that the opening up of the country is seen in the peaceful invasion of Chinese settlers being pushed northward an average of four miles every year. A more definite idea of such change going on may be had from the following table compiled by our company.

TABLE II. GROWTH OF CULTIVATED AREAS IN MANCHURIA

Year	Prov. of Mukden	Prov. of Kirin	Prov. of Amur	Total	Index No.
	cho	cho	cho	cho	
1908	4,125,600	2,817,360	1,104,840	8,047,800	100
1913	4,388,400	3,408,840	1,602,000	9,399,240	118
1918	4,651,200	4,000,320	2,099,150	10,750,680	134
1923	4,914,000	4,591,800	2,596,320	12,102,120	150
1927	5,124,240	5,064,980	2,994,050	13,183,270	164

What Manchuria had lacked in the second place was labor. The situation was met by bringing in immigrant workmen from the provinces of Shantung and Chihli. For this purpose the South Manchuria Railway Company offered special facilities, granting each year free transportation to such men. The migration of agricultural hands has of recent years increased to more than a million annually, and they still continue

to pour into the country like steady streams of water. The population of Manchuria has increased by ten millions approximately during the past twenty years, as shown in the table below.

TABLE III. INCREASE IN POPULATION OF MANCHURIA

Year	Prov. of Mukden	Prov. of Kirin	Prov. of Amur	Total	Index No.
1908	10,769,000	4,553,300	1,806,900	17,156,200	100
1913	11,628,600	5,304,600	2,274,600	19,207,800	112
1918	12,526,600	6,179,500	2,862,400	21,568,500	126
1923	13,494,700	7,198,500	3,601,400	24,294,600	142
1928	13,591,100	8,766,800	5,154,900	27,512,800	160

It is obvious that this great increase in labor migration to Manchuria has gone some considerable way, if not exactly in a direct manner, toward making social adjustments within China proper. In this connection, I must refer particularly to the cases of Shantung and Chihli. When warlike disturbances devastated these provinces, Manchuria never failed to receive such of the inhabitants as chose to migrate, giving them places to live in and serving as a social safety-valve. For the benefit of these men and many others, Japan had virtually built at the outlay of billions of gold a wall of safety across the northern parts of China, making there a place of safe abode and lasting peace.

The third need of Manchuria was capital. The first people to come into the country, after its opening, were mostly drawn from the poorer classes for whom capital had to be found. What has been done and accomplished along this line since Japan set her hands to the task of opening up the country, may be best told by her investment now running up to some 1,500,000,000 in gold yen, as the following table shows:

TABLE IV. JAPAN'S INVESTMENTS IN MANCHURIA

Investors		Investment	Amount
South Manchuria Railway Company	Direct Undertakings	Railways	248,277,556
		Harbors and Wharves	59,789,109
		Vessels in Harbor service	4,044,933
		Coal mines	102,730,711
		Iron works	20,747,607
		Sanitation	14,550,686
		Education	13,489,848
		Municipal Undertakings	134,979,952
		Other services	46,231,332
		Total	644,841,734
	Securities of affiliated companies and public bonds		55,287,181
	Loans to Chinese Railways and for encouraging Industries		59,452,855
	Deposits, Uncollected Credits, Cash Advanced for Contract Construction of Chinese Railways, etc.		150,528,206
Japanese Government	Loans to Chinese Government		98,730,823
Japanese Corporations	Loans to Chinese Government and Individuals		20,282,080
Japanese Corporations	Capital Funds invested by Corporations		439,003,410
Japanese Individuals	Capital Funds invested by Individuals		94,991,590
	Total		554,277,030
	Grand Total		1,563,177,829

These figures as compared with Japan's investment in Formosa and Korea, respectively of some 355,000,000 yen and 804,000,000 yen approximately, both Japan's own territory, show what great importance she attaches to the economic development of Manchuria.

The fourth problem to be dealt with was the domestic as well as foreign trade of Manchuria. Until the time of the Russo-Japanese war, Manchuria's entire foreign trade had been carried through the one port of Yingkou, and represented then a matter of but 58,000,000 taels per year. Under Japan's leadership, Manchuria's trade not only with Japan but other countries began to increase at so fast a pace that in 1927 the total of her foreign trade amounted to 670,000,000 taels or 35 per cent. of China's entire foreign trade. This progress was made in the face of not a few obstacles placed in the path of development, such as compulsory circulation of the Mukden money, cornering by the Chinese authorities of certain products of the country, enforcement of unfair scale of duties, etc. It should also be pointed out to the credit of Japan that as much as eighty per cent. of Manchuria's foreign trade at present passes through the three ports of South Manchuria, of which Dairen stands foremost.

TABLE V. GROWTH OF MANCHURIA'S FOREIGN TRADE

Year	Districts	Imports	Exports	Total	Comparison between S. Manchuria N. Manchuria & East Manchuria
	S. Manchuria	45,760,011	30,085,304	82,845,315	82
1908	N. Manchuria	7,352,023	10,499,819	17,851,842	18
	E. Manchuria	—	—	—	—
	Total	53,112,034	47,585,123	100,697,157	
	S. Manchuria	82,121,464	78,269,999	160,389,463	67
1913	N. Manchuria	42,295,601	34,075,048	76,352,649	28
	E. Manchuria	1,266,595	716,952	1,983,547	5
	Total	125,683,660	113,041,999	238,725,659	
	S. Manchuria	152,160,860	140,296,177	292,457,037	85
1918	N. Manchuria	22,889,952	24,713,189	47,603,141	14
	E. Manchuria	2,168,346	1,846,800	4,015,146	1
	Total	177,219,156	196,856,166	344,075,322	
	S. Manchuria	188,042,348	246,748,055	434,790,403	87
1923	N. Manchuria	14,719,864	44,865,889	59,585,753	12
	E. Manchuria	4,293,016	2,314,697	6,608,012	2
	Total	207,055,228	239,928,940	500,984,168	
	S. Manchuria	238,052,185	327,604,823	565,657,008	84
1927	N. Manchuria	24,446,314	75,049,680	99,495,994	15
	E. Manchuria	6,415,087	5,381,676	11,796,763	1
	Total	268,913,586	408,036,179	676,949,765	

After going over the above figures, I might perhaps be forgiven for the pride with which I point to all these changes wrought in Manchuria and say that these are the fruit of the colossal effort that Japan has kept up through the past twenty years, and that in the vast lands of Manchuria, left in neglect through centuries, Japan found opportunities of serving the world by advancing its material wealth and thereby doing her duty as a member of international society.

Japan and Manchuria

Now I propose to look into the question of Manchuria from Japan's point of view. If I am right in the premise that what lies at the root of international peace is protection of every race in its right to live and recognition of its legitimate aspirations, it follows that the people of Japan, upon whom rests a due share of responsibility for the world's peace, should have the right to ask for the security of their national existence, with assurance as to their opportunity of progress and growth for the future. I mean to say that Japan, as is generally known, finds herself face to face with a situation arising from her over-population, her small territory, and her lack of raw materials. To these questions at issue she must needs find an answer if her existence as an independent nation is to be assured. She has reached the point where she can no longer afford to deal with these matters except in the spirit of candour. Provided such Japanese ideas be not incompatible with the peace of the world, her expression should receive due respect as based on the legitimate rights of a nation which is compelled to find an outlet somewhere. It is for this very reason that Japan's special position in Manchuria and Mongolia has virtually been recognized, directly or indirectly, by the Powers.

From the same point of view I may say that were China to deny other peoples the opportunity of sharing the benefit of her rich resources for no other reason than that they lie within her territory, she would indeed be laying herself open to criticism. It would be but meet that Manchuria should be thrown open in international ways, to benefit the Chinese as much as others who may care to come there to work to bring out what lies still hidden deep in that vast land. It is not improper that Japan, in view of the question as something in which her own right to exist is involved, should so interest herself as to ask China to give greater attention to the possibilities in Mongolia and Manchuria and turn them to good account for the benefit of mankind. Even more so when we know that the relations between Japan and China are based on what was sanctioned by a treaty made as between two equal nations.

It must be said that the relations of these two countries as regards Manchuria have never been those of the strong and the weak, or of the conqueror and the conquered. Japan has neither design upon Manchurian territory nor the intention to monopolize the riches there. The development of Manchuria and Mongolia is and should be, first and last, for the benefit of these countries themselves. We know at the same time that no consideration in the interest of these countries is necessarily incompatible with the question of relieving the situation of Japan as regards her national life. On the contrary, a wealthier and better developed Manchuria, we know, will mean greater prosperity to Japan and her people. Increase in Japan's demand for Manchurian products will not only have the effect of stimulating development of Manchuria and Mongolia, but will also impress China with the importance of such development. The correlation thus existing between Japan and China is bound, from the very nature of the thing, to work for the good of one as well as the other, ultimately serving the international life of the whole world. In brief, if Japan's situation as regards Manchuria is as

above described, and if the relations between Japan and Manchuria are as above set forth, Japan may truly be expected to show as much zeal as ever in aiding the work of developing Manchuria which her people will come to look on more and more in the light of a land with possibilities of aiding in solution of the question with which their national life is so acutely concerned.

Economic Co-operation of Japan and China

I hope I am not to be misunderstood as saying that Japan may advance herself materially in Manchuria through her own effort alone; for such is not my meaning. It is obvious that Japan can never hope really to succeed without friendly and effective co-operation on the part of her neighbor. It means simply as a matter of fact that Japan can not profit herself in Manchuria without profiting China in a like manner. When the question of developing the country and people of Manchuria affects Japan as closely and vitally as China, any ideas except of friendly co-operation between these two nations seem so out of place.

In looking over the relations between Japan and Manchuria, as they have existed for these past twenty years, I am struck by a certain feature of impressive character. Japan and Manchuria have stood, and stand now for that matter, in the position respectively of consumer and supplier, speaking in the technical sense of the terms. What is remarkable in the case is that the consumer himself has at the same time been investor, assuming leadership in all enterprises, and has also attended to the work of protecting such undertakings. While working to advance production for supply on one hand, Japan has been buying such products on the other at fair prices. In such relations have Japan and Manchuria followed one road of common interest each for its own well-being.

In speaking here of the common interest and co-existence of Japan and China, I wish particularly to emphasize that in the relations between these two nations all should be grounded on the basic principles of internationalism, and that in all cases China should first be considered, with due regard next for Russia, Britain, America or any other nations holding interests in Manchuria. It is to be admitted that Japan has not infrequently suffered from misunderstandings born of prejudiced or calculating minds. Japan, as an outcome of the war, had suddenly to step forth and attend to a task she was but little prepared for. But no critic, unless seriously misinformed, can say that Japan has been influenced by territorial ambition or guilty of exclusivism against other nations. We know from history that there is no instance of any particular country placed out of the world's routes of trade or traffic having attained to prosperity or importance. We know therefore that the open door and equal opportunity are the most important factors in leading Manchuria along the path of international growth. Of all this we are conscious when we emphasize the importance of internationalism in Manchuria. In short, Japan, in all matters of Manchuria, should find common ground of agreement with China as well as other nations, from her economic point of view, joining her work with that of others to the end of adding to the material wealth and happiness of the world.

In speaking of the vital points in the Manchurian question in a more concrete way, what we stand in need of, above all else, is an economic

policy to be laid along clear-cut and definite lines. As for social programs, they are so inevitably allied with the economic growth of society that I wish to take them here all for granted, without going into their discussion.

It is in transportation that Japan and China should co-operate, before all else, in their work of opening up Manchuria. Needless to say, the volume, intensity, safety and accuracy of transportation have close bearings upon political, economic, social and many other phases of society. In the case of the South Manchuria Railway Company, its work goes beyond that point; for it has internally brought on a new era in the development of the resources of the country, and externally it has made itself very important as the last link in the great international route of traffic with the European continent. But except these railways of not more than 3,300 miles and the light railways of but 141 miles, there are scarcely any roads worthy of the name in any portion of the vast country of Mongolia or Manchuria. A step out of the railway zone, there are no places where people other than natives may lodge or may travel without fear of bandits. When these conditions actually exist, little need be said as to the importance of framing adequate railway schemes to make Manchuria a country of safe travel and free traffic.

In the second place, we should do something with the legal and legislative institutions of the country as well as customs and usages of its people, so as to bring them more or less into uniformity with the standards prevailing elsewhere. In the fields of business and law and other phases of life, foreign people find not a few things painfully different from their own. As an instance close at hand, I may refer to the Manchurian standards of weight and measure which are so confusing that much inconvenience is met with in transferring goods from one railway to another, not to speak of trouble in private transactions. It is also necessary that knowledge of economic science should be made more popular. There are many possibilities of raising efficiency in work by making effective use of machinery and man power, and many points where a study of raw materials may be made to good purpose. In the vast but partially opened country of Mongolia and Manchuria, labor is being wasted on many sides. At every turn almost, we fall upon something whose economic value may well be advanced.

In short, we know that in fields of transportation and law and legislature, and in the matters of customs and usages, there are numberless things which need but a touch of the magic wand of scientific knowledge to give them great use and value. Alive to these existing conditions, we propose first to establish economic programs for Manchuria before we seek to lead the country deeper into relations of international family life. Nor are we blind to the difficult work such programs really involve. Success will never be attainable unless the work is carried on in full appreciation of the basic lines along which Manchuria should be developed. The matter is plain: Japan may no more force her way than China, and their ways are equally clear. For Japan or China there is no rule except that of equal opportunity for all Powers; and for each of them but one road of friendly partnership in the task of leading and establishing Manchuria in its international position. If Japan shares with China such benefits as come of the same undertaking, we can con-

ceive no reason why China should ever find cause for displeasure, actually or theoretically. It is as difficult to imagine that internationalism, though a strong enough factor as the demand of the times, should ever work against these two nations when they, assuming leadership in the development of Manchuria, show themselves united in a solidarity of interest. To this they will and must come, as the only true way. We know that Japan has spent billions in Manchuria, and has turned the best of her talent to work out her ideas there. It is as generally known that to this effort of Japan Manchuria owes what she is today. And to this I again refer, because I cannot but look upon it in the light of the very truth confirming us in the thought that Japan and China are here thrown into each other's arms, willy-nilly, to work out their destinies. It is because we propose to follow the true path of international family life and to serve its purpose that we are so emphatic in advocating the economic co-operation of Japan and China and earnest in our hope that consummation of such an ideal will surely come in good season.

Disarmament in the Pacific

One of the most ardent and interesting figures at the conference was Captain M. Yasutomi, retired, Imperial Japanese Navy. Captain Yasutomi was in direct line of promotion to the admiralty because of his special knowledge of western naval tactics when he went to the Peace Conference at Paris at the close of the war. He came away from that conference a convinced pacifist and made immediate application for retirement from his office. Because of his importance to the service that retirement was not granted until very recently, but since then he has devoted himself to the cause of universal peace through writing and the promotion of disarmament plans.

Captain Yasutomi believes that there are certain definite steps which can be taken toward disarmament in the Pacific. The first and most fundamental step is, as he terms it, "moral disarmament," which can be attained through new diplomatic procedure and peace machinery, through the conscious and determined suppression of so-called "causes of war" by political governments, and through concrete reduction and limitation of armament.

This latter, for the Pacific, concerns primarily the sea, and in his estimation it would need only a convention of three Powers: the United States, the British Empire, and Japan. Such a convention must include the abolition of capital ships and large air-craft-carriers, a notable reduction in cruisers and auxiliary vessels and a substantial decrease in naval expenditure as a whole, if the menace of the seas is to be removed. Only so, he believes, can we safeguard the continuity of our renunciatory pact in this part of the world and "make the waters of the Pacific to roll in amity between the peoples who inhabit its shores." —E. G.

Pacific Items

Developments in Sino-Russian Conflict

On November 5th it was reported by the *Nippon Dempo's* Harbin correspondent that Nanking officials were permitting Manchuria to open independent negotiations with Soviet Russia, looking to a settlement of the Sino-Russian breach over the operation of the Chinese Eastern Railway, with Dr. Wellington Koo, former Chinese minister at Washington, heading the Manchurian delegation.

No further reports have come as to the outcome of the negotiations, though apparently confirming that the negotiations actually took place, a report on November 25th said that Soviet dispatches stated that the Chinese were negotiating with Melinikov, former consul general in Harbin, who is now in Chita. Melinikov, it was said, has adopted an uncompromising attitude, owing to the favorable position the Soviet troops now occupy.

On November 25th it was reported that Soviet troops were advancing, and the situation at the eastern and western ends of the Chinese Eastern railway was described as precarious. A Japanese report stated that Foreign Minister Wang telegraphed to Karakhan, commissar for Far Eastern Affairs at Moscow, suggesting a reopening of negotiations. A *Rengo* news agency dispatch from Harbin said that Chinese resistance is fast breaking under the concerted attacks of Soviet troops in eastern and western Manchuria.

On November 28th the Soviet officials announced that Chang Hsueh-liang, Manchurian commander, had, with the authority of Nanking, accepted the Russian preliminary conditions to negotiations. The report stated Manchurian officials agreed to restore the status quo on the railway, including the reappointment of Manager A. T. Emshanov.

China's Civil War

The civil war raging in China for the past month, has apparently come to a halt. According to an *Associated Press* report of November 25th, as a result of what political leaders term "grave developments in Manchuria," negotiations are proceeding among the outstanding military and civil leaders of the various factions throughout China to end that nation's internal struggles. Although not so stated, it is indicated that all forces may be combined to "resist Soviet attacks," and that the Nationalist and Kuominchun forces have reached an agreement for this purpose.

Mexico Relinquishes Extrality

According to a *United Press* report, Mexico renounced extra-territoriality in China in a formal note of October 31st.

Resignation of United States Ambassador

The resignation of John Van Antwerp MacMurray, for more than four years American Minister to China, was announced on November 2nd by Secretary Stimson. He will remain at his post temporarily.

The nomination of Nelson T. Johnson, at present assistant secretary of state in charge of Far Eastern affairs, to succeed Mr. MacMurray as minister to China, has been sent to the senate by President Hoover.

Philippine Independence

On November 7th Senator Hiram Bingham, chairman of the Senate committee on territories, announced that hearings on the question of Philippine independence will be opened by his committee in January. At the request of Pedro Guevara, resident commissioner from the Philippines, the hearing was postponed from December to January in order to permit a delegation from the Philippine legislature to arrive in Washington.

On November 14th Representative Ralph Knutson of Minnesota offered a Philippine independence bill which would make independence hinge on a presidential proclamation. The bill provides that the President would issue a proclamation calling for a constitutional convention within a year after the passage of the bill. It further provides that the United States would recognize the Philippines as a sovereign state.

Resumption of Diplomatic Relations

On November 6th the House of Commons of Great Britain approved the resumption of diplomatic relations with the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics as negotiated by the Labor government. The motion carried 324 to 199, the Liberals supporting the approval.

Japan's Minister to Canada

On October 21st, the Hon. I. M. Tokugawa presented his credentials from the Emperor of Japan to the governor-general of Canada, Viscount Willingdon, at Ottawa. This consummates the first exchange of ministers between Canada and Japan.

Fishing Dispute Settled

According to a *Rengo* report, the Japanese fishermen in British Columbia have finally scored a victory in the long-disputed issue regarding fishing licenses and State jurisdiction over the canning business which the Dominion Government claimed came within the jurisdiction of the Federal Government. On October 15th the Privy Council at Vancouver rejected the appeal by the Dominion Government to nullify the decision of the Canadian Supreme Court in favor of the Japanese.

Mexico's New President

On November 18th, Pascual Ortiz Rubio was elected President of Mexico with a vote which, according to reports, was apparently the greatest ever cast in Mexico.

New Research Institution

The recent installation of the new Pan-American Institute of Geography and History just concluded in Mexico City, and attended by nineteen American nations, is said to herald a new era of research in the United States. The next meeting of the Institute has been set for Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, three years hence.

Reflections

Editorial Opinion on the Pacific

These reprints are chosen as reflecting diverse points of view in and around the Pacific upon problems uppermost in the news of the area. They are not selected, in any instance, as indicative of the editorial attitude of Pacific Affairs.

FINDING THE RIGHT MAN—A DIFFICULT TASK

From the *New York Times,* New York, November 5, 1929

The President is faced with the task of finding not only the right man for China but a man to take the place of the retiring Ambassador to Japan. The fact that these posts have not yet been filled should not suggest that Mr. Hoover underestimates their importance. His own service in China brought home to him the infinite complexities of Chinese relations. Secretary Stimson, in his brief stay in the Philippines, doubtless had the opportunity to come in contact with many cross-currents of Oriental politics and so to realize from personal experience the peculiar nature of America's relations with the Far Eastern Nations.

CHARITY IN STRANGE GUISE

From the *China Critic,* Shanghai, October 3, 1929

The decision of the American Red Cross not to extend famine relief in China is indeed a surprise. Not that we expect America to care for the sick and the starving for us, but that we cannot understand why famine relief cannot be extended simply because its officials believe that there is no strong central government. . . . Does charity work depend upon political stability? Does any one ever think that the Chinese people are satisfied with the political chaos that has been China's history for the last twenty years? One does not refuse to help a destitute family because its head is worthless; then why should the American Red Cross refuse to help the starving millions because the Government is not strong? Its attitude seems to be like that of fair weather friends. They are always ready to help when help is not needed and refuse to assist when help is really required. There seems to be a little irony in the whole situation. Even God must have looked down upon these helpless creatures because they have no strong Government. Otherwise, why does He not cause rain to drop to put famine to an end? So why blame the American Red Cross?

WORKING OUT HER OWN SALVATION

From the *Manitoba Free Press,* Canada, October 14, 1929

A document of deeper significance than its primary intent is the report of the American Red Cross declaring against relief being sent to China. By record and tradition the Red Cross Association has as its first desire the inclination to help where immediate circumstances—65,000,000 destitute—so piteously call for succor. The decision against may, therefore, be taken as a serious warning not only to China but to all the civilized world, which, whether from altruistic, commercial, or in the long view social reasons, has interest in that country. . . . China must work out her own salvation. Extension of outside relief but retards her ultimate recovery. This is the conclusion of the American Red Cross. But the dawn of such a day is not apparent when the press censorship cannot altogether prevent the coming through of stories not only of the Manchurian trouble, but of new outbreaks of civil wars among the provincial warlords and against Nanking.

A DUBIOUS VICTORY

From the *Times,* London, October 8, 1929

Since Mr. Henderson announced his agreement with the Soviet delegate certain commentators have devoted much space and energy to demonstrating the economic advantages of this arrangement and of the settlement which is to follow it. That is not the immediate point of its critics. Making for the moment the very large and dubious assumption that the projected settlement—still exremely nebulous in many respects—will have these advantages as they are foretold, the question remains why the Henderson-Dovgalevsky agreement has been negotiated in such a manner as to reflect the maximum of discredit upon British diplomacy. If Mr. Henderson had come to the House of Commons fresh from the General Election and announced frankly (what is indeed the truth) that his party had always clamoured for the recognition of the Soviet, that the Government proposed to fulfill that intention, and that on the whole they thought recognition before negotiation the more profitable course—then indeed there would have been little more to be said. That public which does not relish Bolshevism would no doubt have regretted the great addition to the prestige of this undemocratic system of tyranny which any diplomatic recognition by a British Government must have brought it. They would still have preferred the dignified and consistent attitude of the United States; and that would have been the end of it for the time being.

A COMMERCIAL PROPOSITION

From the *New York Times,* New York, October 24, 1929

As in the case of the recent move to grant immediate independence (to the Philippines), advocates have thought not at all of the Filipinos but only of their American constituents. Protectors of American beet sugar are apparently determined to stop at nothing in their efforts to injure the Philippine sugar industry.

"TARIFF WITHOUT INDEPENDENCE?"

From the *Hawaii Philippine News,* Hawaii, October 16, 1929

The proposal now before the congress of the United States which would levy a tariff against Philippine products, particularly sugar, is one of the most amazing documents ever to have been placed before that legislative body.

The unusual feature about the whole thing is that the Philippines is in no sense a foreign country, is, in fact, a possession of the United States. And despite this state of affairs, the United States is considering charging Philippine producers duty for the privilege of sending their goods to the United States! . . . "Tariff without Independence" is not so very unlike the old revolutionary cry "Taxation Without Representation" and there is a deal of similarity in the degree of injustice indicated by both. If the thirteen original colonies of England in America thought they were justified in shedding their blood to escape from England's tyranny then it is certainly conceivable that the Philippines have ample cause to renew their demand that they be freed from the yoke of the United States when they are to be otherwise treated as a foreign country. In the open U. S. Senate the legislators have been reminded of the fact that the Philippine Islands have fulfilled every condition imposed upon them by the United States to entitle them to their freedom. As long back as the Wilson administration a thorough investigation of the Philippines was conducted to ascertain whether or not they had qualified for independence. The findings were that the Philippines HAD met every condition and were therefore ready to assume the responsibilities of independent sovereignship! That being true, why haven't the Philippines been given their independence as promised by the mighty United States? Now that the U. S. congress is in session there is an opportunity for that body to uphold the honor of the United States by turning over the islands to their people. Failure to do so simply carries the United States further along the path of discredit in the sight of foreign nations.

CHINA'S CIVIL UNREST

From the *Times*, London, October 16, 1929

. . . It cannot yet be pretended that the stability of the National Government has been secured. They have a certain control over a large portion of China, but in the view of the best judges their position is still precarious. Their failure to better the economic situation, the jealousies of generals and politicians among themselves and of Chiang Kai-shek and his "dynasty," are constant causes and symptoms of their weakness. The difficulty in estimating the importance of Chang Fat-kwai's rebellion has been to learn who and what stood behind him and behind it. This difficulty is not solved by the discovery that Yen Hsi-shan repudiates it and that Feng Yu-hsiang is no longer able to support it, if he ever intended to do so. Some observers see in it a new manifestation of the profound differences between North and South which have so often divided China, and hold that sooner or later the struggle between them must be fought out. Others think that it is one of the innumerable squabbles for place, power and wealth which have torn the unhappy land without ceasing under specious names and pretexts for eighteen years. . . . All (of China's factions) have good reasons, to which they are alive, for not desiring to see the skirmishes along the frontier assume the character or the proportions of a national war, which would affect other interests than theirs.

JAPAN'S NAVAL ATTITUDE

From the *New York Times*, New York, October 21, 1929

The full text of the Japanese note accepting the invitation to attend the naval conference in London bears out the forecasts. Japan avows herself anxious not only to have the principle of limitation extended to all categories of vessels, but hopes to see an actual reduction of naval armament. In other words, as at the Geneva conference, Japan may be expected to do all in her power to bring about an effective agreement.

The imperative need for retrenchment of government expenses, as well as the realization that Japan is in no danger from any other naval Power, determined the policy of the Japanese delegation at Geneva in 1927. It will govern Japanese policy in London. Despite occasional outbreaks about immigration restriction and the Singapore naval base, Japan knows that no Power threatens her in the Pacific. She also sees that as the cost of repairing the damage done by the earthquake has continued to mount up her burdens will be relieved if she can reduce her large naval budget without endangering her safety.

JAPAN'S GOLD BAN

From the *Osaka Mainichi*, Japan, October 15, 1929

The Nation cannot long linger in this ruinous inactivity; the uncertainty must be removed and business activities stimulated. The way to prosperity lies clearly in making certain just when the gold embargo is to be removed. Strong representations, accordingly, have been made by business circles to the Government urging upon it the importance of publicly proclaiming the date on which the measure will be carried out. This, they argued, would go a long way to brighten the dismal outlook of the business situation. . . . Pressed to reply if the latter measure shall be carried out by the end of the first half of next year, the Minister distinctly replied, "Yes." . . . The information was reluctantly given, let us admit, and none too specifically. But still, do not we feel that we will hereafter tread a little brighter, safer path in our business activity than hitherto? This, to say the least, is a great gain.

Books of the Pacific

THE EFFECT OF THE WORLD WAR UPON THE COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY OF JAPAN

By Kakujiro Yamasaki and Gotaro Ogawa

Yale University Press, New Haven, 1929. G. $4.00

The Economic and Social History of the World War which is being published for the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace has just added this significant volume to an already valuable series. Both the general editor, Dr. J. T. Shotwell and the chairman of the Japanese editorial committee, Baron Yoshiro Sakatani, are prominent members of the Institute of Pacific Relations. This addition to the series will take its place immediately as a useful source of information in a field where reliable information in English is exceptionally difficult to obtain.

Members of the Institute will recall that in the valuable paper contributed to the proceedings of the last conference, Mr. Junnosuke Inouye drew attention to the fact that Japan's industrial progress had been stimulated by her triad of wars[1]. "It was after the Chino-Japanese War (1894-5)," he wrote, "that Japan began to make notable progress along modern lines of economic activity. The Russo-Japanese War (1904-5), which broke out ten years later, marked the country's advance in the modern system of industry. The progress kept on unretarded on the whole during another ten year period that preceded the World War, yet the country's financial resources were still very much limited, Japan being far behind the industrial countries of the West in this respect. . . . Until the great war our foreign trade had almost always shown an unfavorable balance, but the war reversed the situation, and in 1917 the exports amounted to 1,660,000,000 yen against the imports of 1,080,000,000 yen, leaving a balance of 570,000,000 yen in our favor. Thus in the four years of 1915-18, inclusive, the trade balance to our credit reached 1,400,000,000 yen. In addition to this there was an enormous amount of invisible exports due to the shipping activities of our mercantile marine. Putting both together, Japan's net gain in these years amounted to some 4,000,000,000 yen. The acquisition of such wealth quite naturally stimulated a rapid economic development of the country. The gold holdings of the Bank of Japan and the government at the end of 1919 had increased to 2,000,000,000 yen, or six times the pre-war figure, and the bank deposits of the country jumped to 11,000,000,000 yen, or five times the former amount. Parallel with this growth in resources, the prices of commodities advanced sharply and the standard of living of the people rose rapidly. In short, Japan's economic life has undergone a complete revolution during these past few years."

In his conclusion to the volume now under review Professor Ogawa puts forward the same view. "It is sometimes said that whereas the Sino-Japanese and Russo-Japanese wars promoted those branches of industry which looked to supplying internal needs, the World War promoted the country's progress towards other objectives—viz: the checking of imports of foreign manufacture and the securing of markets abroad for home products."

[1] Junnosuke Inouye "The Financial Crisis in Japan," printed in *Problems of the Pacific*, Chicago University Press, 1928, (pages 436-442).

These two quotations are sufficient to indicate the importance of the period studied; but at the same time, one feels that subsequent events have already modified the value of such studies. Mr. Inouye's paper dealing with the financial panic of 1927 and indicating in broad outline the economic and financial consequences of the 1923 earthquake should be read with such a study as this which stops at 1921 in its treatment of commerce and 1918 in the treatment of industry.

Within this limitation there is a great deal of value in the present volume. As one turns over its pages of detailed but well-digested and clearly presented statistical and descriptive information, certain impressions form themselves. There can be few better illustrations of the world-wide interdependence of industry than the brief analysis by which Professor Yamasaki traces the effect upon Japanese commerce of British, and later American, import and export restrictions, the Australian wool commandeer, the shortage of Allied shipping and all the other disturbances of economic equilibrium caused by the war.

The profit reaped by Japan from the war situation is clearly shown and an important implicit distinction is made between the immediate profit of the war period and the permanent gain from such results of the war as the liquidation of foreign indebtedness, and the establishment of manufacturing and trading connections. There is in this connection an interesting comment upon the governmental control of the foreign exchanges (p. 42) from which it is perhaps permissible to conclude that during the abnormal period of the war the rate with the United States was (within limits) controlled so as to foster exports while the rate with India had the reverse effect, in both cases to the advantage of industrialists.

Two comments are suggested by such an inference—first that the powers of the State are more easily and effectively invoked in Japan than they are in most countries in support of a pre-determined economic policy, and second that the fluctuations and dislocations of the domestic produce markets during the war period presaged the pressure upon Japanese agriculture which has since become more obvious as governmental policy has been invoked to support the manufacturing interest. As long as war prosperity lasted the cost of such support was much less obvious.

Attention might be drawn to many significant statements such as (p. 98) the low percentage of the family budget spent upon food, which by Engel's Law betokens a relatively high standard of living; the fact noted (p. 108) that the post-war panic in Japan was a reaction from the failure of industrial consumption in the United States; the significance of the improved banking technique (p. 129) and of the markets which were held after the war and those which were lost (p. 112), and the assumption (p. 228) that both Korea and Manchuria are Japanese colonies.

Professor Ogawa's section of the book dealing in detail with the advances made by Japan in various lines of activity, suggests to anyone familiar with the complexity of modern industrial organisation that the leaders of Japanese industry were encouraged in the war boom to over-reach their managerial and technical resources. The effort to create new iron and steel, shipbuilding machine and tool, chemical and textile industries on a great scale and in face of a comparative lack of raw

materials proved too much even for Japanese ingenuity and discipline. The conclusion therefore seems warranted.

"Nothing, therefore, is more serious than this matter of adequate supplies of raw materials. At present the nation is as much concerned by the need of securing them cheaply as by the necessity of improving its technical skill. As to power, in view of the nation's meager coal supply it must make the most effective use of its hydro-electric resources. In them Japanese industry may secure a cheap and abundant source of motive power, to offset the disadvantages of expensive raw materials. But, even so, the prospects for Japanese industry are not too promising." —J. B. C.

BY SOOCHOW WATERS
By Louise Jordan Miln
Frederick A. Stokes Company, New York, 1929. G$2.00

Mrs. Miln's latest addition to her rapidly growing productions—not of Chinese fiction but of fiction set against a Chinese background—can be recommended, or the reverse, only according to the personal predilection of the reader. The subject is the delicate and debatable one of inter-racial marriage, a subject as yet too tentative and experimental for anyone, however wise, to treat conclusively. Mrs. Miln, after a sympathetic and wholly satisfying prelude, has treated it, climactically, in a conclusive manner which is described as "satisfying and inevitable." Yet to at least one reader that manner has been provoking rather than satisfying, and the conclusion anything but inevitable. In fact, given the characters and their development, such an outcome strikes one as wholly impossible. As to the oughts and ought-nots of the case one does not venture an opinion. —E. G.

THE CURIOUS LOTTERY
By Walter Duranty
Coward-McCann, Inc., New York, 1929. $2.50

When the reader puts down these ten tales—products, all, of the courts of justice of Soviet Russia—it is apt to be with the feeling that here at last he has been privileged to have a momentary glimpse into the essential machinery of this prodigious Russian experiment. For, wherein the principles and ideals of justice of one land or one social system differ from those of another, therein may be found something that is fundamental for the study of a people, a national temperament, or a social ideal.

These tales, admittedly and quite obviously circumstantial accounts of actual court cases gleaned over a period of seven or eight years, are sheer drama. Their drama needs no embellishment at the hands of the fiction writer. Some of them are stark tragedy, some ironically ludicrous, some brilliant with the play of flashing but relentless wit—the wit of the great legal protagonists of the Soviet state. And each one of these—from the petty but significant drama of the young soldier who killed a pig to exorcise a devil, to the colossal epic of the Shakhta trial where great minds and little spirits and pitiable human frailties revealed themselves—each one of these writes large the essential difference between the soul of Russian and of Western justice as the two manifest themselves today. "In the West," says the author (p. 230), "the basic purpose of Law is the protection of person and property. In Russia it is the protection of the State." Another significant difference is that

"in the West an accused man is presumed innocent until he is proved guilty. In Russia the fact that he is brought to trial is *prima facie* evidence of his guilt. The purpose of the trial is firstly to determine the degree of culpability and secondly to inflict the appropriate penalty." (p. 234.)

But over and above these interesting evidences of technical difference, are the intimations which this book affords of the human drive behind the Russian social experiment and of the human reactions of the people, simple peasant and intellectual, thereto.

The writer, it may be added, has had unusual facilities for the observation and collection of these data, as New York *Times* correspondent in Moscow since 1921. —E. G.

INDIAN EARTH
By Witter Bynner
Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1929. G$2.50

Sheer beauty—delicate and unique—marks this volume of verse. Beauty of phrase and spirit, music and scene. *Chapala,* a sequence occupying over half the seventy-seven pages of the book, is a poignant revelation to one in quest of the essence of an alien spirit, that alien spirit being in this case the simple, passionate Indian soul of old Mexico. No stranger can read the eight lines of "A Countryman," "Volcano," "There Had Been Songs," or "Indian Earth," the title poem, without achieving something near intimacy with the unknown lives which thread through these throbbing bits of verse.

The last section of the book consists of seven longer poems descriptive of ceremonial Indian dances in the still primitive region of Arizona and New Mexico. "Descriptive" is a dull word. Each of these poems is in itself the essence of the dance whose name it bears—essence of rhythm, of visual beauty, of passion, ecstacy. To the continent of North America the volume may well be a revelation of the deep-lying racial culture existent within its boundaries; to the student of humanity in other lands, the itimation of an ancient cultural tradition very nearly lost from the earth. —E. G.

New Books

Received and Held for Further Examination

AMERICA

AMERICA CHALLENGED
By Lewis F. Carr. The Macmillan Company, New York, 1929. G$3.50.

AMERICA'S AMBASSADORS TO ENGLAND, 1785-1929
By Beckles Willson. Frederick A. Stokes Company, New York, 1929. G$5.00.

A BOOK OF INDIAN TALES
By Charles Erskine Scott Wood. The Vanguard Press, New York, 1929. G$2.50.

THE COMING OF THE WHITE MAN, 1492-1848
By Herbert Ingram Priestley. The Macmillan Company, New York, 1929. G$4.00.

DOLLARS FOR BULLETS
By Harold Norman Denny. The Dial Press, New York, 1929. G$4.00.

FRONTIERS—THE GENIUS OF AMERICAN NATIONALITY
By Archer Butler Hulbert. Little, Brown, and Company, Boston, 1929. G$3.00.

THE RE-DISCOVERY OF AMERICA
By Waldo Frank. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1929. G$3.00.

AUSTRALIA AND CANADA

ACHATES OR THE FUTURE OF CANADA
By W. Eric Harris. Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., Ltd., London, 1929. 2/6.

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By Andre Malraux. Harcourt, Brace and Company, New York, 1929.

THE NATIONALIST PROGRAM FOR CHINA
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By Sadie Mai Wilson. Cokesbury Press, Nashville, 1929.

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By J. Coatman. Government of India Central Publication Branch, Calcutta, 1928. 4s 6d.

INDIA ON TRIAL—A STUDY OF PRESENT CONDITIONS
By J. E. Woolacott. Macmillan and Co., Limited, London, 1929.

AN INDIAN COMMENTARY
By G. T. Garratt. Jonathan Cape, London, 1928. 7s 6d.

THE LAND OF THE FIVE RIVERS
By Hugh Kennedy Trevaskis. Oxford University Press, London, 1928.

THE REMAKING OF VILLAGE INDIA
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Slaves of the Gods
By Katherine Mayo. Harcourt, Brace and Company, New York, 1929.

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By Gertrude Marvin Williams. Coward-McCann, Inc., New York, 1928. G$3.50.

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Golden Legends of Old Japan
By Mary Saiki. The Stratford Company, Boston, 1929. G$.50.

Paper Houses
By William Plomer. Coward-McCann, Inc., New York, 1929. G$2.50.

Prince Bantam
By May McNeer and Lynd Ward. The Macmillan Company, New York, 1929. G$2.50.

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Filipino Playmates
By Jean Moore Cavell. Friendship Press, New York, 1929. G$.75.

Jewels the Giant Dropped
By Edith Eberle and Grace W. McGavran. Friendship Press, New York, 1929. G$.75.

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By James Parker. Dorrance & Company, Philadelphia, 1929. G$4.00.

Seven Thousand Emeralds
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Civic Training in Soviet Russia
By Samuel Northrup Harper. The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1929. G$3.00.

The Diary of Dostoyevsky's Wife
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Translated from the Russian by Alexander Werth. Payson and Clarke, Ltd., New York, 1929. G$3.50.

Feeding the Hungry Russia Famine 1919-1925
By P. C. Hiebert. Mennonite Central Committee, Scottdale, 1929.

Health Work in Soviet Russia
By Anna J. Haines. Vanguard Press, New York, 1928. G$.50.

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By S. F. Platonov. Translated by E. Aronsberg. The Macmillan Company, New York, 1925.

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By George Vernadsky. Yale University Press, New Haven, 1929. G$4.00.

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NEARING THE END IN IMPERIAL RUSSIA
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THE NEW SCHOOLS OF NEW RUSSIA
By Lucy L. W. Wilson. Vanguard Press, New York, 1928.

RELIGION IN SOVIET RUSSIA
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RUSSIA IN THE ECONOMIC WAR
By Baron Boris E. Nolde. Yale University Press, New Haven, 1928. G$2.50.

RUSSIAN SCHOOLS AND UNIVERSITIES IN THE WORLD WAR
By Count Paul N. Ignatiev, Dimitry M. Odinetz and Paul J. Novgorotsev. Yale University Press, New Haven, 1929. G$2.75.

SHORT STORIES OUT OF SOVIET RUSSIA
By John Cournos. E. P. Dutton & Co., Inc., New York City, 1929. G$2.50.

SOVIET RUSSIA AND HER NEIGHBORS
By R. Page Arnot. Vanguard Press, New York, 1927.

THE SOVIET UNION LOOKS AHEAD—THE FIVE YEAR PLAN FOR ECONOMIC CONSTRUCTION
Published by Horace Liveright, New York, 1929. G$2.50.

GENERAL

BRAZIL AND HER PEOPLE OF TODAY
By Nevin O. Winter. L. C. Page and Company, Boston, 1929.

CHARACTERS AND EVENTS (2 volumes)
By John Dewey. Henry Holt and Company, New York, 1929.

THE CHINESE OF HAWAII
Published by Overseas Penman Club. Honolulu, 1929.

THE COMMON SENSE OF WORLD PEACE
By H. G. Wells. The Hogarth Press, London, 1929.

EMOTION AS THE BASIS OF CIVILIZATION
By J. H. Denison. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1928. G$5.00.

EXPLORATIONS IN HITTITE ASIA MINOR 1927-28
By H. H. Von der Osten. The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1929.

FOREIGN INVESTMENTS
By Gustav Cassel, Theodor E. Gregory, Robert R. Kuczynski, and Henry Kittredge Norton. The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1928. G$3.00.

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By Robert J. Casey. The Bobbs-Merrill Co., Indianapolis, 1929. G$5.00.

FUNDAMENTALS OF POLITICAL GEOGRAPHY
By Karl Haushofer and others. Kurt Vowinckel Publisher, Berlin, 1928.

GEOGRAPHY AND WORLD POWER
By James Fairgrieve. Kurt Vowinckel Publisher, Berlin, 1925.

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By Paul de Kruif. Harcourt, Brace and Company, New York, 1928. G$3.00.

International Arbitration From Athens to Locarno
By Jackson H. Ralston. Stanford University Press, California, 1929. G$5.00.

An Inquiry Into the Question of Cultural Stability in Polynesia
By Margaret Mead. Columbia University Press, New York, 1928. G$2.00.

Labor Speaks for Itself on Religion
By Jerome Davis. The Macmillan Company, New York, 1929. G$2.00.

Make Everybody Rich—Industry's New Goal
By Benjamin A. Javits and Charles W. Wood. B. C. Forbes Publishing Company, New York City, 1929. G$3.50.

A Modern Philosophy of Education
By Godfrey H. Thomson. George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., London, 1929. 8s 6d.

The Natural History of Revolution
By Lyford P. Edwards. The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1927. G$3.00.

Old Civilizations of the New World
By A. Hyatt Verrill. The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Indianapolis, 1929. G$5.00.

The Ordeal of This Generation
By Gilbert Murray. Harper & Brothers, Publishers, New York, 1929. G$3.00.

The Origins of the World War (2 volumes)
By Sidney B. Fay. The Macmillan Company, New York, 1929. G$9.00.

Peoples of Old
By Agustin Edwards. Ernest Benn, Limited, London, 1929.

The Pilgrimage of Buddhism and A Buddhist Pilgrimage
By James Bissett Pratt. Macmillan and Co., Limited, London, 1928.

The Politics of Peace
By Charles E. Martin. Stanford University Press, California, 1929. G$4.00.

Race and Population Problems
By Hannibal Gerald Duncan. Longmans, Green and Co., New York, 1929. G$2.50.

Sir Edmund Hornby—An Autobiography
Houghton Mifflin Company, New York, 1928. G$5.00.

The Sources of a Science of Education
By John Dewey. Horace Liveright, New York, 1929. G$1.50.

This World of Nations
By Pitman B. Potter. The Macmillan Company, New York, 1929. G$4.00.

Training for World Friendship
By Ina Corinne Brown. Cokesbury Press, Nashville, 1929. G$1.00.

Vagabonding at Fifty
By Helen Calista Wilson and Elsie Reed Mitchell. Coward McCann, Inc., New York, 1929.

Pamphlets

COMMONWEALTH OF AUSTRALIA
H. J. Green, Government Printer, Canberra, 1929.

Report to The Council of the League of Nations on the Administration of Nauru during the year 1928.

COMMONWEALTH OF AUSTRALIA
H. J. Green, Government Printer, Canberra, 1929.

Report to the Council of the League of Nations on the Administration of the Territory of New Guinea, from 1st July, 1927, to 30th June, 1928.

THE PACIFIC AREA
By George H. Blakesleee
World Peace Foundation Pamphlets, Vol. XII, No. 3, Boston, 1929. .40c.

An international survey.

INDIA
Edited by D. R. Bhandarkar,
American Academy of Political and Social Science, Philadelphia, 1929.

Contents: Government and Politics; Economic Problems; Education and Journalism; Social Problems.

REPORT ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS
Produced by the Empire Parliamentary Association, London, 1929.

Supplement to the Journal of the Royal Institute of International Affairs.

FOREIGN LANGUAGES IN JAPAN
By Dr. Inazo Nitobe
The Osaka Mainichi & the Tokyo Nichi Nichi, English Edition, 1929.

The use and study of foreign languages in Japan; an aspect of intellectual life in Japanese History.

SALES TERRITORIES IN JAPAN
By Paul P. Steintorf
Department of Commerce, Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce,
United States Government Printing Office, Washington, 1929.

EMPLOYMENT AND COST OF LIVING FOR AMERICANS IN THE FAR EAST SALES TERRITORIES IN AUSTRALIA AND NEW ZEALAND
Department of Commerce, Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce,
United States Government Printing Office, Washington, 1929.

A SQUARE DEAL FOR THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS
By John M. Switzer
Philippine-American Chamber of Commerce, Inc., New York, 1929.

A series of articles based upon his testimony before the Ways and Means Committee of the House of Representatives, Feb. 25, 1929, with additions and amendments.

THE CANADIAN WHEAT POOL
By W. A. Irwin
Issued by the Canadian Wheat Pool Publicity Department, Montreal, August, 1929.

"A series of articles on the most colossal commercial enterprise of its kind in the world."

In the Magazines

Note: All the following references to magazines published in the Orient are for English language publications. National ownership of such publications is indicated.

AUSTRALIA

AMERICAN INVASION OF AUSTRALASIA, THE; by J. D. Leckie; *Stead's Review*, Melbourne, October 1, 1929.

"It is humiliating to learn how little is known in America about Australia and New Zealand. In the case of New Zealand especially, very few Americans seem to have an exact idea of where it is situated. Bismarck once defined a French diplomatist as a man whose breast was ablaze with decorations and who was ignorant of geography; more than one prominent American might almost be included in the same category."

AUSTRALIAN ELECTION, editorial; the *Nation*, New York, October 23, 1929.

"The labor landslide in Australia exceeded the fondest hopes of the party leaders and made James Henry Scullin, once an obscure editor of a small labor weekly, premier of the Commonwealth. The election shows that whatever may be the shortcomings of the system the voters of Australia do not want it abolished or transformed into an ineffective set of state judicial bodies as it would have been under the Bruce program. . . . Our sympathy goes out to the conservative editorial writers in this country who for the last six years have been using Australia as a text for disquisitions upon the failure of socialism."

ISSUE IN AUSTRALIA, THE; unsigned, the *Spectator*, London, October 19, 1929.

"No one dreamed when Mr. Bruce was returned to power by a good working majority at the last General Election but one that he would quickly be defeated upon his most important Bill; and no one dreamed that when he then appealed to the country on the same programme he would set in motion a landslide which would give a decisive victory to his opponents. Such quick changes suggest that there is no strong personal attachment to the different parties and that Australian politics are so confused at the moment that the voters snatch at one solution after another as a way out of their difficulties."

CHINA

CHIANG KAI-SHEK FLAYS HIS COUNTRYMEN; editorial; the *China Weekly Review* (American), Shanghai, October 12, 1929.

"In an arresting message addressed to the nation on October 10, China's eighteenth anniversary of her Independence Day, Chairman Chiang Kai-shek of the National Government declared that the ills of the country were due more to a lack of spirit, courage and morale among the people themselves than to aggressions of foreign imperialists or internal dissensions. Urging the renaissance of the ancient virtues, and the cultivation of a sense of national duty, Chiang flayed his countrymen as 'opportunists,' and called upon them to assist in bringing a new day to this faltering land."

CHINESE EMIGRATION TO BRAZIL; unsigned; the *North-China Herald* (British), Shanghai, October 19, 1929.

"En Sai-tai, Chinese Ambassador to Brazil . . . declared that there are not enough ships in service to carry prospective emigrants from South China to Brazil. The growing American merchant marine may satisfy the demand in time, he believed."

CHINESE HIGHWAY ACTIVITY; by Julean Arnold; *Commerce Reports*, Washington, D. C., September 30, 1929.

"One hears everywhere in China of road-building plans and construction. Where in former years these amounted for the most part merely to prospective dreams, today they are materializing in various parts of China through the initiative of provincial authorities."

A Cry From Hong-Kong; by John H. Harris; the *Spectator*, London, October 19, 1929.

"When, two years ago, a full disclosure was made of the system of slavery in the Protectorate of Sierra Leone, Mr. Amery . . . requested the Governor of Sierra Leone to summon immediately a special meeting of that Council and to telegraph to him in draft legislation for the abolition of slavery and the liberation of the 215,000 slaves. So far as is known today not a single slave has in fact been set free in Hong-Kong through legislative or administrative activity; and there are 10,000 of these slaves in the Colony, whilst across the frontier in China there are, it is estimated, over 2,000,000 little slaves held in bondage under precisely the same system."

New Sino-Polish Treaty, The; editorial; the *China Critic* (Chinese), Shanghai, September 26, 1929.

"Much significance is attached to the new Sino-Polish Treaty of Industry, Commerce and Navigation which was signed on September 18 at the private residence of Dr. C. T. Wang, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the National Government. Though the relationship between China and Poland has not assumed such international importance as that between Poland and some other European country, yet the treaty itself is significant in that it is the first treaty concluded since the establishment of the National Government on the basis of full equality and reciprocity."

Pan-Pacific Progress, Los Angeles, October, 1929.

This issue is a "China Edition" containing the following articles:

The New Chinese National Flag; Map of Chinese Government Railways; China's Foreign Relations; China's Railway Problems; Advertising to the Chinese Market; Roster of Chinese Diplomatic Corps; Old Chinese Pile Carpets; Planning a New Nanking; Our Masonic Forefathers Go to China; Anniversary of the Republic of China; China's American Foreign Advisers; Chinese National Holidays and The Chinese Eastern Railway.

CULTURES

Deficiencies of the "Modern Chinese Girl"; by Paul K. Whang; the *China Weekly Review* (American), Shanghai, October 5, 1929.

This article is an appraisement of the New Woman of China, by one of the men of New China. In it he finds cause for deploring the "foreignization" of Chinese womanhood, stressing the fact that the "modern girl" thinks of little else than dancing, attending cinemas, playing machang and, generally, he asserts, learning to be "good-for-nothing."

How Do War-Films Affect Boys?; unsigned; the *World's Youth*, Geneva, October, 1929.

"The League of Nations Union in Great Britain has carried out an investigation on this topic. Some 4,000 boys and girls from ten to seventeen years of age in Yorkshire, Lincolnshire, Kent and Oxford . . . were given questionnaires and were asked to write down what war films they had seen; what they thought of their own soldiers and of the enemies' and of war in general. The replies reveal an overwhelming anti-war majority. Only 4.3% might be classed as definitely belonging to the pro-war group; the remaining 95.7% are anti-war in various degrees and for diverse reasons."

Influence of the Literary Examination System on the Development of Chinese Civilization, The; by Paul F. Cressey; the *American Journal of Sociology*, Chicago, September, 1929.

"For twenty centuries it (the civil service examination system) held a central place in Chinese life, constituting the gateway to political appointment, social prestige, educational honor, and economic success. . . . It aided in preserving the cultural unity and political stability of China. Its chief defect lay in its rigid prohibition of all originality and experimentation. Thus cultural progress was rendered impossible and cultural stagnation has resulted."

An Institute of Human Relations; by Robert M. Hutchins; the *American Journal of Sociology*, Chicago, September, 1929.

"The Institute of Human Relations at Yale is an organization for the cooperative study of man. Research in the biological sciences and their applications in medicine is here connected, through psychology, with research in the social sciences and their applications in law."

LANGUAGE OF THE FUTURE, THE; by C. Villalobos Dominguez; the *Living Age*, New York, September 15, 1929.

"'Will the talking movie help to sweep English to preeminence as a world language at the expense of all competitors?' . . . It would be foolish to suppose that the babel of languages which now stands in the way of easy intercommunication between the peoples of this tiny world will continue for very many years. More than three thousand languages, used by small or large groups of people, still exist."

NEGRO-WHITE DIFFERENCES IN INTELLIGENCE; by J. St. Clair Price; *Opportunity*, New York, November, 1929.

"J. St. Clair Price is a professor at West Virginia State College. In this article he presents a fresh point of view in the much discussed problems of Negro-white intelligence."

STUDY OF A TYPICAL CHINESE TOWN; by Dr. Leonard S. Hsu; the *Week in China* (Chinese), Peiping, October 5, 1929.

This is a summary of the findings of a sociological survey of the town of Ching Ho, a typical Chinese town three miles northeast of the campus of Yenching University, undertaken under the auspices of the Sociology Department of that University.

DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS

AMERICAN-JAPANESE ARBITRATION; editorial; the *Japan Magazine* (Japanese), Tokyo, September, 1929.

"If America regarded the treaty of Arbitration with Japan as inconsistent with her principle of internal control of immigration, and the treatment of alien nationals within her jurisdiction, why was the treaty agreed to in the first instance? It is true that Japan regards the present American immigration regulations, and laws applying to Asiatics, as violating the spirit, if not the terms, of her Commercial Treaty with the United States, which guarantees to Japanese nationals equal rights and treatment with other foreigners in that country. But it is obvious that the American Government does not intend to allow any question of immigration, or the rights of alien nationals, to come within the province of arbitration treaties. The *Nichi-nichi* thinks it very remarkable that a mere handful of Japanese in America should constitute a vital question preventing the renewal of an arbitration treaty. But if an arbitration treaty is unable to adjust differences in regard to treatment of a country's nationals, how can it be expected to adjust more vital differences? Was the treaty, then, in the first instance, no more than a mere gesture of hypocrisy?"

READMITTING RUSSIA; editorial; the *Trans-Pacific* (American), Tokyo, October 10, 1929.

"There is evidence of a change in the world's attitude to Russia. Mr. Henderson's tentative agreement with Mr. Dogalevsky arouses little opposition and even little interest. People recognize that the Soviet Government is stable. It has maintained itself for twelve years. . . . If the Soviet Government, good or bad, is the established government of Russia, other governments may as well have their relations with it on a normal footing."

RUSSIAN MARKET, THE; editorial; the *Commercial*, Manchester, October 24, 1929.

"Mr. Henderson too should not lack support for his policy of resuming relations first and negotiating afterwards. . . . It would be foolish to hold up other questions of a comparatively simple commercial nature—on which there was indeed agreement in principle in 1924—whilst both sides argued the debt question. British business will accept this view the more readily as it is clear that Russia will in any debt bargain press her demand for considerable new financial facilities. But . . . feeling in this country would be rightly opposed to any British Government loans in support of Russia's industrial experiments, and we are afraid that the ordinary investor will be unwilling immediately to extend his commitments in even so important a market as Russia."

SHALL WE RECOGNIZE RUSSIA?; by Charles Roden Buxton; *Fortnightly Review*, London, October, 1929.

A labour view:

"While British exports and re-exports to Russia fell from £19 millions

in 1925 to £4.8 millions in 1928, German trade into Russia rose in the same period from £12.5 millions to £20 millions.

"We can shut our eyes to Russia; we can cultivate ignorance about her state; we can paint a fancy picture of her conditions. But in doing so we are discrediting, not Russia, but ourselves. We are reducing ourselves to the position of the ostrich who hides his head in the sand.

"As for diplomatic relations, the fundamental evil arising from their breach is that the two peoples are drifting into deeper and deeper ignorance of one another's concerns. The principal difference seems to be that the Russian people does at least want to know about them. One of the most painful impressions which my journeys to Russia have left upon me is that of the horrible warping of opinion which is caused, on both sides, by political controversy. Free and frequent intercourse is the only means whereby this disaster can be remedied."

SHALL WE RECOGNIZE RUSSIA?; by A. Duff Cooper; *Fortnightly Review*, London, October, 1929.

A conservative view: "In this crowded world that we inhabit, there is not room for the Great Powers, such as Great Britain and Russia, to go about their daily business pretending to ignore the existence of one another. . . . . So far, however, have we lost our sense of proportion that the Hague Conference has been allowed to assume dimensions of importance far in excess of the negotiations with Russia. Upon the former depend the annual payment to the Treasury of a few million pounds more or less; upon the latter depends the peace of the world."

WHEN ANNEXATION WAS IN FLOWER; by A. O. MacRae; the *Dalhousie Review*, Halifax, October, 1929.

"Canadians of today may indignantly, even vociferously, resent and reject such a possibility. They may say, as did a fervent opponent of Reciprocity, in the famous election of 1911, 'Canada for Us, not for U. S.' But there is no burking the fact that already the great republic to the south has a financial hold on the industries and resources of the Canadian Commonwealth. Already it has a strategic grip, calculated at more than two and a half billions of dollars. In spite of this undeniable fact, it would indeed be a bold politician who ventured to make annexation an issue before the electorate of Canada."

ECONOMICS IN PACIFIC—GENERAL

AMERICAN RED CROSS, editorial; the *New Republic*, New York, October 9, 1929.

"Though on the whole one cannot quarrel with its decision, the report of the American Red Cross announcing that it will not participate in relieving the Chinese famine is a dreadful document. Its one cheering feature is the news that recent abundant rains in the famine area have helped the crops and rendered the situation somewhat less acute. For the rest, the Red Cross says bluntly that the destitution of 65,000,000 Chinese is the 'cumulative result of chronic conditions of disorder, the crushing actions of the war lords, the depredations of bandits, the enforced payment of confiscatory taxation and the crippling, and consequent inability of the railroads to function beyond a fraction of their normal capacity.' Finally, the report points out that unless it is checked by famines, epidemics, and wars, the Chinese population will double in the next seventy years, although it is already too large for the Chinese land to support under any conditions than those of the most desperate and abject poverty. Here is a problem which we respectfully refer to Bishop Christopher E. Byrne of the Catholic Church, who on Monday of this week told the National Council of Catholic Women that birth control is 'the detestable sin.'"

AMERICAN RED CROSS REPORT, THE; editorial; the *China Critic* (Chinese), Shanghai, October 24, 1929.

"We are not surprised to learn that a general feeling of indignation, not only among Chinese but also among very influential American circles, has been aroused by the tone and spirit of the Report of the American Red Cross. It is believed that the matter will not be allowed to drop, but that

the American public will have its attention drawn to the demi-politicians who seem to be now controlling the administration of the American Red Cross. . . . . If after 'investigation,' (and we know that the American delegates did not attempt to get in touch with men and organizations who are directly concerned with famine relief) they found that relief measures on the part of the American public were unnecessary or inexpedient, they could recommend privately to such effect to the American Red Cross, and it would be perfectly within their rights so to do. But publicly to make a report basing its unwillingness to help on the ground of exactions, banditry and taxation and on the vague and general ground that there was no strong, stable central Government, was a gratuitous insult to the Chinese Government and people."

ARBITRATION IN NEW ZEALAND; by F. E. Freeman; the *Labour Monthly,* London, October, 1929.

"As a result of the appalling conditions and wages which existed prior to 1895 there arose a wave of strikes in that year. To prevent a re-occurrence of this Parliament passed the Industrial Arbitration and Conciliation Act. The short title states the purpose, viz., to prevent strikes, lock-outs and sweating. From this point of view the Act is a failure, there being some 700 strikes from 1900 to 1928, but in other ways arbitration has proved invaluable to the employers and a menace to the workers."

DIVERSIFYING OUR PRODUCTION AND OUR FOREIGN MARKETS; by Leopoldo R. Aguinaldo; *Commerce and Industry Journal,* Manila, September, 1929.

"The abandonment of the American market is not advocated. We want new markets, and the increase in the demand of the existing one, including the United States. Therefore, a more effective propaganda abroad should be immediately undertaken."

EFFECT OF BOYCOTT ON TRADE WITH CHINA; by M. Arikawa; the *Japan Magazine* (Japanese), Tokyo, September, 1929.

"The anti-Japanese feeling in China and the consequent boycotts of trade have been very injurious to Japan, but they have given European and American traders a unique opportunity to promote increased sales and other economic interests in China."

FORESTS, SILT AND FLOOD PROBLEM; by D. Y. Ling; the *China Critic* (Chinese), Shanghai, October 3, 1929.

This article is based on a pamphlet written in Chinese by the same author, who is Dean of the Forestry Department, National University, and Director of Kiangsu Forest Service. The pamphlet has been distributed throughout China by the Kiangsu Forest Service.

FUTURE OF CHINESE TEA TRADE, THE; editorial; the *China Critic* (Chinese), Shanghai, October 24, 1929.

"The future of Chinese tea trade is dark indeed if we may judge by the petition submitted to the National Government by the National Tea Traders Guild. . . . In Russia China has lost her biggest customer, according to this petition, and with it the last hope for a recovery of her trade. British traders know that the Chinese merchants cannot ship directly to Europe and America, and for the purpose of stopping such exports they refuse to offer the Chinese reasonable and fair prices. Thus for the tea costing Tls. 40 a picul, only Tls. 17 is offered. In consequence numerous merchants have lost heavily, and some are said to have committed suicide."

MANCHURIA AS A TRADE OPPORTUNITY; unsigned; the *Literary Digest,* New York, November 9, 1929.

"An American expert on agriculture, sent by the Imperial Chinese Government more than twenty years ago to investigate and report on farming possibilities in Manchuria, declared 'it would yet be the granary of the world.' He found over 400,000 square miles of territory of fertile and well-watered soil. But the vast spaces of Manchuria were then uninhabited. Today, ... the same country is the home of countless millions."

MEXICO; editorial; the *New Republic,* New York, October 23, 1929.

"An example of the depressing effect of American capital upon social legislation in undeveloped countries may be witnessed today in Mexico. The Socialist government of that country has framed an enlightened labor code, embodying the principles of collective bargaining and [illegible]

the most advanced type for the workers. . . . The body opposed many of the features of the bill, such as the closed shop and provisions in regard to night-work and overtime. The Mexican business men make the old-time argument that the passage of any such legislation will bring about economic stagnation. But what is more important from the American standpoint is the fact that business men from the United States are working to defeat the labor code. . . . Likewise, the chambers of commerce of Lower California report that American banks have notified them that if this bill is passed no more credit will be forthcoming. Even Henry Ford's manager in Mexico City states that he will close his works if the code goes through. In Mexico, the fate of the labor bill seems to be attracting more attention than the presidential campaign. . . . In insisting upon maintaining its oil legislation in the face of decreasing production, the Mexican government has proved its devotion to far-sighted principles. We hope that it will not allow reactionary American forces to prevent the realization of another important reform."

NECESSARY CHANGES IN THE TARIFF LAW OF THE PHILIPPINES; by Salvador Araneta and Cornelio Balmaceda; *Commerce and Industry Journal,* Manila, September, 1929.

"The need for a thorough revision of the present Tariff Law of the Philippines in order to make it better adapted to the actual needs of the country's commerce and industries is discussed in this article."

OPEN DOOR IN THE PHILIPPINES, THE; editorial; the *New Republic,* New York, November 6, 1929.

"If all the colonial powers throughout the world should adopt the tariff policy which this country now follows in the Philippines—if, for example, British traders could enter British colonies free, while all other traders had to pay heavy duties—colonies would once again become an important cause of war. It is mere hyprocrisy for the United States to talk of advancing peace when we follow economic policies that deliberately create international ill-will."

OUR MEXICAN IMMIGRANTS; by Glenn E. Hoover; *Foreign Affairs,* New York, October, 1929.

"The motives which prompt the peon to come to the United States are almost exclusively economic. His real wage here is from two to six times his wage at home. This is reason enough for his coming, and we ought not to attribute to him motives which he does not have. He does not come as an admirer of our institutions, our language or our culture."

PAN-PACIFIC WORKER, Sydney, October 1, 1929.

This issue contains the following outstanding articles: The Sino-Soviet Crisis; The Kuomintang and the Chinese Labor Movement; Labor Movement in the Philippines; Position of Japanese Working Class; and The National Emancipatory Movement in Korea.

RUSSIAN TRADE CHANNELS PASS THE TEST; by E. F. Wise, the *Commercial,* Manchester, October 24, 1929.

"The successful conclusion of the first stage of the negotiations between the British and Soviet Governments, and the practical certainty of the renewal of diplomatic relations within the next month, is again turning British business attention to the Russian problem. There is generally much greater willingness in commercial quarters now to discard political prejudice and to take a business view than was the case during the negotiation of the abortive treaty of 1924. The very fact that all the confident statements made then by opponents of Soviet Russia as to the imminent collapse of the Soviet regime and the inherent impossibility of trade with it have proved to be false has in itself produced a reaction among commercial men. A regime which seemed to have so many inherent weaknesses, which can survive so many crises and yet continue to expand its commercial operations must, it is argued with some reason, have undisclosed reserves of strength."

SOME THOUGHTS CONCERNING ECONOMICS IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF CHINA; by Col. Arthur M. Shaw and Dr. J. A. L. Waddell; the *Far Eastern Review* (American), Shanghai, September, 1929.

Part X, Sanitation and Potable Water for China

JAPAN

INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS, THE; by Count Soyeshima Michimasa; the *Japan Weekly Chronicle* (British), Kobe, October 24, 1929.

"In view of the fact that at the time of the second Conference, the immigration problem was exploited by one American magazine for its subversive propaganda purposes, I feel strongly that it is incumbent upon us Japanese delegates to exercise special care to preclude all misunderstandings in setting forth Japan's point of view correctly regarding this particular subject. In my present article, however, I propose to confine my attention to a most fair description of the history of the immigration problem in America and its present state with a view to making clear Japan's attitude towards it."

JAPAN AMONG NATIONS; by Dr. J. Ingram Bryan; the *Japan Magazine* (Japanese), Tokyo, September, 1929.

"Japan herself is suffering today from the territorial monopoly of imperialistic nations; and in this sense Japan is the exploited rather than the exploiter among the nations. Japan is being exploited by those nations that exclude her nationals from their territories; for it is this unfair discrimination that keeps Japan's population too dense to prosper like western countries."

JAPANESE ADVANCE IN INDIA; unsigned; the *Commercial*, Manchester, October 17, 1929.

"Mr. T. M. Ainscough, Senior British Trade Commissioner in India, who is paying a short visit to Manchester, said: 'Two main causes are responsible for Lancashire's loss of trade in India—the increased production of the Indian mills and the stupendous forward strides made by Japan. Japanese competition is not only increasing rapidly, but it tends to cover an ever-widening range of fabrics. Whereas Britain's percentage share in India's total piece goods trade has fallen from 97 to 78 per cent since 1913-14, that of Japan has advanced from 0.3 to 16.4 per cent.'"

SOME SOCIAL CHANGES IN JAPAN; editorial; the *Japan Weekly Chronicle* (British) Kobe, October 3, 1929.

"The Japanese girl, to a far greater extent than before, finds in the days of her young womanhood some occupation which saves her from merely exchanging drudgery under her mother for greater drudgery under her mother-in-law. And these years enable her to gain some experience and knowledge of the world which makes her, when she marries, a far more interesting companion to her husband than she would have been had she simply gone from one household to another in the old style. That no disasters are met it would be absurd to pretend, but there can be no doubt regarding the general benefits of the change."

MANCHURIA

MANCHURIA TODAY; by Richard Hulsenbeck; the *Living Age*, New York, September 15, 1929.

"A man on the spot discusses Asia's eternal triangle."

RAILWAY CONSTRUCTION AND RAILWAY CONFLICTS IN MANCHURIA; by A. Kantorovich; the *Asiatic Review*, London, October, 1929.

"Railway construction in China has more than anything else been a really sensitive indicator reflective of the general tendency of the industrial and political development of the country. The history of the external relations of China is, in fact, to a certain extent a history of its railways."

RUSSO-CHINESE CONFLICT IN MANCHURIA, THE; by K. K. Kawakami; *Foreign Affairs*, New York, October, 1929.

"Russia will not concede what China wants in these matters without a struggle. So long as her traditional idea persists that she must have under her control the shortest possible route to Vladivostok, so long will any Russian Government, Soviet or otherwise, strive by all means, perhaps even war, to keep what is left of her once complete domination of the Chinese Eastern Railway. Whatever may be accomplished by the Chinese and Russian delegates at the pending parley will not be the final solution of the vexed question. And the unbiased chronicler of events will have to close his chapter with the familiar words: 'And the end is not yet.'"

SHOULD JAPANESE BUY MANCHURIA?; editorial; the *Trans-Pacific* (American), Tokyo, November 3, 1929.

"The interesting suggestion of Mr. W. P. Simms that China should sell Manchuria to Japan defeats itself by a factor which he has overlooked though his own precedents reveal it. The Louisiana that Jefferson purchased from Napoleon was wilderness. Jefferson bought empty acres. Manchuria today is inhabited by 30 million people. . . . In 20 years Manchuria will be the home of 50 or 60 million Chinese. By the end of the century it will have 100 millions. Who could sell, who could buy such a nation?"

SINO-RUSSIAN CRISIS, THE; by Edward Lee; the *China Weekly Review* (American), Shanghai, October 5, 1929.

"The following article was submitted from the International Section, Publicity Department of the Central Executive Committee, of which Mr. Edward Lee is Chief Secretary. Mr. Lee states that his article has been looked over by a member of the Central Executive Committee, and implies that it voices the attitude of the Central Government toward the Sino-Russian controversy. If this discussion may be taken as representative of Chinese opinion on the dispute—and there are many reasons for believing so—it will become obvious to the reader how wide is the gulf which still separates Russia and China."

NAVAL CONFERENCE

ANGLO-AMERICAN SEA RIVALRY; by Dr. S. Washio; the *Trans-Pacific* (American), Tokyo, September 26, 1929.

"Japan's policy and opportunity is to work for all-round world reduction."

COMING NAVAL CONFERENCE, THE; editorial; the *Spectator,* London, October 12, 1929.

"On Monday the Foreign Office sent invitations to France, Italy and Japan to take part in a Naval Conference in London next January. The intention is that this Conference should take the place of the Conference of 1932 which was to have been the sequel to the Washington Conference. Both Great Britain and America have been at constant pains to make it clear to Italy, France and Japan that the Anglo-American arrangement depends upon an all-round agreement. It was highly necessary to insist upon this. If it had not been done France and Italy—we omit Japan in this connexion—would have had an adequate cause for suspicion."

HOW JAPAN WANTS NAVAL REDUCTION; unsigned; the *Literary Digest,* New York, November 2, 1929.

"There's no use talking about naval disarmament to the Japanese, it appears, unless real reduction, as well as limitation, is meant. The Japanese press are gratified that the Government has accepted the invitation to the five-Power naval parley, but they insist that the burden of supporting armed forces must be lifted from the back of the taxpayer. No such relief is in sight now, despite all the disarmament talk, as they see it."

OUTLYING NAVAL BASES; by William T. Stone; *Information Service,* New York, October 2, 1929.

This article covers: Introduction; Strategic Importance of Naval Bases; The Washington Naval Conference; Rivalry in the Pacific Renounced; Status Quo Agreement; Effect of Article XIX; British Naval Policy; Defense of British Trade Routes; The Singapore Project; Outlying Naval Bases of the United States; Defense of the Panama Canal; British Naval Bases in the Caribbean; The West Indies and a Neutralized Canal and French Naval Bases.

Institute Notes

The information published in this department is issued officially by the International Secretariat of the Institute of Pacific Relations at Honolulu.

Conference Visitors in Honolulu

The first tangible echoes of the Kyoto meetings reached Central Headquarters in Honolulu via the S. S. *President Pierce* on November 20th when three members of the secretariat, Elizabeth Green, Editor, Dr. J. B. Condliffe, Research Secretary, and Ellen Nakao arrived home from the Conference. The Institute of Pacific Relations party aboard the *Pierce* consisted of Mr. and Mrs. C. F. Adams of Portland, Prof. Romanzo Adams of Honolulu, Wallace M. Alexander and Miss Martha Alexander of San Francisco, Dr. and Mrs. Carl Alsberg of Stanford University, Prof. and Mrs. George H. Blakeslee of Clark University, Mr. and Mrs. E. C. Carter of New York, Dr. Herbert E. Gregory of Honolulu, James Weldon Johnson of New York, G. A. Johnston of Geneva, Miss Katherine Ludington of Connecticut, James C. Macdonald of the Foreign Policy Association, New York, Duncan McDuffie and Mrs. McDuffie of San Francisco, Mrs. Alfred McLaughlin of San Francisco, Miss Catherine Porter, Hobart N. Young and John D. Rockefeller, III, American Group secretaries, and Dr. and Mrs. Chester H. Rowell and Miss Barbara Rowell of Berkeley, Dr. J. Leighton Stuart of Yenching University, Peking, the Hon. H. A. Wyndham and Mrs. Wyndham of London, and Mr. and Mrs. C. K. Webster of the University of Wales and Harvard.

Many of these visited Headquarters during the day and a half the *Pierce* was in port, and not a few confessed also to having made a sentimental pilgrimage to Punahou campus, scene of their old haunts at the 1927 conference.

On November 21 the Hawaii Council of the Institute entertained the returning Kyoto members at luncheon at the Royal Hawaiian Hotel, with Dr. A. L. Dean, vice-chairman of the Council, presiding in the absence of Frank C. Atherton. There were brief after-luncheon speeches by four visitors, Prof. C. K. Webster of the University of Wales, James Weldon Johnson, poet and secretary of the American Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Mrs. Alfred McLaughlin, of San Francisco, and Dr. George H. Blakeslee of Clark University.

All four speakers, in commenting upon the progress and results of the Kyoto Conference and its very definite gains in certain directions, pointed out the essential difference between the Kyoto and Honolulu gatherings as a loss in intimacy and freedom and stressed the importance of a periodic return of the conference to its birthplace in Honolulu, there to be revivified by its original ideals and inspiration. The various accomplishments of Kyoto were stressed and many tributes paid to the beautiful hospitality of the Japanese hosts.

Mr. Johnson, looking, as he said, at the conference from the two-fold angle of the American citizen and the representative of a racial group within America, chose a particularly interesting theme for his ten-minute talk—his feeling of the vital importance which the factor of race

has always played in the affairs of men and the vital necessity for a more than superficial study of those emotionally charged areas of the human mind where race differences play their over-emphasized role. He made a plea, not for the study of this aspect of international relations to the exclusion of other important fields of economic and political fact, but for a recognition of the factor of race as the fundamental, conditioning factor underlying many of these other problems and for systematic study leading toward a clearing away of the strata of myth and legend under which the big human truths of racial kinship are buried.

—E. G.

New Chairman of Research Committee

At the expiration of a two years' term, Dr. James T. Shotwell, chairman of the International Research Committee of the Institute, tendered his resignation to the Pacific Council and was succeeded by Mr. Charles P. Howland of the United States.

Korean Participation

In view of the action of Korean members in declining to participate in the Kyoto conference on the basis of the position attributed to their group under the constitution, the Pacific Council in session at Nara voted to send to Korea the following telegram:

"Pacific Council by unanimous resolution mailed today cordially invites the Korean Group to attend Kyoto Conference on present constitutional status and assures opportunity to them in that event to present arguments in favor of proposed amendment at meeting of council reserving to group entire liberty of action after council's decision reached on proposed amendment upon which no discussion has yet been held."

Cabled acceptance was immediately received and six Korean members arrived in Kyoto to meet the Pacific Council on this important question.

Conference Officers

After electing Dr. Inazo Nitobe, Chairman of the Conference, the Pacific Council rounded out its official personnel, which had been depleted by the successive vacancies in the chairmanship and vice-chairmanship, by the following elections to fill out the current term:

Dr. David Z. T. Yui, chairman of the Council, Hon. Newton W. Rowell of Canada, first vice-chairman, Hon. F. W. Eggleston, Australia, second vice-chairman.

These officers, together with Mr. F. C. Atherton, treasurer, functioned until the end of the conference.

New Pacific Council Head

Succeeding Dr. David Z. T. Yui and to serve for the ensuing two years, Mr. Jerome D. Greene of New York was elected chairman of the Pacific Council of the Institute. Dr. Inazo Nitobe was named first vice-chairman and the Hon. Newton W. Rowell of Canada second vice-chairman. Mr. Frank C. Atherton of Hawaii was re-elected treasurer.

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